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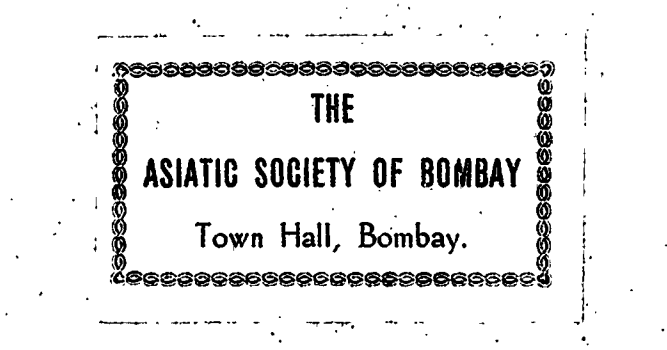

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CALEDONIA:

OR,

AN ACCOUNT,

HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHIC,

OF

NORTH BRITAIN,

FROM

THE MOST ANCIENT

TO

THE PRESENT TIMES.

VOL. II.

BY GEORGE CHALMERS, F.R.S. and S.A.

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IT IS WISE TO OBSERVE OCCURRENTS, AND LET NOTHING REMARKABLE ESCAPE US: THE SUPINITY OF ELDER DAYS HATH LEFT SO MUCH IN SILENCE; OR TIME HATH SO MARTYRED THE RECORDS; THAT THE MOST INDUSTRIOUS HEADS FIND IT NO EASY WORK, TO ERECT A NEW BRITANNIA.

SIR THO. BROWN.

THE

PREFACE.

IN prosecution of my plan, for removing the difficulties, settling the disputes, and clearing the obscurities of the history, and antiquities, of Scotland, I now presume, to lay before the Public the *second* volume of my CALEDONIA.

For effecting those several objects, in my *first* volume, I treated of the *more ancient* history of Scotland, in *four* Books; the first, containing the *Roman period*, and ending with 446 A. D.; the second, comprehending the *Pictish* period, and closing with 843 A. D.; the *third*, treating of the *Scotish* affairs, and finishing in 1097 A. D.; and the *fourth* book, discussing the colonization, and history, of the Scoto-Saxon people, and concluding with 1307 A. D: The four books thus ascertaining, in ample detail, the *ancient history* of North-Britain.

But, though many novel views were given, and a thousand uncertainties were ascertained, that volume has not been formally controverted. Every intelligent person has acquiesced, in its *moral certainties*, however new, and unexpected, except Doctor Jamieson alone, who has attempted to controvert them, in his Prefatory Dissertation on the *Scotish* language: Yet, he, who reasons against facts, shews little discretion, as a logician; and he, who pretends to outargue demonstration, only evinces that, as a lexicographer, he loves theory better than truth. I shall not, however, make, in this place, any reply: There will be found, in the subsequent volume, a thousand facts, which contradict his etymological speculations, on the Scotish language, which never existed, in a separate state, from the old English; as had been previously proved, by argument, and fact, in the Prefatory Disquisitions to my edition of *Sir David Lyndsay's Poems*.

From the *ancient annals* of Scotland, this *second* volume proceeds, after some introductory intimations, to give its *topographical history*, in a sequence of shires; beginning with the most southern, and proceeding to the northern, in a regular consecution. The localities of each shire will be submitted to the public, in eight sections: The 1st will treat of its *name*; the 2d of its *situation* and *extent*; the 3d of its *natural objects*; the 4th of its *antiquities*; the 5th of its *establishment*, as a *shire*; the 6th of its *civil history*; the 7th of its *agriculture*, *manufactures*, and *trade*; and the 8th of its *ecclesiastical history*: Thus, under those several heads, will be found, I trust, in this volume, much that is new, and something that is interesting, from the various sources of authentic documents, and the intelligent correspondence of the parochial ministers; which are now laid before the judicious eyes of the

the inquisitive reader. Such a reader will perceive the frequent quotation of the Parliamentary Record. This is merely the copy, which was printed, by William Robertson, the late under-keeper of the Register-house, and cancelled by the Record Commissioners, who disapproved both of its plan, and execution: Yet, unseemly, and unsatisfactory, as this printed copy is, I have found it of the greatest importance to historical research: It clears many an obscurity; it confutes a thousand calumnies; and it ascertains a million of truths: It is this Record, which exhibits the common people, in a light, that does them high honour; in lamenting the assassination of James III., and crying out for justice on the traitors.

In the subsequent volumes, will follow the *topographical history* of the south-western, the eastern, and northern shires, in convenient season; as the materials are provided, the details are formed, and the composition is easy to the pen of diligence.

In the subsequent pages, the year 1747 is assigned, as the epoch of the Engineer's Survey of Scotland: The design was certainly then conceived, by the Duke of Cumberland; and adopted by the Board of Ordnance (*a*): But, it was not actually begun, till the first week of June 1748, by Lieutenant-Colonel Watson (*b*). The Honourable John Elphinston, who is mentioned, in p. 61, as the publisher of a map of Scotland, was a *practitioner engineer*, under the engineer for Scotland, in 1748; and died, at Kilcroigh, in April 1753 (*c*). Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, the quarter-master, meanwhile, made the Survey of North-Britain. To the anecdotes of General Roy, in p. 64, may be added that, in 1757, he went upon the expedition to Rochfort; and, in January 1758, was examined, at the court-martial on Sir John Mordaunt; and being the only engineer, with the rank of lieuteuant in the army, on the expedition, gave it, as his opinion, that an entrenchment, [round Rochfort], not assailable, without being laid open by cannon, might have been thrown up, in two, or three days; and that, in the same time, a covered way,

(*a*) See page 61, in the following volume.

(*b*) We may clearly ascertain the true epoch, from that officer's letter to the engineer Skinner, dated the 7th of June 1748, from Edinburgh: "But, as I am obliged, this week, to begin the "surveying scheme, which (amongst friends) has given me infinite pain, I have ordered Lieutenant "Stewart, to acquaint you, when General Bland will be at Fort Augustus." The late General Skinner's MS. Letter Book, in my library. From it, he appears to have been appointed the director of engineers, for Scotland, in December 1746. The original object of that Survey more distinctly appears, in a dispatch from Charles Bush, the secretary of the Board of Ordnance, to the same engineer, dated the 7th of June 1748: "The number of engineers, and others, intended "to have been employed, under Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, in surveying *the highlands*, south of "*the chain*, being reduced; and Messrs. William Floyer, and Jasper Laforey, who were ordered "to Edinburgh, on that service, being thereby disappointed," &c. Gen. Skinner's Letter Book. It appears, also, from this engineer's information to the Board of Ordnance, that the Murray frith, between Arderseer, Inverness, and Cromarty, was surveyed, by Thomas Walker, a sub-engineer, in 1749. The engineer Skinner was the builder of Fort George, which was founded, in 1748: And, he continued the director of the engineers in Scotland, till the year 1757.

(*c*) Scots Mag. 1753, p. 206.

glacis,

glacis, and even an advanced ditch, might have been soon made (*d*). To what is said of General Debbieg, in p. 62, may be added that, in June 1757, when the rank of the whole engineers was settled, he appears as a sub-engineer, with the rank of lieutenant, in the army (*e*).

In the subsequent volume, p. 601, it required much enquiry, and some calculation, to ascertain, that the massacre of James III.'s menials, at Lawder bridge, happened, in July 1482: But, from a short Chronicle of James Gray, who compiled it, soon after that atrocious event, the real date clearly appears to have been the 15th of July 1482 (*f*). In the latest of the Scotish historians, we may see, how uncertain is still the true date of the death of Margaret, the virtuous queen of James III. (*g*): But, the same Chronicle shows, that she died, at Stirling, in 1486 (*h*). It is, only, by collecting, and arranging such documents, that the real history of North-Britain can be cultivated, as a science.

In the literature of England, there is a well-known book, under the appropriate name of *Liber Regis*; containing the value, and advowsons, of all the ecclesiastical livings: But, in Scotland, they have no such document of useful information: There will be found, however, in the topographical history, of the subsepuent volume, a TABULAR STATE of the several parishes, in each shire, which may be deemed the *Liber Regis* of North-Britain.

Of matters illustrative, or ornamental, there will not be found much, in this volume. There is, indeed, a *Tabular Statement*, which contains the *political anatomy* of every shire, in Scotland, on a *broadside*. There was intended to be prefixed to this volume a new map of Scotland; in which the boundaries of shires are more elaborated, than they formerly were; the limits of districts are better ascertained; the location of the churches are more discriminated, and the names, and places, are more appropriated to the history: But, the infirmities of the engraver have made it necessary to postpone this map, till the appearance of the following volumes.

In the investigation of truth, I have not been discouraged by any difficulty; and I have not declined any labour; I have sought new documents; and I have tried, in my narration, to be neither too general, nor too minute (*i*). I will beg leave to conclude this Preface, with Carew's *Prosopopeia* to his *Survey* of *Cornwall*:

> " I crave not courteous ayd of friends,
> " To blaze my praise in verse;
> " Nor, prowd to vaunt mine author's names,
> " In catalogue rehearse:

(*d*) Scots Mag. 1758, p. 22—8.
(*e*) Ib. 1757, p. 327.
(*f*) MS. 12°. James Gray, Advocates Library.
(*g*) Pink. Hist. i. 423-4.
(*h*) Gray's MS.

(*i*) In p. 268, note (*p*), *James* Otterburn is misprinted for *John*, which mistake mars the argument. There may be other misprints, which cannot easily be prevented, in so long a work, whatever care may do An *Index*, for this volume, was prepared: But, upon consideration, it was conceived, that a general Index, for the whole work, would be more commodious, to the studious reader.

" I of

" I of no willing wrong complaine,
" Which force, or stealth, hath wrought;
" No fruit, I promise, from the tree,
" That forth this *blooth* (*i*) hath brought.

" I curry not, with smoothing termes,
" Ne yet rude threats I blast:
" I seeke no patron for my faults;
" I plead no needlesse haste."

(*i*) A Cornish word, signifying the year; the spring; or rather the fruits of the year; or budding of trees

AN

ACCOUNT

OF

NORTH-BRITAIN.

CHAP. I.

Introductory Notices of its general State.

§ 1. *Of its First Settlement.*] THE British isles must have been settled, during the earliest ages of the postdiluvian world, if we may credit the instructive notices of the stone monuments, that still offer themselves to our observation, rather than the ill-informed intimations of ancient authors, who are little worthy of our credit. While the impulse of the dispersion still continued, the pristine colonists arrived, probably, from the nearest coast of Gaul; as intelligent scholars are at length disposed to acknowledge. The names, which the original planters imposed on the great objects of nature, and which have continued, for the information of every age, exhibit as well undoubted specimens of their ancient tongue, as the real lineage of the tribes, who occupied the British world (*a*). The first planters soon spread their settlements, with the usual enterprize of colonists, into every district of the greater island, the chief scene of the Gaulish adventurers (*b*).

(*a*) Caledonia, ch. i. (*b*) Id.

§ II. *Of its original Discovery.*] The Britannic islands were first seen, in the dark haze of uninformed antiquity, by Pythias, a voyager of Marseilles, who sailed into the Western Seas, while Alexander, the Macedonian, marched in quest of adventures into the eastern regions (*c*). Those isles were afterwards recognized by the Greek Geographers; by Eratosthenes, under the name of *Albion*; and by Strabo, under the more celebrated appellation of *Britannia*. But, it was Ptolomy, who first gave us, at the middle of the second century, as well the geographical outline of those islands, as their topographical detail, with some instructive circumstances. It was Richard, however, who supplied confirmations of his able precursor; and added many new notices, with respect to the British isles, which are of great importance to geography, to history, and to philology (*d*).

§ III. *Of its successive Names.*] Erudition has tried, by every effort of diligence, to explain, though without success, the origin, and the meaning of the successive names, which have been affixed to the British isles, by various people, in different ages. Camden, after quoting the discordant opinions of the most learned scholars, at length relinquished *puzzled learning* to flounder in the darksome abyss of her own absurdities. The great antiquaries of the present times have considered that philological pursuit as quite hopeless, which the research of Camden had relinquished as unattainable. The most ancient name, that was applied to those isles was *Alban*, which, in the Celtic tongue of the original Britons, signified the high region, or the outer region (*e*). The Greeks, according to their manner, very early perverted the first appellation that, in either form, was certainly descriptive of the appearance of our island, to *Albion*, which was supposed to signify *white*; and which Pennant

(*c*) Gosselin's Geograph. des Grecs, p. 46-7. It is supposed, however, that the Phoenicians had brought tin from the *Cassiterides*, in prior ages. Yet, it is very doubtful, whether the *isles of tin*, which were known by the name of the *Cassiterides*, did not lie in the Indian ocean. See Stephanus, in vo. *Cassiterides*. On this interesting subject, the more curious reader may peruse the *Mémoire* of M. Melot on the Revolutions of the British Commerce, from its commencement to the invasion of J. Cæsar, in the Collection from the *Mémoires* of the Academy of Inscriptions, by Rose; printed for Becket and Elmsley, 1777.

(*d*) Many facts, which are ascertained by the topography of North-Britain, confirm the instructive notices of Richard. See Caledonia, book i. ch. iv.

(*e*) See Owen's Dict. in vo.; and the Cambrian Reg. vol. i. p. 24. Camden, indeed, considered it as an absurdity to seek the origin of this name in a foreign language In fact, J. Cæsar, the first invader of our island, was struck with the height of its cliffs; and Catullus calls it "ultima occidentis insula," the *last western isle*.

has

has adopted, from the "*lazy apathy*" of popular attentions (*f*). The second name was Britain, or *Britannia*, which the Greeks, with their accustomed plagiarism, soon assumed, as their own production (*g*). But, this name, in whatever form, or in whatever language, seems to have defied the etymological antiquaries of every age (*h*). The origin of the name may certainly be traced back to the speech of the Cambro-Britons of pristine times. The ancient Britons have always denominated their native land *Ynys-Prydain*, which signified, in their descriptive language, the beautiful island (*i*). The Welsh poets, and etymologists, of the present times, have congratulated themselves on discovering the origin of *Britannia*, and *Britain*, in their own *Prydain*, signifying *fair* (*k*). Carte intimated as much, though he failed, in making out his etymon; because he was unacquainted with the various mutations of the Welsh speech (*l*). The fact is, that Humphry Lluyd, the well-known antiquary of Elizabeth's reign, actually traced the English name of Britain to the Welsh *Prydain*, signifying *pulchritudo*; and he shewed, with great skill, the several changes of the radical letters P. into B. Ph. and MH; so that the Welsh *Prydain* might, without any difficulty, be converted into the English *Britain*, or the Latin *Britannia* (*m*). But, the intimations of the ingenious Lluyd were egregiously misapprehended by Camden, whose mistakes have been continued, from his first edition in 1586, to the last in 1789 (*n*). Thus early, then, was the real origin of the name of Britain discovered

(*f*) See the maps in Gosselin's Geographie des Grecs, and his Table des Matieres, in art. *Albion*; and see Pennant's Arctic Zoology i. 6. The name of *Alban* was long retained, as the ancient appellation of North-Britain. Macpherson supposed this original name to have been formed from the Celtic *Alb*, or *Alp*, high, and *in*, a country. Introduction, 38. Whitaker considers this celebrated name to be merely the plural form of *Alb*, a height. Hist. Man. i. 9. Carte derives it from the Celtic *Alb*, white; supposing the country to have been thus called, from the appearance of its cliffs. Hist. Eng. i. 4.

(*g*) See the maps in Gosselin's Geog. des Grecs.

(*h*) The learning of Bochart was exerted in vain: And, the ingenuity of Faber, with as little success, suggests *Brit-Tan-Nu-Aia*, from *Brit-Tan-Nus*, the Fishgod Noah, the Covenanter. Cabiri, i. 257.

(*i*) Owen's Welsh Dict. in vo. *Prydain*. According to the genius of that language, the P. changes to B.

(*k*) See Edward Williams' Poems, ii. p. 42.; Owen's Poems of Llywarch Hen, Introd. xxi.; Cambrian Register, i. 22-3.

(*l*) Hist. of Eng. i. 5.

(*m*) See Lluyd's Comment. Brit. Descript. 1572, p. 6, 7, which was translated by Thomas Twyne, and published in 1572, under the name of *The Breviarie of Britagne*: And there was in 1731 an excellent edition of Lluyd's *Descriptio*, by the accurate Moses Williams; wherein this subject is treated at large, in p. 10, 11.

(*n*) It must be admitted, however, in favour of Camden, that the radical word was erroneously printed *Prydam*, in the Cologne edit. of 1572; yet, was it very accurately published in Twyne's

discovered in the British *Prydain*, and thus late was it rediscovered by ingenious men, who are, perhaps, more ſkilful in the Cambro-British speech than Humphry Lluyd, who is entitled to the unrivalled honour of being the true discoverer of the real etymon of that envied name.

§ IV. *Of the Name of Caledonia.*] Ages elapsed, however, before the British island, as it came to be sub-divided into parts, was known to the intelligent world by the geographical appellations of South and North Britain. During the first century of our common era, the northern division was known by the name of CALEDONIA to the classical writers of that age; Pliny, Ovid, Martial, Valerius Flaccus, and above all Tacitus. But, the name of Cal-ydon had been long known as the appropriate appellation of a province of Greece, which was famous for its *forests* (*o*). And this celebrated name of *Cal-ydon*, as it was imposed on a country of *woods*, by the first cultivators of Greece, must have been significant in the Pelasgic speech of that ancient people (*p*). We have thus seen, that *Cal-ydon* is an indigenous word of an original tongue; and that *Cal-ydonia* was applied descriptively, by classic writers, to Northern Britain, during five centuries, at least, before the arrival of the Scoto-Irish Gael, within its woody confines. The people, during the first century, were naturally called, in the pages of history, *the Caledonians*. In the progress of events, and in the varieties of change, that people, who had the honour to repulse the Roman legions, were called *Picts*; and gave their own name of *Pictavia* to the regions, which they had successively defended. The Scots had long domineered, in Ireland, before they colonized the nearest shores of North-Britain: And ages elapsed, before these colonists had the fortune to transfer from Ierne to the land of the Picts the appropriate name of *Scotland* (*q*). This name, which it thus received from the prevalence of its recent colonists, it will probably long retain, notwithstanding every change; as it was more lately imposed in the predominant idiom of the Saxon people, by a Saxon prince (*r*).

Translation of the subsequent year. Camden mistook the *Prydain* of Lluyd, for *Prid-Cain*, which not one of that great topographer's editors has thought it worth his while to rectify, by an attention to the accurate editions of Twyne, and of Williams.

(*o*) Geographia Antiqua et Nova, N° 13; Holland's Camden, in Scotia, 30; Gebelin's Monde Prim. ix. 459.

(*p*) The Pelasgic, the Greek, and the Celtic, were all originally the same speech: And *Cal* is a Celtic word, which constantly signifies forests, woods: And so *Calon*, in Greek, signifies woods. Id. Bullet, in voce. Here, then, is the root of Cal-ydon; which was easily converted by Latin etymologists into *Cal-ydon-ia*.

(*q*) Caledonia, i. p. 338-9.

(*r*) Caledonia, i. 338-9.

§ V. *Of*

§ v. *Of the North-British People.*] But, it is the people, of whatever lineage, or however mixed, who ought to be the chief object, in such inquiries. The learning of three centuries was exhausted, in successive efforts, to ascertain the *aborigines* of North-Britain, till fastidious ignorance came out, at length, to disclaim this interesting pursuit as positively frivolous. Yet, what can be more attractive to rational curiosity, than to inquire, and to show, who were the progenitors of the people, whose history we propose to investigate. The *aborigines* of North-Britain have been at last ascertained, by a new mode of proof, which brings that inquiry to positive certainty. By ascertaining the names of the great objects of nature, in South, and North Britain, to be the same; by shewing clearly, that the meaning of those names was to be found in the Cambro-British speech; a moral demonstration was thereby given, that those aboriginal people, were "undoubtedly the same Gaelic clans, who very early settled South-Britain" (*s*). How many opinions have been contradicted by that demonstration; how much learning has been thus rendered nugatory; how many books, on this interesting topic, have been confuted, by that investigation of facts, need scarcely be mentioned (*t*). But, the usual comforts of certainty have at length been obtained. The *Caledonians* of the North-British annals have been equally ascertained to be merely the descendants of those *Gaelic aborigines*, who, in various ages, assumed new shapes, and appeared to intelligent eyes in dissimilar lights. With regard to those celebrated people, the same contradictory opinions long existed: And those contrarieties often came out, even down to our own times, in the unseemly attitudes of literary altercations, which ascertained nothing. But, those contrarious opinions have at length been reviewed: And, it has been incidently ascertained, by moral demonstration, that the Caledonians of the first century, who fought Agricola, were merely the descendants of the Gaulish settlers, within North-Britain. If there were no Goths, in that country, during the second century, then were the Caledonians of those times a Celtic people. The Picts of

(*s*) Caledonia, i. 31—56. The journalists, who were of late willing to wound, yet were afraid to strike, have opposed that demonstration so feebly, that they may be considered as having admitted proofs, and inferences, which they could not controvert.

(*t*) See Nicolson's Scotish Historical Library, 6—61—133. Camden would have ascertained the *aborigines* of North-Britain, if he had not been shackled by his own erudition: But, he relied too much on the opinions of scholars, and trusted too little to the influence of circumstances, and the instruction of facts. He was reprobated, not so much, for his hallucinations, as for his learning, by all the wit, and scholarship, which Scotland, in his age, could boast. Hume of Godscroft, who is praised by Nicolson for his spirit and elegance, wrote a treatise, which he called *Campdenia*; and Drummond offered to the public, *A Pair of Spectacles for Camden.* Ib. 14, 15. But, the *Britannia* remains, while the *Campdenia* of the one, and the *Spectacles* of the other, are forgotten.

subsequent

subsequent ages are acknowledged, because the truth could not be denied, to have been the same people as the *Caledonians* of prior days, under a new name (*u*).

It is, indeed, a fatal objection to the Gothic system of the Scotish history, which every one, except the Glossarists, seems to have relinquished as untenable, that the maintainers of it cannot show, historically, that a Gothic people settled, in North-Britain, before the *fifth* century of our common era. And, failing in the history of such a migration, as there were no Goths to emigrate, the Gothic etymologists cannot be let in, with their Scandinavian word books, to show a direct derivation of the Gothic language of North-Britain, while they cannot show a connection of Scandinavia, and Scotland, by colonization, at an early epoch. All languages had a common original: The Anglo-Saxon, and the Gothic dialects, had the same source: And hence, is it an easy task, for

(*u*) See Caledonia, i. 223—34, for a review of the *Pictish question.* A late publisher of an Etymological Dictionary of the *Scotish language* has controverted the positions in the text so weakly, as to confirm rather than invalidate their truth. But, this lexicographer has only failed, where the learned Stillingfleet had failed before him, in being able to show, that any Gothic people colonized North-Britain before the Anglo-Saxons: They could not trace such a colonization, because such a colonization never took place: Falsehood cannot be proved, any more than facts can be disproved. There were no Goths, in the Orkneys, during the age of Solinus, as he assures us those islands were then uninhabited; and as indeed we might infer from the voyage of the Roman fleet under Agricola. During the same age there were no Goths, in North-Britain, as the the names of places were then Celtic, and not Gothic, if we may believe Ptolomy, and Richard. An examination of the local words in Shetland, Orkney, and Caithness, has evinced, that they are quite different from the local words of proper Scotland: And, the non-existence of the Scandinavian names of places in Scotland, though they abound in Shetland, Orkney, and Caithness, demonstrates, that Scandinavian Goths had never colonized proper Scotland, as they would have here left the same local names, which appear so obvious in Shetland, Orkney, and Caithness. See Caledonia, i. 488—90, for the facts. But, our lexicographer's taste cannot feel such disquisitions, nor can his logic comprehend such demonstrations. Yet, he does produce a list of words from proper Scotland, "which are *not Teutonic, but Scandinavian.*" It is to be lamented, that our dictionary-maker did not assign the meaning of his examples of Scandinavian words, in English, or Latin, or Chaldaic, or Shanscrit, that they might have been a little examined:

Beik, to bask, to warm, he might have seen in the Glossary to Lyndsay's Poems, from the A.-Sax. *baccan:*

Beild, a shelter, a refuge, he might have found in the same Glossary, as an old English word from the A.-Sax *beilde:*

Beirth, a burthen, from the A.-Sax. *berthen,* he might have also perceived in the same work;

Beugh, a bough, from the A.-Sax. *bogh, boh,* names, he might have seen in the same Glossary;

Bifmar, a scold, any worthless woman, from the A.-Sax. *bismere.* But, of such detections enow! He constantly shuts his eyes against the Anglo-Saxon, though he knew that Sibbald, the glossarist, had been censured lately, for such disingenuous perversity.

diligent

diligent perversity to discover many words, which are really Anglo-Saxon, in the kindred dialects of the Scandinavian. If it be asked, whence came the progenitors of the Swedes, the answer must be, from the north of Germany, the known country of the Anglo-Saxons: And of course, the two people, having a common origin, must speak two languages of remarkable analogy, varied only by dialect, and differenced merely by orthography. If it be inquired, whence came the Gothic people of North-Britain, whether from the north of the Baltic, or the south of the Tweed, the answer must be, not from the Baltic, of which migration there is no evidence, but from the Tweed, whereof there is the most satisfactory proofs: For, it is an historical fact, that admits of no doubt, that a body of Gothic Angles, during the fifth century, colonized upon the Tweed, and extended their settlements along the Forth. The Gothic tongue of the Anglo-Saxons was, for the first time, heard within the limits of Northern-Britain (*x*). In the effluxion of ages, they sent out their colonists beyond the Forth, the Tay, and the Dee; they were augmented, by the arrival of Anglo-Normans from the south; they admittted settlements of kindred Flemings every where within North-Britain: And, with the augmentation of their Numbers, acquiring the ascendency, with the government, they dictated their language, their laws, and their manners, within every district of proper Scotland (*y*).

A Gaelic

(*x*) Caledonia, i 250—59.

(*y*) Ib 495, for the colonization of North-Britain, during the 12th and 13th centuries, by the Anglo-Saxons, or English, by the Anglo-Normans, or French, and above all by various bodies Flemings. Yet, the late lexicographer of the Scoto-Gothic language is not satisfied: He says, "no satisfactory account can be given of the introduction of the *vulgar language*." Is it not sufficient to show the colonization of the country, by the progenitors of those, who now speak the vulgar language? How came the British tongue to be silenced in England? Was it not by the prevalence of the Saxon people? How came the Cornish speech to be lost? Was not this circumstance owing to the conquest, and settlement of the Saxons? How has it happened, that the Irish tongue has been well nigh silenced, in many districts of Ireland? Was not this novelty produced by the prevalence of the English people, their language, their law, their protestant schools? How has it happened, that the English language should be now spoken in the United States, from the Atlantic to the Ohio, where once roamed the Indians, who wooed their sable loves in a very different speech? The answer must be, that the country was colonized by English settlers among the Indians. When I had shown the colonization of proper Scotland, subsequently, to the reign of Malcolm Canmore, by Anglo-Saxons and English, by Anglo-Normans and Flemings, I presumed to think, that I had incidentally shown how the English language came to supersede the Gaelic. When I had traced the progenitor of the Stewart family, with his followers, from Shropshire to Renfrewshire, it was not necessary to demonstrate how they spoke the English tongue among the Gaelic people of Renfrew. [See Caledonia, i. p. 495—613, of the Saxon colonization

A Gaelic colony of a somewhat different tongue, a detachment from the *Scoticæ Gentes* of Ireland, arrived in Argyle, at the recent commencement of the

colonization of North-Britain: And see the *inferences* from the *proofs*, in p. 612. Yet, this lexicographer is not satisfied how the vulgar language came to be spoken in Gaelic Scotland; And, thus justifying the observation of Pope, that he would trust a dictionary-maker with *one word*, but not with a *sentence!* This dictionary-maker of a language, which does not exist, but as old English, is quite convinced, that the vulgar language of Scotland was introduced by direct transmission of the children of Odin, though he cannot show any Gothic colonization, before the arrival of the Saxons; trusting merely to the falacious testimony of Gothic word-books. He was induced, by his infirmity, to call his work a Dictionary of the *Scotish* language; as, "he boldly "affirms it to have as just a claim to the designation of a peculiar language as most of the other "languages of Europe:" For, "There is no good reason for supposing, that it was ever imported "from the southern part of our island." He pretends not, however, to give, historically, the rise, the progress, and the establishment of that *original tongue*, any more than he fixes the colonization of the Goths, who imported it pure from Gothland. I had already, in my prefatory dissertation to *Lyndsay's Poetry*, by way of anticipation, given a *philological view* of the Teutonic language of Scotland, from the demise of Malcolm Canmore to the revival of learning. [Works of Lyndsay, i. 118—147]. But, against such an anticipation, our lexicographer shut his Gothic eyes. In his pre-determined blindness, he does not see, then, the English language growing out of the Anglo-Saxon, during the reigns of Henry III. of England, and of Alexander III. of Scotland; he does not perceive, of course, that the Gothic language of England, and the Gothic language of Scotland, were one, and the same, during those reigns. [Ib. 119—122.] Neither is he aware, that those languages continued the same, during the reigns of Edward I., and Robert Bruce. [Ib. 129—32.] Those languages remained the same, at the commencement of the fourteenth century, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and even at the revival of learning, when the sixteenth century began; while Dunbar, Douglas, and Lyndsay, the great poets of that age, avowed, that they wrote the same English language, as Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate, had written, during prior times. [Ib. 138.] Yet, our dictionary-maker considers the language of Dunbar, Douglas, and Lyndsay, in the face of their own declarations, to be quite different from that of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate. With the policy of the well-known bird, he hides his Scandian head, thinking he thus concealed his Gothic tail. With this policy, he turns away his understanding from the Glossary to the obsolete words in Lyndsay's Poetry, which anticipates so many of the etymons in his *Scotish* Dictionary. It did not suit our lexicographer's prejudice, much less promote his purpose, to see the Scotish speech traced up through the old English to its genuine source in the Anglo-Saxon. Two facts were thus established; (1), That the Scoto-Gothic language may be found in the old English; (2), That its true origin may be traced up to the Anglo-Saxon. And, this fair inference was drawn from those facts, which annihilate our lexicographer's system, that the vulgar language of proper Scotland, as it was undoubtedly introduced by colonists from England, is better Saxon, but worse English than the Gothic language of South-Britain. The Dissertations, and Glossary, to the works of Lyndsay, with the facts, and reasonings, in *Caledonia*, combine together to carry up those truths to moral demonstration. The dictionary-maker, who is not, as we thus see, to be trusted with *a sentence*, if he cannot outface the fact, and outargue demonstration, would do well to talk with less boldness of the vulgar speech of Scotland being one of *the peculiar languages of Europe*. [Preface, iv.]

sixth

sixth century; and, by a gradual progress, overspreading the land from west to east, gave the law, and their name, to the ancient dominions of the Pictish people, whose language became amalgamated with the kindred dialect of the Irish. Every circumstance, with regard to the Scots, a Gaelic people, their origin, their country, their lineage, their speech, their history, has been disputed by self-believing men, with such obstinate perseverance, as to scatter over the truth a vast mass of opiniative uncertainties. But, demonstration has finally silenced, on this topic, the tongue of disputation (*z*): And historical verity has now displayed the Irish origin of the Scots, their subsequent migration to Argyle, in 603 A. D., their following annals, and ultimate ascendency, within a mountainous country, which had given them a settlement (*a*).

Thus, at the late commencement of the twelfth century, the ample limits of Scotland was inhabited, as we have seen, by the Celtic descendants of the aboriginal Britons, by the Gaelic Scots, who had overspread the land, by the Anglo-Saxons of Lothian, and by the Gothic Scandinavians on the coast of Cathness. At that epoch, a new, but mixed people came in upon all those Celts, and Goths. Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Normans, English and Flemings, settled in every district in Scotland; and, by a slow progress, became the respectable progenitors of the present inhabitants, who speak the English tongue, which is not older than the twelfth century. By tracing the colonization of all those lineages, and exhibiting examples of their languages, it was rendered impossible, in the face of such demonstration, for ignorance to mistake the origin of the people, or for learning to misrepresent the analogy of their speech (*b*). No one need now be surprized, when he sees, in the maps of every shire, in Scotland, specimens of the languages of all those people, however different their tongues may be, in their derivations, or dialects. Yet, lexicographers, who cannot be trusted with a *sentence*, doubt demonstration, and glossarists, who are not to be charged with a *word*, disbelieve self-evident truths.

§ VI. *Of new Kings and new Laws.*] With those new people, during the the Scoto-Saxon period, a sort of new dynasty of kings, new laws, and new

(*z*) Caledonia, i. bk. ii. ch. vi.

(*a*) Ib. p. 271—3. The fact, being thus established, puts an end to a thousand fictions, and fancies, about the antiquity of the Scots, and the length of the royal line: Many treatises of various erudition have been thereby confuted; and several narratives of imaginary tales, under the name of Scotish histories, have been incidentally exploded. See Nicolson's Scots Hist. Library throughout.

(*b*) Nicolson's Scots Hist. Lib. ch. i.—iii. Caledonia, i. book iii. ch. xi.; book iv. ch. i., of the Saxon colonization of proper Scotland.

titles occurred. Three sons of Malcolm Canmore now successively ascended the Scotish throne, whose blood continues even now to reign over every district of the British empire. The Celtic customs, which had prevailed among the Gaulish people, during a thousand years, were gradually superseded, for a new jurisprudence of Anglo-Norman origin. And the Gaulic titles, of whatever nature, that had so long existed, at length disappeared, amidst the uncommon alterations, at that remarkable period of the Scotish history (*c*).

§. VII. *Of the Degrees of Scotland.*] Were we to inquire, with Camden, *of the states or degrees of Scotland*, we should find with him that, "the commonwealth "of the Scots, like as that of Englishmen, consisteth of a king, the nobility, "the gentry, and commons." "The king," continues he, in the words of their own records, "is the *direct lord* of the whole domaine; and hath royal "jurisdiction over all degrees, as well ecclesiastical, as lay. Next unto the "king is the king's son, who is called Prince of Scotland, or, by a peculiar "right, Duke of Rothsay, or Steward of Scotland (*d*)." Camden was not so happy, in what he said of the ancient *thanes*, who, as they were exhibited by the Scotish historians, are undoubtedly fictitious (*e*). When the earls, and earldoms, were originally introduced into North-Britain, is a question, which has been anxiously asked; yet has never been satisfactorily answered. It has been more instructively said, that they originally appeared under that new dynasty, when the Gaelic *maormors* assumed the title of *earls* (*f*). During that period of changes, even the princes of the blood did not enjoy any peculiar titles (*g*): And, this intimation seems to evince, that they had loſt their ancient

(*c*) Caledonia, i. bk. iv. ch. i.

(*d*) Camden, in Scotland, 7.

(*e*) Caledonia, i. 456. Yet, of them he says, "If my judgment be ought, they were enobled "only by the office, which they administered: For, the word, in the ancient English-Saxon "tongue, signifies *the king's minister.*"

(*f*) Ib. i. 701.

(*g*) In Smith's Bede, p. 761, there is a charter of Alexander I., wherein he speaks of his brother David, "Ego et frater meus David." This is important to show, that David, during the early part of the reign of Alexander I., had not any title. When David went first to the court of Henry I., he had not any title. It was, by marrying the widow of St. Liz, the Earl of Northampton, that he became *Earl* David. Caledonia, 702. In a charter of Malcolm IV. to the monks of St. Colne, his brother William was a witness, by the name of "Willielmo fratre regis." Chart. 157. Of course, he had not any title. Kennet's Par. Antiq. 119, which evinces the same point. In a charter of William, the lion, to the see of Aberdon, in 1170, his brother David is a witness, by the name of "David fratre meo." In 1189, the same David, as *Earl of Huntingdon*, walked at the coronation of Richard I. Sandford's Genealogical Hist. 74.

designations,

designations, without acquiring new. But, we do not see so distinctly how the nobles, from being Gaelic maormors, became Anglo-Norman *counts*, and English *earls*, though the change is sufficiently certain. Throughout the whole extent of the Scoto-Saxon period, from 1097 A. D. to 1306, there only appeared, in North-Britain, thirteen earls, without any lords of parliament. *Ten* of those earls certainly existed under David I., perhaps, under Alexander I.; the Earl of Lenox, under Malcolm IV.; and the Earls of Sutherland, and Carrick, under Alexander II. (*b*). Such, then, was the whole peerage of thirteen earls, at the end of the Scoto-Saxon period, when Robert Bruce ascended the throne. Of all those ancient earls, not one of them is lineally represented, by the same blood, at this day, except the Earl of Sutherland, by the Marchioness of Stafford; and, perhaps, the present Earl of Carrick, as the representative of the Bruces. Neither Robert Bruce, nor his son, David II., added many to the list of nobles. They only made three creations of titles, which were altogether new; and consisted of the Earls of Moray, Wigtoun, and Douglas. The *Stewartine period* of the Scotish history, began in 1371, with the accession to the throne of Robert, the stewart of Scotland. This first king of a new race revived four peerages, and created three. Robert II. thus appears to have acted moderately; because both the revived, and the new peerages, were conferred chiefly on his own blood. Robert III., while he created very few degrees, was the first, who introduced the high title of Duke (*i*). James I., amidst his supposed reforms, for the depression of the nobles, created no fewer than eleven lords of parliament; and he revived an earldom. James II., succeeding to his murdered father, in 1437, made seventeen lords of parliament; and revived, or created, eight earldoms. James III., having succeeded his father, on his sudden demise, in 1460, made nine lords of parliament; and revived, or created, four earldoms. James IV., a youth, was placed on the bloody throne of his father, who was assassinated, in the gory field of Stirling, the 11th of June 1488. The faction, who thus placed the crown on their minor king, appears to have been profuse, in rewarding its associates, with peerages. Five new creations were made by incompetent hands,

(*b*) There were, indeed, *Gothic* earls of *Cathness*, even in prior times, though this race failed, during the thirteenth century.

(*i*) In 1398, he created David, his eldest son, Duke of Rothsay, and Earl of Carrick: And these titles have since remained, as appropriate honours of the king's eldest son. In 1399, he made Robert, his youngest brother, Duke of Albany, who already enjoyed the earldom of Monteith, by marriage, and the earldom of Fife, by resignation. In 1404, he settled a munificent appanage on his eldest son, who thus became *the stewart*, and prince of Scotland.

during the first six months of the new reign; besides the creation, and the revival of other peerages, with much higher ranks. From the disastrous field of Floddon, the bloody sceptre of James IV. was transmitted to his infant son. Only one peer seems to have been made, during this reign, by the creation of Henry Stewart, the husband of the queen mother, Lord Methven, in July 1528. And, from those details, the result is, that during the effluxion of the nine preceding reigns, which elapsed from the accession of Robert I., there were created three dukes, and twenty earls, with the revival of thirteen earldoms; while there were made forty-six lords of parliament, who were entitled to all the rights of the peerage, though their lands may not have been formed into baronies.

The infant Mary Stewart, who succeeded her father, in December 1542, created two dukes, Darnley, and Bothwell, her well-known husbands, two earls, and three lords. Her moderation did not instruct her son, James VI., who, before his accession to the crown of England, created one duke, two marquisses, eight earls, and fourteen lords. In *the period of the reformation*, then, were added thus to the peerage, three dukes, two marquisses, ten earls, and seventeen lords. The accession of James VI. to the throne of England, which was attended by so many consequences, was followed by a great influx of peerages. He created no fewer than seventeen earls, seven viscounts, and twenty-seven lords, during his reign over England, in the short period, from 1603 to 1625. Charles I., succeeding to his father, in 1625, created, before the end of the year 1647, no fewer than sixty-eight peerages, of which only one title was revived; consisting of one duke, two marquisses, twenty-six earls, seven viscounts, thirty-one lords, and one baroness. Of that numerous list of peerages, many were created, in 1633, to grace his coronation, say the peerage-writers; and not a few persons were made peers, either to prevent, or to suppress civil war. Charles II., before his restoration, added to the peerage, two earls, two viscounts, and four lords. This monarch, from his restoration to his demise, created no fewer than three dukes, two marquisses, thirteen earls, five viscounts, and eight lords. Of all those peerages, which seem to have arisen from the circumstances of the times, only two were revived titles, the Earl of March, and the Duke of Lennox. James VII., during his short, and feverish reign, added to the list of peers only two earls, five viscounts, and one lord. King William, who had a kingdom to gain, by a revolution, created only one duke, three marquisses, seven earls, four viscounts, and three lords. Queen Anne, while she had the Union to effect, added no more than four dukes, nine earls, and two viscounts. Such, then, is the recapitulation of the origin, and

progress,

progress, of the peerage, in North-Britain. The effect of all those creations, and revivals, was to leave, in the list of Scotish peers, when the Union commenced, on the 1st of May 1707, one hundred and fifty-five (*k*). Before the accession of George I., in 1714, two other earls, and two more viscounts, appear to have become extinct; while five were added to the list, by the house of peers: And there thus existed, at this epoch, one hundred and thirty-five. To these, were added, by the same authority, two other lords, in 1723. But, those one hundred and thirty-seven peers were reduced, before the year 1747, by natural causes, and by legal means, to ninety-three (*l*). In the year 1807, there existed only, of the long lists of former times, seventy-nine Scotish peers.

§. VIII. *Of the subordinate Degrees.*] The epoch of the Scotish *baronets* is 1625. The first creation consisted of eleven: The number increased, before the Union, to one hundred and sixty-four. Among *the nobles* of a lower degree, saith Camden, are ranged knights, who verily are dubbed, with greater solemnity, than in any other place, throughout Europe, by taking of an oath, and proclamation by a herald. Of a second sort, adds he, are they, who are termed *lairds*, and barons; among whom none were reckoned, in old time, but such as held immediately from the king lands in chief, and had *jus furcarum*, the right of the *gallowtree*. Among the third sort, says he, are such, as being descended from worshipful houses, are termed *gentlemen*. All

(*k*) Robertson's Peerage of Scotland, p. 12. The number consisted,

of Dukes	10
of marquisses	3
of earls	75
of viscounts	17
of lords	50
	155

Of those, there seem to have been then extinct,

of earls	5
of viscounts	1
of lords	12
	18
The whole remaining on the 1st of May 1707	137

(*l*) There had become extinct, by natural means, 18
by attainder, in 1715, 19
by attainder, in 1746, 7
44
So that, deducting those 44 extinct peerages, from 137, there remained, in 1747, merely 93

others

others, as citizens, merchants, artisans, are reputed among the *commons* (*m*). There existed, moreover, throughout the Scoto-Saxon period, the *villeyns*, a very numerous class, who were important from their usefulness; and became still more useful, from their emancipation, during the Stewartine period of the Scotish history.

§ IX. *Of its several Judicatories.*] Of *the judicatories*, or *courts of justice*, the supreme court, as well for dignity, as for jurisdiction, was accounted *the states*, which were called *the parliament*, as in England (*n*). But, this judicatory became merged, after Camden's age, by two Unions; of Scotland with England; and of Great Britain with Ireland. Next to the parliament, is *the college of justice*, which James v. erected; and which was to consist of a president, and fourteen senators. This court, which experience had matured, and practice familiarized, was designed by those, who made the Union with England, to remain for ever (*o*). To this college of justice, was added a criminal court, which consists of a chief, who is known by the title of the Lord Justice Clerk, with five commissioners, who exercise a supreme jurisdiction, in matters of crime (*p*). To both those courts, was added, at the Union, what was scarcely known of old, in North-Britain, a court of exchequer; consisting of a chief, and four barons, with the same jurisdiction over fiscal causes, as the exchequer court of England had immemorially exercised. Exclusive of all those judicatories, there are county courts, commissariot courts, and local courts, for the summary determination of smaller suits, which include causes both of a civil, and spiritual nature.

§ X. *Of its Sheriffwicks.*] So much will be said hereafter of sheriffs, and their districts, that it becomes necessary to treat of both, in greater detail. The epochs of the Scoto-Saxon period, of record, and of sheriffdoms, are the same (*q*). The twelfth century witnessed all those epochs take place. Sheriffs

(*m*) Camden, in Scotland, 7.

(*n*) Ib. 8. See the ancient constitution of the Scotish parliament, in Caledonia, i. 742: And see, in the same work, 822—43, the subsequent changes of the constituent members of *the estates*.

(*o*) Act of Union.

(*p*) Over these criminal judges, there is a justice general, who very seldom acts.

(*q*) Buchanan talks ignorantly of Scotland being divided into shires, as early as King Evan, who is supposed to have reigned a century before our common era. Hope's Minor Pract. 308. Wallace, in his work on peerages, p. 112, with the same tongue of fiction, quotes, upon this point, the fabulous laws of King Reutha, of Keneth II., and of Malcolm II.

are

are mentioned, during the reigns of Alexander I., and David I., though they did not then extend over the whole superficies of North-Britain (*r*). Yet, must we not allow, that every place, which had a sheriff, in ancient times, was a proper sheriffdom; as the sheriffs of Scone, of Edinburgh Castle, and other towns, and fortlets. During the reigns of Alexander, and David, the parishes were called shires, from the Anglo-Saxon term, which merely imported a division (*s*). Yet, Galloway, Argyle, the western isles, Ross, remained, till recent times, under their ancient policy of Gaelic times (*t*). It is apparent, then, that sheriffwicks were gradually laid out, as the Scoto-Saxon people gained upon the Celtic inhabitants; and as the municipal law prevailed over past rudeness. Before the conclusion of the Scoto-Saxon period, however, and the accession of Robert Bruce, the continent of Scotland, if we except Galloway, Argyle, and Ross, had been progressively settled under the useful regimen of sheriffdoms, which were governed, according to the salutary rule of the Anglo-Norman law. Sheriffships had even, in those ages, become hereditary, in particular families (*u*). The appointment of sheriffs was originally in the king, whose officers they were. But, in the progress of innovation, or the practice of refinement, when private rights had become fixed, and hereditary, an act of parliament was necessary to divest the privileges of individuals, as well as to establish the jurisdiction of the state (*x*).

Yet, has there never existed, in North-Britain, during any age, such subdivisions of countries, as *rapes*, *laths*, *tithings*, *hundreds*, or *wapentakes*, which may be all traced, in England, from a Saxon source. When those divisions took place, a Gaelic government ruled in Scotland: And the Scoto-Saxon period did not herein begin till the end of the eleventh century. In those

(*r*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. Apx.; Nicolson's Hist. Lib. Apx. No. vii.; Anderson's Diplomata; Chartularies of Scone, Dunfermline, Kelso, and others.

(*s*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. 383. The parish of Bathgate, however, in Linlithgow-county, was formerly a real sheriffdom. Sibbald's Hist. of Linlithgow, 21.

(*t*) Stat. Alex. II. ch. 2—17, in Skene, 14. Ja. IV. ch. 59, 60-1, enacted, indeed, that justices, and sheriffs, be made for *the isles*; while Argyle was, in some measure, placed under the sheriffwick of Perth: And, in 1503, sheriffs were directed to be appointed, for Ross, and for Cathness.

(*u*) See the ordinance of Ed. I., in 1305, for the government of Scotland. Ryley's Placita, 504; Lord Haile's An. 285.

(*x*) Wallace's Peerages, 111; the Statute Book. In 1300, it was enacted by 28 Ed. I. ch. 8., that the inhabitants of every county should make choice of their sheriffs, where the shriefalty is not of fee. This enactment, which appears never to have been the law of Scotland, was altered by 9 Ed. II. stat. 2.

dissimilarities

dissimilarities of local division, the intelligent reader must perceive an obvious difference, in the lineage of the people of the two kingdoms, who differed so widely in their domestic economy, in their personal habits, and in their usual pursuits: In the South, we see a Saxon policy; in the North, we perceive Gaelic customs: Of course, Celtic Scotland, any more than Celtic Ireland, had not any of those minute divisions, which existed in England, of rapes, laths, tithings, hundreds, and wapentakes (*y*). The policy of sheriffdoms was introduced gradually into both those Celtic countries, after the government of both had become Anglo-Norman. And every intimation concurs to prove, that a revolution in policy took place, within North-Britain, when the children of Malcolm Canmore imperceptibly introduced some of the laws of England into those districts, wherein a new people superseded the Celtic customs, which had come down from the original settlers.

§ XI. *Of its Ecclesiastical State.*] The ecclesiastical divisions of North-Britain must be referred to much earlier periods, and to very different origins, than the civil jurisdictions, which have just been mentioned, as singular. The highest order of spiritual persons preceded the lowest: And bishops, consequently, existed before presbyters, or priests, even at the dawn of christianity (*z*). Several prelates distinctly appear in the exercise of their appropriate functions, during the Pictish period of the North-British history, though without any prescribed diocese (*a*): Nor, did sees commence till towards the end of the subsequent era of the North-British annals. It was not till the reigns of Alexander I., and of his brother David, that the Scotish bishops began to enjoy their several sees, with episcopal authority, and baronial rights. At the demise of David I., in 1153, there existed ten dioceses, in Scotland, when the episcopal church had acquired her usual forms, and enjoyed her accustomed revenues. The bishoprick of Argyle was established by William, the lion, about the year 1200 (*b*); the bishopricks of Man, and Orkney, were naturally conjoined, when those territories were acquired by the Scotish crown; and the see of Edinburgh was not established till the recent reign of Charles I. (*c*). The see of St. Andrews was erected into an archbishoprick, in 1471; and the see of Glasgow was made an archbishoprick, in 1489. But, the great fabric of

(*y*) Ledwich's Antiq. p. 216; Harris's Hibernia, part ii. p. 66.

(*z*) Caledonia, i. 322-3.

(*a*) Ib. book ii. ch. 5.

(*b*) Ib. 685.

(*c*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. 321; Keith's Catalogue; Lord Haile's An. i. p. 95—9.

episcopacy was violently shaken, rather than torn down, at the Reformation (*d*). It was repaired, and new-modelled, in 1606, by an act, for the restitution of the "estates of bishops." (*e*) However necessary, as they were now declared to be, "as an essential estate of parliament," this necessity did not long preserve the episcopal order. The civil war of 1639 buried episcopacy in the same unhallowed grave with the constitution, and independence of the nation. The restoration of the monarchy, in 1660, also restored the episcopate, though not with its ancient powers (*f*). An establishment, however, which was not supported by the approbation of the people, could not stand the rude shock of the Revolution. As the bishops refused to favour King William, the king declined to support the bishops (*g*). And, the whole order was abolished, both at the Revolution, and the Union, after a feverish struggle of a hundred and thirty years, which was not very favourable to morals, and still less salutary in its influences on religion (*h*).

(*d*) Caledonia, i. 859. It was by a construction of the act of 1597, that the revenues of the bishops were taken away, and the order abolished, "contrary to the sense of the king, and the "estates." 18 Parl. Ja. vi. ch. 2.

(*e*) 18 Parl. Ja. vi. ch. 2. By this act, the prelates, who were now protestants, were restored to their ancient rents, and estates: Yet, as Clarendon remarks, "the bishops durst not contest "with the assembly in jurisdiction; so that there was little more than the name of episcopacy "preserved."

(*f*) Act, 2 Sess. 1 Parl. Ch. ii. ch. i.

(*g*) See Bishop Rose's curious letter, in Keith's Cat. 41; and Gent. Mag. April 1774.

(*h*) 1 Parl. Wm. and Mary, ch. 3. The revenues of the bishops were forfeited to the king, who allowed to every bishop, out of his own estate, a hundred pounds a-year. Warrant Book, in the paper office. The following statement will show to the more curious reader the yearly value of the several bishopricks, when they were thus suppressed, after every spoliation; as the annual incomes were certified by authority:

	In Victual.			In Money, Scots, 1-12th of Sterling.
	Bolls.	Fir.	Pecks.	
The Archbishoprick of St. Andrews	1567	3	—	£ 5,453 6 0
The Archbishoprick of Glasgow	1196	1	—	2,914 13 2
The Bishoprick of Murray	105	—	—	1,809 12 8
The Bishoprick of Aberdeen	—	—	—	3,434 15 8
The Bishoprick of Dunkeld	—	—	—	1,662 17 6
The Bishoprick of Galloway	—	—	—	6,264 10 0
The Bishoprick of Brechin	285	2	—	3,041 7 4
The Bishoprick of Cathness	206	2	1	1,474 9 0
The Bishoprick of Ross	659	2	—	3,128 14 8
The Bishoprick of Dunblane	—	—	—	547 9 1
The Bishoprick of Argyle	—	—	—	1,705 13 4
The Bishoprick of the Isles	96	—	—	3,038 0 0
The Bishoprick of Orkney	—	—	—	6,233 19 4
The Bishoprick of Edinburgh	689	2	—	7,205 6 11

The Scotish bishops, though they were thus excluded from parliament, as barons, and were deprived of their revenues, as prelates, did not consider themselves as deprived of their spiritual functions. They now found themselves, after the revolutions of so many ages, in the state of the original bishops of the Scotican church. When the existing bishops deceased, the survivors transmitted the succession of their order, by fresh consecrations, to the present times. After so many changes of sentiment, and alterations of power, there still remain, in North-Britain, six bishops, forty-four settled ministers, of the episcopal order, and about eleven thousand persons of full age, who communicate with the episcopal church of North-Britain. The good conduct of the bishops, of the ministers, and of those laymen, merits commendation, as Christians, and as citizens: Of this opinion was the parliament, when the legislature lately freed them from the penalties, which had been imposed, in less tolerant times (*i*).

There still continues, in Scotland, the remains of the most ancient church, after all the efforts of reformation, all the harshnesess of severity, and all the influences of kindness; so difficult is it to eradicate the religious habits of a people. The Roman Catholics of Scotland are ruled, by several bishops, who are apostolic vicars, like the Roman Catholic bishops, in England; and who are allowed each a coadjutor, when age, or infirmity, requires assistance. With a view to their authority, Scotland is divided into two parts; the *highland*, and the *lowland*: And the Roman Catholics of that country, who amount to about twenty thousand persons, are edified by fifty missionaries, within their several districts. These Roman Catholics are generally poor, and helpless, quiet, and inoffensive, which are qualities, that every where merit, and receive the protection of wise governments (*k*). When we have deducted the episcopalians, and

(*i*) 32 Geo. 3. ch. 63. The Scotish bishops exercise their jurisdictions within certain districts, which were pointed out to them, by the limits of the ancient bishopricks. Among themselves, they have no other pre-eminence, than seniority: And the present able, and worthy bishop Skinner is, from that circumstance, *primus* of the episcopal college. But, they enjoy no larger revenues, than the presbyters, who are subordinate to their spiritual authority: And, they are all supported, by the emoluments of their respective chapels; the rents, which are annually paid for the pews; the collections at the chapels; and the offertories at the altars. There is another class of episcopalians in Scotland: These adhere, though not strictly, to ministers, who derive their ordination, from the bishops in England: And this last class amounts to about four thousand persons. The two classes do not essentially differ about spiritual matters; and seem at length to have coalesced.

(*k*) 33 Geo. 3. ch. 44. When the well-known Doctor Webster made his Survey, in 1750, he found, in Scotland, 16,490 Roman Catholics; in the southern shires only 676 persons: and in the northern, particularly in Aberdeen, Banff, Inverness, and Argyle, 15,814. If there be

20,000

and the catholics, from the great body of the people of Scotland, amounting to about 1,618,000, the very considerable balance of population must be deemed *the protestant* inhabitants, divided into various sects, and separated into different divisions of uncouth names.

§ XII. *Of its Parishes.*] Whatever may be the antiquity, which is assigned to the parishes, in England, the origin of such districts, in Scotland, cannot be carried back beyond the ninth century (*l*). In North-Britain, parishes were known divisions, under Malcolm Canmore, at the conclusion of the Scotish period (*m*). The churches were very numerous, at the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, in 1097, A. D. (*n*). Long before the arrival of Bagimont, in 1275, the parishes seem to have assumed the position, and the numbers, which remained, when the Reformation began (*o*). At the epoch of record, when the twelfth century commenced, the parishes were, generally, denominated shires; as Coldingham-*shire*, Herbert-*shire*, from the Saxon *scir*, a division (*p*). The form of expression only shows the lineage of the scribe, who employed the language of his country, to denote those ecclesiastical districts, which existed, in Celtic times, under very different denominations.

§ XIII. *Of the Ministers Stipends.*] The Reformation, which shook the whole fabric of the Scotican church, introduced considerable changes, both in the regimen, and in the number of the ecclesiastical divisions. The dioceses, and the deanries, were changed into synods, and presbyteries: Many parishes were united into one parish; and many churches, which piety had built, were thrown into ruins, from hardships, and penury, arising out of the dilapidations of the

20,000 at present, this circumstance would show an increase of Roman Catholics, in the intervenient period; But, the numbers of the whole people have, at the same time, greatly increased. The bishops, and missionaries, were supported by property, which had been invested, in the funds of France, and Rome. But, amidst the overwhelming revolutions of recent times, this property was lost; and the unhappy ecclesiastics were reduced to real want. The king, with the truest charity, ordered annual allowances to be made to the bishops of a hundred pounds, and to the missionaries of twenty pounds each.

(*l*) Whitaker's Manchester, ii. 368—95; Antiquary Repertory, iii. 157; Caledonia, i. book iii. ch. 8.

(*m*) See the several Chartularies, the Reg. of St. Andrews, Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. Appx.

(*n*) Id.

(*o*) Bagimont's Roll; and the Ecclesiastical *Taxatio*, under Alexander II.

(*p*) Chart. Coldingham, Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. 400; Orem's Description of Old Aberdeen; Fragments Scots Hist. 51.

church revenues, by the ravenous laity. The present number of parishes, in Scotland, is only 897: There were probably double that number, in ancient times. When this change was under the consideration of the ecclesiastical assembly of 1581, there were supposed to be, in Scotland, nine hundred and twenty-four churches. It was, at that assembly, proposed, as some of the parishes were small, to reduce that total to six hundred; and to give to every church a minister. By the promoters of that unfavourable change, arising from necessity, it was also intended that, of this reduced number, one hundred of the ministers should have each 500 merks, as a stipend; that two hundred should have each 300 merks; that two hundred should each have a £100; and that of one hundred ministers each should enjoy a 100 merks (*q*). From those propositions, it is apparent, that inequality of stipends was then designed to be the original constitution of the Scotican church. The six hundred churches were designed to be divided into fifty presbytries; consisting of twelve parishes in each: And, of this number, three presbytries were to make a synod. But, the supreme jurisdiction of this reformed church was placed in the assembly, consisting of appointed ministers, and lay elders. Such was the polity, which was thus proposed, for the reformed church of North-Britain, in the infancy of its regeneration. And, the presbytries assumed, in that early age of reform, nearly the same sites, regimen, and numbers, wherein we see them, during the present times.

Yet, was it found, from twenty years experience, to be more easy to propose, than to settle; and still more facile, to overthrow, than to build. By an act of a tumultuous convention, in 1560, the whole church was torn down, when every thing, which had been established, during five centuries, was prostrated: The doctrines of that church, "being found a false religion, what belonged to "it did, by the law, fall under confiscation (*r*)." Beyond this resolve, reforming folly could not easily go! The church, and her endowments, were thus left—

> "To tug, and scramble, and to part by th' teeth,
> "The unow'd interest of proud swelling state."

The reformed ministers remained, at that epoch, without any incomes (*s*). One third

(*q*) Extracts from the Acts of the Gen. Assembly of the Scotican Church, from 1560 to 1605; Melville's MS. in my library. The above denominations were Scotish money.

(*r*) Melvin's MS. Abstract.

(*s*) Sir George M'Kenzie's Observations on the Statutes, p. 227. From him, however, we may learn, "that the whole property of the popish clergy, except the teinds, (tithes), was compre-

"hended

third of the *spirituality*, indeed, was appropriated, in 1561, for *sustentation* of the ministers: Yet, was a more formal act of parliament necessary, in 1567, to enforce what had been granted, rather than collected, seven years before, in less propitious times (*t*) In those days, courtly rapacity was too powerful for legal restraint. The act of 1567 was enforced, by a supplemental law, in 1587 (*u*), which expressly declared the *spirituality* of benefices, or the teinds, to remain, as formerly, unannexed to the crown. Here, then, was reserved the proper fund, for the officiating clergy. But, penurious interestedness continued too strong for religious sentiment: And, the ministers complained to the king, in 1602, "that by importune suiting a great part of their thirds are "disposed in pension, to the great hinderment of the present provision of the "ministers (*x*)."

The year 1617 is the epoch of the first attempt to give permanent relief to "the ministery, who had been keeped in poverty, without being able, fruit-"fully, to travel in their charges (*y*)." Parliamentary commissioners were now appointed to *plant churches*, and to *modify stipends*, by a fair application of the wasted teinds. The lowest stipend was, by this commission, fixed at six chalders of victual, or five hundred merks Scots, which were equal to the highest stipend, that had been proposed by the ministers themselves, in 1581. But, this authority soon expired, without being able to simplify the complex, or to fill the vacant. And, a new commission was granted, in 1621, with similar powers, which were executed with similar inefficiency.

"hended under the denomination of the *temporality* of their benefices; while the teinds were called "the *spirituality*. Upon the abrogation of popery, the king did begin to erect some of the "*temporality* of their benefices into lordships, which he bestowed on several noblemen, and other "persons, who were most active in the Reformation; and these were called *the lords of erection.*" "But," says he, "the parliament of 1587, resolving to fix a constant revenue on our kings, and "thereby preclude the necessity of taxes, annexed the *temporality* of all the church lands, and "benefices, to the crown, by the act 11 Parl. Ja. vi. ch. 29." In theory, this policy was well conceived. But, such was the rapacity of those times, that King James, before the year 1591, did not enjoy a single park, which was quite free from individual pretension. In the Advocates Library, there is a MS. which contains "the chekker's answer to the articles of the king's majesty's "hand-writing." This answer of the *chekker* shows, that the king had five parks; Holyrood-house, Linlithgow, Strivelin, Falkland, and the Torwood: But, they also show, that each of them was enjoyed by some individual under a real, or pretended title. The king's sense of his own penury is strongly pointed, in the concluding words of the paper, which he addressed to the commissioners of his exchequer: "I am na mair to be lulled asleep with fair wordes."

(*t*) Act 1st Parl. Ja. vi. ch. 10. (*u*) 11 Parl. Ja. vi. ch. 29.

(*x*) Melvil's MS. Abstract of the Acts of the Church Assembly.

(*y*) 22d Parl. Ja. vi. ch. 3.

But,

But, a still more singular scene of turmoil was now ready to open. Charles I., who found himself without a revenue, either for elegance, or use, on his accession to the throne, made a general revocation of all acts, which had been done, in prejudice of the crown, particularly those comprehending church lands, teinds, and patronages (*z*). This measure, which incited violent discontents, is mentioned, as one of the causes of the subsequent civil wars. Discontent was calmed, for a while, by a new commission, which mitigated the revocation, by concessions, and palliated deprivation, by a signification to *the land proprietors, that they might buy their own tithes.* Such were the measures, which led to an Act of parliament, which transferred the tithes from the church to the landholders, who enjoyed the sources, whence the *spirituality* proceeded (*a*). The nation had been so much habituated, since the era of the Reformation, to acts of forfeiture, and declarations of resumption, that the law of 1633 was deemed a safe cure, for many wounds. After so much distraction, *settlement* was a great object. And this measure was of vast advantage to the landholders, as they were enabled to secure their tithes, if they had not been formerly valued, either in money, or victual, at the low rates of that age; and to buy their tithes at nine, or even six years purchase, according to the circumstances of titles, and the varieties of property. The clergy had now a *mere claim* upon the appropriate tithes, wherever they might be legally found (*b*). For effectuating *this legal claim*, many commissions were issued, from that epoch of apparent settlement, to the greater era of the Union, for valuation of teinds, plantation of kirks, and modification of stipends. One of the last acts of the Union Parliament empowered the Court of Seffion to sit, as a permanent commission, for those important ends of religion, of policy, and of justice (*c*).

In executing that invidious trust, which implicated the interest of the landholders, and the stipends of the ministers, the Court of Session, as commissioners of teinds, proceeded with their accustomed prudence. They looked

(*z*) M'Kenzie's Observations, 372; Forbes's Treatise on Tithes, 258—60.

(*a*) Act 1st Parl. Charles I. ch. 17. Sir George M'Kenzie, in expounding this statute, remarks, indeed, "that though teinds be declared the *spirituality* of *benefices*; yet, they are "appointed to be sold, and the heritors are to be infeft in them, as in their other lands, *which* "*seems inconsistent with their being the spirituality of benefices, and the patrimony of the church*: But, "it may be answered, that they are, even in that case, burdened with payment of minister's "stipends, *till they be competently provided.*" Observ. on the Stat. 231.

(*b*) Sir George M'Kenzie remarks, "that the teinds of one parish cannot be assigned, for paying the stipend of another: For, by this act (1633) it is said, that the teinds shall be burdened with the stipend of the minister, serving the cure of the kirk. Observ. on the Stat. 380.

(*c*) 1st Parl. An. 4 Sess. ch. 9.

back

back upon the past, without being able to see distinctly the future (*d*). In modifying stipends, upon general principles, they did not always please: The ministers thought they were allowed too little of what ought to have been all their own: The landholders complained, that too much had been given of what their fathers had hardly acquired, amidst the struggles of reform, and the dangers of resumption. But, interest is a fastidious passion: And, neither party considered, sufficiently, that general rules must sometimes entrench on particular cases, while justice, in her blindness, is searching for truth, and right. Neither was dissatisfaction much mollified by a sort of maxim, which was early adopted, by the commission of teinds, after the Union; when it was settled, though perhaps without much consideration of the theoretic principle, or regard to practical consequences, that a stipend, which had once been augmented, could not be a second time augmented. During many years of plenty, in the 18th century, this preventive rule was not much felt (*e*). But, litigation soon after ensued, which was not soon concluded. At length, the minister of Kirkden, in Forfarshire, who was driven by necessity, or was impressed with wrong, carried his case, by appeal, into the House of Lords,

(*d*) In 1617, when the first commission of teinds was issued, the stipends were, by law, modified; the lowest, at 500 merks, Scots, or £27 : 15 : 6⅔ Sterling, or five chalders of victual; the highest, at 1,000 merks, or £55 : 11 : 1⅓ Sterling, or 10 chalders of victual. In 1633, when the tithes were transferred to the landholders, the *minimum* was raised to 800 merks, or 8 chalders of victual, and the *maximum* was left undefined. From the act of 1649, ch. 15, it appears, that the value of grain had risen to be, from 100 merks, or £5 : 11 : 1⅓, to £100 Scots, or £8 : 6 : 8 Sterling, the chalder: In some counties, it was reckoned at £5 Scots, the boll, or £80 Scots, or £6 : 13 : 4 Sterling, the Chalder: In others £100 Scots, or £8 : 6 : 8 Sterling, the chalder. This last estimate became, in the effluxion of time, the usual *court conversion*, as it is called, that is, the rate of conversion, which is followed by the court of teinds, without distinction of one part of Scotland, more than another. This *court conversion* was followed, both in adjusting ministers stipends, and in the valuations, and sales of tithes, when a conversion into money was thought necessary, although, for twenty, or thirty years past, it has been a good deal lower than the average value of the article. In 1750, when an unsuccessful application was made to parliament, for a general augmentation of the minimum, it was represented, on the part of the clergy, who felt the low prices of that period, that £100 Scots, the chalder, was rather too high a conversion, as £80 Scots were nearer the true price, in most parts of Scotland: But, a rise of the prices was even then at hand; and, in the progress of scarcity, and of dearth, the average prices have risen to be a third above the *court conversion*, and much more than a third, during recent times.

(*e*) From the Union, in 1707, to 1738, there appear to have been no augmentations. The first application for a second augmentation was made in 1742; and fifty-three augmentations were soon after applied for, and obtained. The year 1750 may be deemed the late commencement of the prosperity of Scotland: And, the augmentation of the ministers stipends kept pace with the gradual advance of every order in the state.

where

where it was considered by the Lord Chancellor, Thurlow, on the 8th of July 1784. This great judge, from a large view of the act of 1707 (*f*), gave it as his judgment, that the construction of the Court of Session was too narrow, as a rule, and too inefficacious, as a practice: And he intimated, that the court, as standing commissioners, had a right to consider all circumstances; and, as fair arbitrators, between the ministers, and the landholders, to provide suitable stipends, out of the existing tithes, to such ministers, as might claim their justice. In legal construction, indeed, the two acts of 1707, and of 1633, must be considered together: And, as the last had provided, that the Lords of Session should grant augmentations of ministers stipends, according to the established rules, the question of the suitableness of stipends must for ever occur. The members of the church assembly, who declared five hundred merks, or £27 : 15 : 6⅔ Sterling, to be a competent stipend, in 1581, spoke from the circumstances, in which they were placed: They did not foresee a change of manners, the alteration of prices, and the depreciation of money, which interest would prompt, industry create, and refinement would sanction. The competence of 1581 ought to have been much more than doubled, to provide a competence, in 1707: And the competence of 1707 must have been again doubled, to obtain a proportional competence, in 1784. Yet, captiousness, at the call of interest, still insisted, that Lord Thurlow's judgment had not decided the general principle, whether a stipend, which had once been augmented, in recent times, could be legally augmented a second time. And the minister of Tingwall was again obliged to appeal to the highest judicatory, for substantial justice. To the same judge it fell to give a similar judgment, on the 22d of May 1789, though without silencing litigiousness, or establishing right. Meanwhile, many stipends were augmented, as might be expected, indeed, from the depreciation of money, and the pressure of the times (*g*). The recent practice

(*f*) 1 Parl. An. 4 Sess. ch. 9.

(*g*) The late reverend Doctor Webster formed a very minute estimate of the ministers stipends of Scotland, in 1755. After three years similar correspondence with the ministers, I have also made a similar estimate, in 1798:

The amount of the whole stipends, in 1755, according to his estimate, was £62,115 : 18 : 2.

The amount of the same stipends, in 1798, according to my estimate, was 122,988 : 11 : 9.

These accurate statements exhibit a great augmentation of the whole stipends. Yet, the intermediate changes, in manners, in prices, and in money, must always be recollected, when a true judgment is to be formed. Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn has, by a very just, and scientific, appreciation, shown the value of money to have decreased, in the proportion of 314, in 1750, to 531, in 1795; and to 562, in 1800. See this curious, and important, Paper, in the Philosophical Transactions of

practice of augmenting stipends, and adjusting claims, partly in money, and partly in victual, according to the circumstances of the parochial products, has somewhat tended to mitigate that pressure, and to prevent the recurrence of such questions of competence (*b*).

But, from such topics, let us, at length, advert to general objects of a more exhilarating nature; to the geographical outlines, and superficial contents of the country; to its populousness, at successive epochs; to the employments of the people; and to their general character.

§ XIV. *Of its superficial Contents.*] It was the coalition of the Picts and Scots, in 843 A. D., the amalgamation of the Strathclyde Britons, in 975 A. D., and the annexation of Lothian, in 1020 A. D., that formed the kingdom of Scotland, which, in the progress of aggrandizement, acquired its modern name, from the ascendency of the Scots, in the Scoto-Saxon language. The Scotish kings obtained the Hebrides, the Orkney, and Shetland isles, in more recent times. Of the continent of Scotland, from Cape Wrath, on the north-west of Sutherland, to the Mull of Galloway, the length is about 275 statute miles: The extreme breadth, from Buchaness on the east, to Ru-na-Moan, on the western coast of Ross-shire, is 150 miles (*i*). And, the necessary result of every estimate is, that Scotland, with her numerous isles, in the superficial measurement, contains many millions of acres; and in the general contents, comprehends numerous lakes, and many mountains; much that is barren, and little, that is fertile, except in its mineral products below. But, the outline of the whole country, as well as the

of London, 1798, Part 1. In the short period, which has elapsed, since I made my estimate, some augmentations have been granted; as indeed we might infer, from Sir George Shuckburgh's scientific table.

(*b*) After infinite litigation, an act of parliament was passed, on the 30th of June 1808, for regulating and defining the powers of the commissioners of teinds, by which augmentations of stipends, after being modified, were restrained, under certain circumstances, till the expiration of fifteen, or twenty years. 48 Geo. 3. ch. 138. This act seems to have been a sort of compromise, between the landholders, who were to pay the frequent augmentations, and the clergy, who were to receive them.

(*i*) From Montrose-ness, on the east coast of Forfarshire, to Ardnamurchan point, on the west, is 140 miles: From Fife-ness to the western shore of Lorn is 115 miles. The breadth of Scotland, from Berwick to the Frith of Clyde, is 111 miles: From Buchan-ness to Husker islands, on the western extremity of the Hebrides, is 221 miles. From the Mull of Galloway to Duncansby-head is 290 miles; and from this promontory to the extremity of the Shetland isles is 167 miles, in a straight line: So that the whole extent of Scotland, including those islands, is 457 miles, in length, from north-north-east; and 221 miles, in breadth, from east to west, as before stated.

detail of every particular shire, as to its extent, and contents, as well as the population of the whole, at three successive periods, with the numbers of its fighting men, will more distinctly appear, under various views, in the TABULAR STATEMENT, which is annexed: And, so extensive will its informations be found, that its various details, if they were spread out on successive pages, would fill an ample volume.

The general nature of the annexed statement was suggested by the survey of the late Reverend Doctor Webster, in 1755: But, this *Tabular State*, which is now submitted to the reader's judgment, from the recent map of Scotland, that has been reduced, from the large map, in the king's library, will be found to be more extensive in its general notices, and more accurate, perhaps, in its particular parts; arising from the new notices of subsequent surveys. The first division contains the shires: The second comprehends the ancient divisions of Celtic times: Then follow the *length*, and *breadth* of each shire, with its *contents*, in square miles, and statute acres. The number of parishes is next denoted. There now succeeds the amount of its population, in each shire, at three successive periods; in 1755; in 1791; and in 1801. The numbers of people, in the first period, were taken from Doctor Webster's Tables, which were estimated, from the returns, that were made to him, by the ministers of the respective parishes, between the years 1750, and 1755 (*k*). The numbers, in 1791, were taken from the Statistical Accounts of the several ministers, who were most competent to ascertain the various facts (*l*). The numbers, in 1801, were derived, chiefly, from the returns, which were made, under the Parliamentary Survey of that year (*m*). The Survey of 1801 may still be regarded, as under the real numbers; owing to concealments, and misinformations.

(*k*) The population of several districts was by him stated too high, by making additions, for persons non-examinable, who had, in fact, been comprehended in the returns. Several of those over-statements have been now corrected, from information, which the ministers have subsequently supplied out of their parish records: Yet, are there still some instances, wherein those tables are suspected of being somewhat over-rated; so as to induce a belief, that the whole people, in 1755, may be regarded, as rather above, than below the real numbers, in that year.

(*l*) Where those accounts are either defective, or inapplicable, they have been corrected from subsequent inquiries, which the ministers, or other well-informed inhabitants, were studious to answer: From the diligence, with which the population of 1791 has been made up, it may now be deemed much more accurate, than that of 1755.

(*m*) Several errors, in the returns of 1801, have been corrected; and various deficiences have been supplied, from enumerations, that were subsequently made by ministers, at my request; By these means, defective returns have been amended, to the amount of almost 20,000 souls.

To

To the Tabular number, in 1801, of - -	1,618,303,
May be added the merchants' seamen - -	11,500 (*n*);
The men in the army and militia - - -	30,600 (*o*);
The men in the service of the navy, and custom house	19,620 (*p*).
	1,680,023.

If to this total of 1,680,023 souls, the omissions, in 1801, were added, the real numbers, at that epoch, in Scotland, would amount to 1,700,000 souls. By comparing the numbers, in 1791, with those in 1801, we may see that, in this period of ten years, the people of Scotland increased more than 104,000; or rather, more than 10,400 a-year; whence we may infer, that the same country will probably contain 2,000,000, in 1830 A. D. The column of *fighting men* was adjusted, by finding the number of *males*, between sixteen and sixty years of age; and deducting from this amount one in twenty for those, who, from accidental circumstances, might be unfit for service. It may easily be supposed, that the sum of the fighting men must vary, according to the greater, or less proportion of the males, and females, in different shires. And, the numbers of fighting men, which were thus found, were 376,760, in North-Britain. The last column of this Tabular State gives a varied view of the population of the several districts of that country, by showing the number of persons, who reside on each square mile; and thereby showing incidentally that, Mid-Lothian, as it contains the metropolis, is the most populous; and Renfrewshire, as it is the most commercial, is the next, in numbers, within every mile; having from its greater employments, in agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, increased, with the most rapid course, during the last fifty years.

§ XV. *Of its Argicultural State.*] From such details, it is natural to diverge to other topics of a general nature; to intimations of agriculture, and traffic, in successive periods; and to those various, and important considerations, which are so intimately connected with both. The very name of CALEDONIA,

(*n*) In 1800, the numbers of seamen, who belonged to the merchants ships, were certified, by the custom house, to amount to 14,820; very few of whom were included in the returns of 1801.

(*o*) In march 1801, the land forces of Great Britain were 198,351; whereof the proportion for Scotland was 30,600.

(*p*) In march 1801, the seamen, and marines, in the king's service, were 127,176; whereof the proportion for Scotland was 19,620.

plainly imports, as we have seen, that in those ages, when this appellation was significant, and instructive, the country was clothed with *woods*. It continued to be covered with woods, during the Roman period of the North-British annals, which ended, in 446 A. D.; during the Pictish, and the Scotish periods, that closed, in 1097: And it was still sheltered with copsewood, throughout the Scoto-Saxon period, which ended amidst bloody warfare, in 1306 A. D. (*q*). The emperor Severus began the destruction of the Caledonian woods (*r*); the ambitious Edward III. well-nigh completed their extinction (*s*): But, the waste of war, and the consumption of fire, were not so destructive to the Scotish woodlands, as the devastations of time and chance, and the *ten thousand harms, that are hatched*, by neglect, and idleness (*t*).

The Caledonian woods long gave shelter, and pasturage, to various animals, which no longer exist, within North-Britain (*u*). Throughout many an age of rude society, hunting, and pasturage, were the principal occupations, as they were the principal subsistence of a wretched people. Long after agriculture began her operations, at the commencement of the twelfth century, the Scotish woodlands furnished mast, and pasture, and harbour, to numerous herds of swine, droves of cattle, studs of horses, and flocks of sheep (*x*). The introduction of a new people, who possessed the habits, and the knowledge, which they had acquired, in countries of more refinement, gave unwonted energy, during the twelfth century, to all the pursuits of an improving husbandry. The woods were now cleared away, and villages were reared; meadows were drained, and the fields were manured; hay was preserved, and corn was cultivated; mills were erected, malting was practised; and brewhouses were built, in every hamlet. During that period, the kings, and earls, the bishops, and abbots, were the great farmers, who carried on their operations, by means of their cottars, and villeyns. They reared numerous beasts of every kind; they cultivated corn of every sort, with such skill, and success, as to be scarcely credible, in modern times: Horticulture was practised, and orchyards were planted. (*y*). As the result of all those georgical pursuits, we hear of the import and export of corn, amid the frequent returns of scarcity, and of famine (*z*). The rude produce of the country, its wool, and skins, and hides, were the articles of exportation to more industrious countries, which supplied the Scottish people with such luxuries, as were then in vogue. Before the sad

(*q*) See Caledonia, i. 791—3. (*r*) Ib. 186—188. (*s*) Knyghton, 2674-5.
(*t*) Caledonia, i. 792. (*u*) Pennant's Tour. (*x*) Caledonia, i. bk. iv. ch. vi.
(*y*) Ib. 801-2. (*z*) Ib. 797.

demise

demise of Alexander III., in 1286, they had acquired, under a beneficent government, much happiness, plenty, and peace.

But, a grievous change immediately ensued. The competition for the crown ended in wasteful wars, which endured, with short intermissions, for more than half a century. Even through many a subsequent age, it was the usual practice of the English armies, in their frequent inroads into North-Britain, to burn the villages, and waste the country (*a*). It was impossible for any industry to repair such frequent devastations, or for any diligence to pursue the usual operations of systematic agriculture: A single invasion of a wasteful foe destroyed the provident labour of many years. While the kings, and nobles, the bishops and abbots, were the principal husbandmen of North-Britain, there were few free farmers; the great body of the people being villeyns. In the progress of refinement, and the spread of beneficence, the villeyns gained freedom, and property, while the free farmers obtained long leases of the lands, and also of the stock, to manure them; as the same practice, arising equally from the want of agricultural capital, had also long existed, in England (*b*). Before the middle of the fifteenth century, a considerable change, in this respect, had taken place. The farmers had acquired some stock, while the landlords had wasted theirs. The property of the tenant was now too often applied in paying the debts of the lords. In 1469, an act of parliament was passed, for preventing any more of the property of the husbandman, from being applied to the discharging of the debts of the landlords, than the current rents (*c*). It marked an additional progress, when it was provided by law, that the sale of the estate should not affect the rights of the tenants. But, what availed such protections to the tillers of the earth, while family feuds so often wasted every district of a wretched land (*d*).

Connected

(*a*) Knyghton, 2674-5; Murden, and Haines's State Papers; Border History, 515, 550—6. The Scots, no doubt, retaliated.

(*b*) Caledonia, i. 790.

(*c*) James III. ch. 36: "That the pure tenants sall pay na further than their tenant-mail, for "their lords debts, be the brief of distress." The Parliamentary Record contains the clearest proofs of the necessity of such a law; as it shews the rapaciousnes, and rigour, with which the stock of the tenants was constantly carried off, by unfeeling claimants: Yet, the same record evinces, that this statute was not very efficiently executed.

(*d*) We may perceive, in the Parliamentary Record, 234, an enumeration of the several feuds, which embroiled every shire in Scotland, during the year 1478. It may gratify a reasonable curiosity to see a series of the prices of various articles, which are chiefly connected with agriculture, during

Connected with agriculture, and prices, are the *fiers of the year*. These are the rates, which are yearly ascertained, by the sheriffs, of the several sorts of grain, the growth of the preceding crop: And being thus solemnly settled, by the chief magistrate of the shire, the fiers serve as a customary rule, for ascertaining the prices, not only in contracts, where the parties cannot agree, but in sales, where it is stipulated to accept of the rates, as fixed by the sheriffs' *fiers of the year* (*e*). The origin of this practice, in the georgical economy of Scotland, is extremely obscure: My researches have not found it mentioned, in the Scotish statute-book (*f*). As it is a fiscal practice, it probably began, from

during those disatrous times; and which were extracted from the curious Records of the city of Aberdeen.

In A. D. 1435, wheat was 7s. Scots the boll; malt 4s. a-boll; and meal 3s. 8 pennies, a-boll.

In 1448, a boll of meal sold for 4 pence, [4s. Scots]; malt, at 4s. Scots a-boll; wheat 7 pence [7s. Scots] a-boll.

In 1453, the ale was ordered to be sold, for 8 pennies Scots, a-gallon.

In 1475, wheat was 7 pence [7s. Scots] a-boll.

In 1478, ale was 12 pennies a-gallon, the highest; the penny loaf of wheaten bread was directed to be 20 oz., while wheat continued within 7s. Scots a-boll.

In 1507, the best mutton, the bulk, or carcase, 2s. 8d. Scots.

In 1508, a barrel of salmon was 55s. Scots.

In 1517, wheat was 12s Scots, a-boll.

In 1522, the best mutton, the bulk, or carcase, was 3s. Scots; the best ale 8 pennies, the gallon.

In 1523, lambs were 20 pennies each.

In 1526, ale was 16 pennies, the gallon.

In 1527, wine was 20l. Scots a-tun.

In 1528, the loaf of oaten bread 16 oz. for 1 penny; while the meal continued at 16s. Scots, a-boll.

In 1531, sheeps tallow was 6s. Scots a-stone, [of 16 lb.]; nolts tallow was 5s. Scots a-stone.

In 1532, bear was 22s. Scots a-boll.

In 1545, wine, red, and white, was 14 pennies, the Scots pint, [half a gallon.]

In 1547, the best mutton, the bulk, or carcase, 6s. 8d. Scots; inferior mutton 5s. Scots; sheeps tallow 10s. Scots, a-stone; nolts tallow 8s. Scots, a-stone; wine at 16l. a-tun, to be retailed at 8 pennies Scots, a-pint, [half a gallon]; wine at 20l. a-tun, to be retailed at ten pennies a pint; and wine at 24l. a-tun, to be retailed at 12ds. the pint.

In 1550, ale was 20ds. Scots, a gallon; the best mutton, the bulk, 7s. Scots. Provisions rose much in price, during the 16th century. With all those prices, the more curious reader may compare the ancient prices, reduced to their value, in modern money, in Ruddiman's Table III. Introduction to Anderson's Diplom. Scotiæ.

(*e*) Those fiers have been lately referred to, by parliament, in the act 48 Geo. III. ch. 138., for regulating, and defining the powers of the commissioners of teinds, in augmenting the stipends of the clergy of Scotland.

(*f*) It is not once alluded to, in the act of 1618, "anent the settling of measures and weights." It is inferible from this act upon the very point, that the annual practice of fixing *the fiers*, by the sheriffs,

from some act of the pseudo-legislation of the privy council, or some order of the exchequer. The practice was begun in the agricultural county of Hadington, during the year 1627 (*g*). It was gradually introduced into other shires; owing to particular circumstances: And a new mode has been superinduced upon the old, of ascertaining the prices of the several sorts of grain, during our own times, by the parliamentary regulations, respecting the exportation, and importation of grain (*h*). The origin of the word *fiers* is as obscure, as the commencement of this singular practice. The word is not Saxon; and it may undoubtedly be traced to the old French *Feurre*, and perhaps even to the ancient Gaulish Ffair (*i*).

At

sheriffs, did not then exist. This practice is not mentioned, in the acts 1633, 1 parl. Ch. 1. ch. 17, and ch. 19, "for valuation of teinds not valued, rectifying the valuations of the same already made, "and other particulars therein contained." Yet, the practice did exist, in some shires, at this epoch. And it was first authorized, perhaps, by an order of the Court of Session, dated the 21st of December 1723. Acts of Sederunt, i. 253.

(*g*) Transactions of the Antiq. Society of Edinburgh, v. i. p 90, wherein there is "an exact "copy of the fiers, or prices of grain, of the county of East Lothian, *since their commencement, in the* "*year* 1627, to the present date: Extracted from the sheriff court books of Hadingtonshire; the "prices being converted into sterling money." The mode of settling those fiers by William Law, the celebrated sheriff-depute of this shire, is set forth, as follows: "In place of calling a jury, he "has been in the use, annually, in the end of February, or the beginning of March, to summon "before himself sixty, or eighty buyers, and sellers, of all the different kinds of grain, of the "preceding crop, from the several quarters of the county; these he examined upon oath, as to "the different prices, at which they had bought, and sold; and from this evidence, struck the "fiers, in the following manner: He collected the total quantity proved of each species of grain; "and from this, he found the medium price of one boll; then he collected the total quantity of "what had been sold above the general medium, and found the medium of that; he collected in "the next place, all that had been sold under the general medium, and found the medium thereof. "To each of those mediums, he added 2½ per cent., and the medium of what was sold above the "general medium, with the aforesaid addition; so as thus to constitute the 1st fiers; the general "medium, with the same addition, constituted the 2d fiers; and the medium of what sold under "the general medium, with the like addition, constituted the 3d fiers: The reason of the addition "of 2½ per cent. was, that about four-fifths of the grain sold, in East Lothian, by the fiers, was "sold on six months credit, which he considered as equal to 2½ per cent., or for what victual it "was proved had been sold for ready money, a proportional allowance was made." Such was the intelligent practice of that able, and upright magistrate. Almost every other sheriff has a different practice, in settling the fiers of their several shires: So that more weight is allowed to this practice, as a general rule, than perhaps it deserves. The late Doctor Smith thought highly of it. Wealth of Nations, i. 290.

(*h*) 30 G. 3. ch. 1. ch. 42; 31 G. 3. ch. 4; 31 G. 3. ch. 30.

(*i*) See Lacombe, in vo. *Feurre*, prix, taux, estimation, taxe; Bullet, in vo. *Ffair*, foire, the *fair* of the English; and Owen's Welsh Dict. in vo. *Fair*, a fair: See Borel, in vo. *Feur*, who derives this word from the Latin *forum*; and so Menage, in vo. *Feur*: But, the true derivation, as

we

At length arrived, the Restoration, and the Revolution, which were both epochs of improvement, in agriculture, as well as in government. Laws were passed for the planting, and inclosing of ground (*k*). Acts of the legislature were made, to promote the laying out *runrig*; and to the dividing of commons (*l*). Bounties were given, by the first parliament of William, on the exportation of corn. In 1696, the parliament, amidst the *dear years of the Revolution*, promoted the export of corns, without the payment of duty, but with the encouragement of a bounty (*m*); the legislature "considering that, "*the grains* are the greatest product of the nation." The dividing, the appropriating, the inclosing of the common lands, were attended with the most beneficial effects, at least in the southern shires. The act of Union extended the English bounties on grain to Scotland, and adopted a bounty on bigg, oatmeal, and malt of wheat (*n*).

There were other encouragements given to agriculture, in those enterprizing times. Various treatises were successively published, for enlightening an intelligent people (*o*). In 1723, were formed, at the metropolis of North-

we have seen above, is from the *Celtic*, and not the *Latin*. Sibbald, the Scotish glossarist, is more happy than usual, in his etymon of the *feirs of the year*, from the French *feur*, which is certainly the real origin of the word, in the Scotish practice. The prejudice of Dr. Jamieson will have the spelling of the word to be *fiar*; in order to derive it from the Isl. *fiar*, fear, the gen. of *fe*. The spelling of this word, in Lord Stair's Institutes, is *phyars*. Yet, analogy, and fitness, require the spelling of Sibbald; in order to avoid the clash with another *fiar*, in the Scotish jurisprudence, of a quite different signification.

(*k*) 1 Cha. II. 41; 2 Cha. II. 17: An act was at the same time passed, for encouraging the export of corn. 2 Cha. II. ch. 14.

(*l*) 1 Wm. III. ch. 23. ch. 38. (*m*) 1 Wm. III. ch. 32. (*n*) 5 An. ch. 18.

(*o*) In 1698, was printed at Edinburgh, *Husbandry Anatomized*, or several rules, and measures, for the better improvement of the ground. In 1706, was given to the public, by Lord Belhaven, "Advice to the farmers of East Lothian, how to improve their grounds." In 1724, the society of improvers, at Edinburgh, published "a Treatise, *on fallowing, raising grasses*," &c. In 1729, was printed, at Edinburgh, "An Essay on the ways and means, for inclosing, fallowing, "and planting Scotland." In 1733, was published, at Edinburgh, by Patrick Lyndsay, "The "Interest of Scotland considered, as to police, *agriculture*, trade, and fishery." In 1743, the *Select Essays* of the society of improvers in the knowledge of agriculture were sent into the world, by their able secretary Robert Maxwell, who closed an useful life, in May 1765. That zealous agriculturist, moreover, published, in March 1747, the *Practical Beemaster*; in April 1747, a *Letter to the Clergy*, directing the improvement of their glebes; in August 1747, the *Practical Husbandman*. At Edinburgh, in 1765, was published, in two volumes, by A. Dickson, *A Treatise on Agriculture*. Lord Kaimes published, a *work on agriculture*, in 1767. In the same year, there were printed, at Edinburgh, "Select Essays, *on Husbandry*, from the *Museum Rusticum*." These intimations are alone sufficient to show, that the people of Scotland had thus opportunities enow of being well acquainted with the theories of agriculture.

Britain,

Britain, the society of improvers, which consisted of all, who were eminent, in that country; and which continued to energize their countrymen, till the tumultuous year 1745. In 1754, was formed, at the same intelligent city, a society, for promoting the arts and sciences, which continued, for years, to instruct, and inspirit a willing people. The Highland Society was established, in 1784, chartered, in 1787, and enabled, by parliament, in 1789, to pursue the useful ends of this well-conducted association (*p*).

The result of all those facilities, instructions, and helps, will appear most distinctly, in the following TABLE; exhibiting to the reader's eye, the export of every sort of corn, of flour, and of meal, at given epochs, the imports of the same articles; the excesses of both, with the prices of wheat, during the same periods:

The Epochs;	The Exports;	The Excesses thereof.	The Imports;	The Excesses thereof.	The prices of wheat, according to the *fiers* of Hadington, per boll, and a 5 years average, ending
	qrs.	qrs.	qrs.	qrs.	
5 years average ending with 1712	27,960	27,929	31	—	in 1712 14s. 4d.
The same with 1717	47,668	47,668	—	—	The same in 1717 15 0
The same with 1722	57,522	57,522	—	—	The same in 1722 12 4
The same with 1727	29,588	29,549	39	—	The same in 1727 15 10
The same with 1732	20,144	20,114	—	—	The same in 1732 12 2
The same with 1737	35,602	35,600	2	—	The same in 1737 12 10
The same with 1742	26,920	18,786	8,134	—	The same in 1742 13 3
The same with 1747	39,753	39,741	12	—	The same in 1747 17 8
The same with 1752	49,015	46,129	2,885	—	The same in 1752 13 2
The same with 1757	10,996	7,022	3,974	—	The same in 1757 15 2
The same with 1762	34,651	30,017	4,634	—	The same in 1762 14 0
The same with 1767	12,021	—	28,381	16,306	The same in 1767 18 6
The same with 1772	6,221	—	41,063	35,138	The same in 1772 18 10
The same with 1777	7,204	—	79,155	71,944	The same in 1777 19 2
The same with 1782	40,921	23,636	17,285	—	The same in 1782 18 7
4 years average with 1786	21,390	—	136,788	115,397	The same in 1787 19 6
5 years average with 1791	20,616	—	146,980	126,364	4 years average in 1791 21 5
The same with 1796	4,603	—	145,727	141,123	5 years average per W. qr. in 1796 52 10
The same with 1801	11,787	—	165,496	153,709	The same in 1801 66 7

This *Table*, and the topics, which are connected with it, admit of much observation. The price of wheat, according to a twenty years average, ending with 1689, the epoch of the first bounty, after many good seasons, when the

(*p*) They have published, in successive years, three volumes of very instructive Prize Essays, on various topics of georgical improvements. The boll is equal to 4.0872667. Win. bushels.

prices of corns had been remarkably uniform, was 11s. 11d. a-boll, from an estimate of the Hadington prices, as ascertained by the sheriff, with the assistance of a jury. Those fine seasons did not long continue. The *dear years of the Revolution* immediately succeeded: And the value of wheat rose to the enormous price of 25s. 5d. a-boll, according to the same estimate of the Hadington market. At the Union, in 1706, the English bounties were adopted into the policy of Scotland, when the price of wheat, in that market, had fallen to 7s. 9d. a-boll, which, we see, was much below the average of twenty years, ending with 1689. The Union had very opposite effects on two of the products of agriculture, in Scotland: Wool, which could not now be exported to any other country than England, fell to a ruinous depreciation: Corn, as it was now admitted into the markets of England, enjoyed thereafter a perceivable rise, in its price. The agriculture of Scotland, which thus became subject to the same law, as the husbandry of England, partook of the same benefits, and felt the same vicissitudes. After both had been greatly improved, the export of corn, which had brought much money into the nation, stopt soon after the auspicious commencement of the present reign. It was that improvement, which gave rise to a sort of revolution, in the residence of the people: The inhabitants of the hamlets, and villages, were, by the agricultural system, driven from the country into towns, when they ceased to be producers, and began to be consumers: There was perhaps a change also in the mode of living, when manners became less simple, and consumption more profuse. Meantime, there are certain truths, in respect to this subject, which cannot be controverted: The surface of our island has been much more improved, in the present reign, than it had ever experienced, in any age: There have been, in that period, much more skill, and capital, and labour, usefully employed in agriculture, than in any former period: And better manurance, and more skillful agriculture, necessarily must produce a greater quantity of victual, the seasons being favourable. But, the consumption had even gone beyond the produce, great as it was; because the people had greatly increased, both in their numbers, and expences. And, it is a principle of the mercantile system, which has been assumed by the agricultural, that nothing is a gain to the state, that is not exported, for the purchase of strangers. The apprehension of a wrong balance of trade has not created more panic, or more scribbling, than the *unfavourable excess*, in the the export, and import of corn. On this occasion, it was remarked, justly, "that we ascribe too much to human contrivance, and too little to providential "superintendance." (*q*) From this intimation, the remarker was naturally led

(*q*) The Argicult. Treatise of the Rev. John Howlet.

to

to infer, " that the various changes in our *corn laws* had no effect on the export " of grain." It is sufficiently apparent, that the legislature can regulate neither the seasons, nor the depreciation of money; can neither prevent the augmentation of the people, nor their vast consumption. From the epoch of the first bounty on corn, in 1689, till 1800, the depreciation of money has been, in the ratio, of 226 to 562 (*r*). And from this *appreciation*, we may infer, that the *dear years* of late times were not comparable, in excess, and misery, to the *dear years* of the reigns of Anne, and of William: The better state of our agriculture, at present, the greater activity of our trade, and the more vigorous interposition of general beneficence, tended, in a high degree, to mitigate popular distress, and to relieve the general anxiety.

§ XVI. *Of its Roads.*] Connected with the practice of agriculture, is the policy of *Roads*. The Roman people, who excelled in road-making, constructed roads, within North-Britain, during the first century: During the second, they extended the usefulness of their *ways*, from the Cheviot hills to the Moray frith (*s*). After the Roman abdication, neither the Pictish period, nor the Scotish, was favourable to the beneficial system of Roads, as the rudeness of the Picts, and the wildness of the Scots, did not enable them to perceive the innumerable advantages of convenient communications. From the accession of David I., to the demise of Alexander III., the useful policy of *the king's high-ways* was perfectly understood; as we may learn from the several chartularies. The art of road making was known, throughout the same period. During that era, when so much of the economy of agriculture consisted in the feeding of flocks, and in the change of pasturage, *cross roads* were chiefly defective, in every district: And, we may see, in the chartularies, the monks applying for the right of passage from the proprietors of the soil, who readily exchanged temporal accommodation, for spiritual favour (*t*). The earliest

(*r*) Transactions of the Royal Society of Lond. 1798, p. 176.

(*s*) The course, and the policy of the Roman roads, in Northern Britain, were ascertained in Caledonia, i. 133 to 149.

(*t*) Caledonia, 804: See the juridical doctrine of *ways*, and *passages*, in Stair's Institutes, p. 286-7. The notion of this great lawyer was, that " ways are a part of the reservation from " property, and the necessary vestige of the ancient community of the earth: Free ish and entry " are implied in the very right of property, though not expressed." The truth is, as we have seen above, from the chartularies, that the king's high-ways existed, as early as the municipal law of Scotland; and Lord Stair's notion of a right of passage, as an incident of property in the soil, is contradicted both by the fact, and by the practice, during the Scoto-Saxon period of the Scotish annals.

statute, which seems to have protected the right of passage, was enacted under the minority of Mary Stewart (*u*) The various statutes of Scotland, for making, and amending roads, were enforced, and enlarged, by the first parliament of George I., when the important use of Roads was fully understood (*x*). It was, in this reign, that the military roads were made, in Scotland, by Marshall Wade (*y*). Roads, in England, were amended by the collection of tolls, as early as the reign of Edward III., though not by the authority of parliament. The first statute, for gathering tolls at turnpikes, in order to make, or repair roads, was enacted soon after the Restoration (*z*). The first act of parliament, for the same useful end, in Scotland, was made ninety years after that auspicious epoch (*a*). The active spirit of improvement was at length roused from a long-enduring lethargy. And, the successful practice of road-making, by means of tolls, in a short effluxion of years, was introduced, with the most beneficial consequences, throughout the southern shires of Scotland (*b*). But, it was not till recent times, that a plan of the noblest, and most extensive sort,

(*u*) 1555, ch. 53; this act was extended, and enforced, by that of 1592, ch. 159. But, it was not till the Restoration, that the roads to market towns were required to be *twenty feet broad.* 1 Parl. Char. II. 1 sess. ch. 38. The Statute of Winton 13 Ed. I. required, that the roads of England should be enlarged, and the bushes cleared away, on each side, for two hundred feet. The act of the 2d parl. ch. 11. sess. 2. ch 16., required the justices, and sheriffs, to oversee, and mend the roads.

(*x*) 5 Geo. I. ch. 30.

(*y*) They were begun, in 1720, and completed, in 1730. Such roads may have facilitated the driving of cattle from the Highlands: But, they were of little benefit to the agriculture, or improvement of a rugged country. The policy, which Wade commenced, was continued by his successors, in North-Britain. In 1770, the parliament began to make annual grants of £6,998, for repairing the *new* roads of communication, and building bridges, in the Highlands of Scotland. These recent roads were probably of more use than those by Wade, fifty years before this salutary measure of a wise legislature. There was published, in January 1746, by Thomas Willdey, "a map of "the king's roads, made by General Wade, in the Highlands of Scotland, from Stirling to "Inverness, with the adjacent countries."

(*z*) 15 Ch. II. chap. i.: This is truly said, by Anderson, to have been the first turnpike act, in England. Chron. Deduct. of Commerce, ii. 122.

(*a*) 23 Geo. II. ch. 17., for repairing the roads from Dunglasbridge to Hadington. In the ten years, which followed 1750, there were successive turnpike acts passed for Edinburghshire, for Lanarkshire, and various ways, that are connected with Edinburgh, and Glasgow.

(*b*) See the several acts of parliament in the Statute Book, from 1750 to 1801. In 1762, the parliament gave £4,000 towards building the bridge across the Tweed, at Coldstream, and making the subservient roads. The parliament afterwards voted £800 for making a road from Balantrae, in Ayrshire, to Stranraer, in order to facilitate the passage to Ireland.

was

was adopted by parliament, under the happiest influences, for making the most commodious communications, throughout the highland districts, and northern shires (*c*).

§. XVII. *Of its Coins.*] Connected with agriculture, and prices, and roads, are *coins*, which are the convenient measure of commodities. By recapitulating the egregious figments of the Scotish history, on the subject of coinage, Bishop Nicolson has deluded his readers; owing to his want of knowledge, and his passion for what is antique. After romancing about the money of King Reutha, who never existed, he supposes it probable, that King Donald, "a good and "religious king," who flourished, according to the fiction of Skene, in the year of Christ 199; and was the first, that coined money of gold, and silver, may have introduced money among the Scots, before the *Scoticæ Gentes* were known, among the nations (*d*). That industrious bibliographer, who had not learned to reject the fabulosity of Boece, the falsehoods of Buchanan, or the absurdities of their followers, has, however, some intimations, on this subject, which he received from Sharpe, the archbishop of York, that merit attention. Neither of them seems to have perceived what is so obvious, at present, that Celtic Scotland never coined (*e*). Coinage, in North-Britain, cannot be carried beyond the twelfth century. Alexander I., who began his reign in 1107 A. D., coined some silver pennies, which may be seen among the *numismata Scotiæ* (*f*). David I., and William, his grandson, and Alexander II., and Alexander III., followed the nummary example of Alexander I. During their successive reigns, there were no other than *silver* coins. Throughout the whole of the Scoto-Saxon period of the North-British annals, the Scotish coins were of the same fashion, weight, and fineness, as the English: In that period, the mode of calculation, and the money of account, were exactly the same, in the two British kingdoms (*g*). It was in the wretched reign of David II., that the

(*c*) See the Parliamentary Reports on this important policy of making roads, and building bridges.

(*d*) Scots Hist Library, ch. xiii., of the medals, and coins of Scotland. What the bishop says of the money of Malcolm II. scarcely merits confutation; the *Leges Malcolmi* having been exploded, as most egregious fables. We know, from the satisfactory information of facts, that *cattle* were the *coins* of Scotland, during many a simple age, after Malcolm II. had been entombed among his fathers, in Iona.

(*e*) Caledonia, i. 805-6.

(*f*) Anderson's Diplomata Scotiæ; and Lord Pembroke's Coins.

(*g*) Nicolson's Scots Hist. Lib. 306-7; Diplom. Scotiæ; Rudiman's Preface, § 51: Yet, though

the coinage of Scotland was first debased, when they were prohibited, in England (*h*). Gold pieces were originally introduced under Robert II., who ascended the throne, in 1371; and who coined £17 12s. out of one pound of gold (*i*). To the silver, and gold coins, were added, by James III., perhaps by prior princes, a copper coinage. Coins continued to be minted, in all those metals, though of various values, and dissimilar fashions, till the Union of Scotland, with England (*k*). It was now agreed, that the circulating coins of North-

though coins existed, fines were imposed, and taxes were collected, throughout the Scoto-Saxon period, in cattle, and other products of the country. Statute Book: Ayloff's Calendar. Throughout that period, also, the Scots adopted into their political economy the enigmatical term, *Sterling* money. Caledonia, i. 806.

(*h*) Ib. § 53. From the early reign of Alexander I., to the recent age of James V., the purity of the standard of *silver* coins continued at 11 oz. fine and 18 pw. of alloy, out of which was coined £1, till the time of David II., when £1 5s. were coined out of the ancient standard: From this epoch, the value of the money coined was successively changed, in every reign, till James V. altered both the standard fineness, and the amount of money coined out of the pound of silver: Hence, the money of account, in Scotland, and in England, became different.

(*i*) The fineness of the gold, at the mint, was 11 oz. 18 pw. 18 gr.; having 1 pw. 18 gr. of alloy: This fineness, and alloy, continued the same till 1555, under the infancy of Mary Stewart, when it was changed to 11 oz. fine, with 1 oz. of alloy; and this standard continued till the reign of George II.; while the money of account, which was coined out of the pound of gold, thus alloyed, was changed, in every reign, from that of Robert II. Ruddiman's Preface, Table i.

(*k*) See the Tables, No. 1. 2. in Ruddiman's Preface to Anderson's Diplomata, and Cardonel's Numismata. While the coins of the neighbour nations were the same, in real value, they freely passed, in the two countries, without any difference of account. There was, however, at all times a natural exchange between distant places of the two kingdoms. This natural exchange consisted of the expence for the trouble, and risque, of sending money, from, and to those distant places. But, an alteration took place, in 1355, when the standard of the Scotish coinage was deteriorated. From this epoch, the English coins were more valued, in Scotland, than the Scotish, nearly in proportion to the deterioration. At first, three, then two, and afterwards one of the English pennies, became equal to four Scotish: In 1502, by the marriage treaty of James IV. with Margaret of England, her jointure of £2,000 Sterling was deemed equal to £6,000 Scots: Hence, the money of England was to the money of Scotland, as one to three. In 1544, 6,800 merks Scots were deemed equal to 1,700 merks English: Hence, says Keith, 36, the inequality, was as four to one. We have formerly seen how early the expression of *Sterling money* was introduced into the economy of Scotland. There has been great debate, saith Mr. Solicitor General Purvis, what this *Sterling money* was; some alledging, that the king's money should be paid, in *white* money, in respect of the great quantity of copper coin, which was then used; others say, that it was to be paid in *Sterling* money, which was decided, in February 1600, to be according to the intrinsic value of the money at £10 Scots, for every one pound Sterling: As it was decided, in an action by

North-Britain ſhould be recoined of the English standard. At that epoch, there existed of specie, consisting of different coins of various nations, in Scotland, near nine hundred thousand pounds, which were now recoined, with very little addition of paper circulation.

§ XVIII. *Of its Banks.*] Connected with the coins are banks, and paper money. The original bankers were the money-getting monks (*l*). The first establishment of this kind, in North-Britain, was the *Bank of Scotland*, which was settled, at Edinburgh, in 1695. Thirty years elapsed, however, before the bank derived much profit from the country, or the country much benefit from the bank (*m*.) The people were not prepared to obtain much advantage, from such an instrument of industry. During the reign of Anne, that well-known projector, John Law, proposed, by means of paper money, to melt into coinage all the lands of Scotland: But, neither the parliament, nor the people, were disposed to receive his projects, at a time, when the benefits of banks were not understood, as great commercial means. Other banks, however, were at length established: The *Royal Bank*, in 1727; the British Linen Company, in 1746; the Aberdeen bank, in 1746; and the two banks, at Glasgow, in 1750 (*n*). This year may be deemed the epoch of improvements, in Scotland. The great want of every people, during the infancy of their industry, is commercial capital. Those banks, which spread out their several branches to almost every hamlet, in North-Britain, supplied that essential want,

by David Moray of Gospatric, knight, comptroller, against William Barclay, burges of Montrose: In the which action, the comptroller charged the said borough for payment of the feu-duty, in Sterling money, at £12 Scots, for every pound Sterling; but the Lords deemed at £10 Scots, as before expressed. Exchequer MS. Yet, the Scots money soon after settled at the ultimate rate of *twelve* for *one* of English Sterling, which was confirmed, at the accession of King James, by his proclamation of the 8th of April 1603. The difficulties, which occurred of old, in conveying money from one kingdom to another, were very embarrassing; as we see in the Border History, 439. In 1560, the Duke of Norfolk was extremely distressed how to convey money to Leith, for payment of the English soldiers; owing to the weight of the specie, and the want of carts. Ib. 601. When it was proposed, in 1562, that Mary Stewart should visit Elizabeth, two modes were proposed to facilitate the payment of the Scotish queen's expences: (1), That £10,000 worth of the specie of Scotland should be paid to the governor of Berwick, who, in return, was to repay an equivalent sum, in the specie of England; (2), It was proposed, that Elizabeth should make current the Scots coins, at their proportional worth. Ib. 608. The two queens found other objects to occupy them, than such idle jaunts. In the rudest parts of Scotland, the Scotish money of account has at length given way to the English.

(*l*) Caledonia, i. 785. (*m*) Ib. 873. (*n*) Ib. 876.

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in the most commodious manner. Every industrious person, who had property of any kind, could convert it into exchangeable value. In fact, John Law's project was, in a great measure, realized, by the commodious facilities of the country banks. It was by those means, that the Scotish banks promoted the industry, and augmented the opulence of the Scotish people, beyond the belief of fond philosophers.

§ XIX. *Of its Weights and Measures.*] With all those topics, are connected considerations, in regard to weights, and measures, which Scotland derived, chiefly, from England, during the twelfth century (*o*). Whatever may have been their variety, they long continued to answer all the practical uses of an uncommercial people. The parliament of Scotland endeavoured, by successive laws, to obtain that desirable object, by appointing several standards. To Edinburgh was assigned the keeping of the standard *ell;* to Perth, the *reel;* to Lanark, the *pound;* to Linlithgow, the *firlot;* and to Stirling, the *jug;* with a view, perhaps, to their respective manufactures: Yet, those standards seem not to have been very carefully kept; and the Stirling jug, like *the Tower pound*, was actually lost, till it was discovered by the Reverend Alexander Bryce of Kirknewton, who was zealous to apply his great mathematical knowledge, in promoting the various purposes of daily life. The benefits of a sameness of measures, and of weights, within the same country, was acknowledged from the experience of the past, and a prescience of the future. Yet, though the act of Union declared (*p*), that there should be such an uniformity, in the United Kingdom, their dissimilarity still continues to perplex our theorists, more than to embarrass our dealers; so wedded are people to their practices; as we may indeed learn from the various laws, and numerous treatises, which have been successively published, on this difficult subject (*q*).

§ XX. *Of*

(*o*) Caledonia, i. bk. iv. ch. vi.

(*p*) 5 Anne, ch. 18.

(*q*) See a Treatise of weights, mets, and measures of Scotland: By Alexander Hunter, burges of Edinburgh: Edin. 1624: This was reprinted at Edinburgh, in 1690. John Reid printed, in a folio page, at Edin., in 1706, "The State of the weights and measures of Scotland and England." The late Lord Swinton, one of the senators of the College of Justice, proposed an uniformity of weights and measures in Scotland, by executing the laws, which were then in force. Edin. 1779. This useful Treatise was printed at Edin. a second time, in 1779. In both those editions, the assize of David II. is mistakingly quoted, as the assize of David I.: Yet, an assize of weights and measures of the year 1425, refers to the *elne* of David, the first. Parl. Record, 63. The learned author of the Essay on *Political Economy*, published a Tract on the uniformity of weights and measures. The late

§ xx. *Of its Manufactures.*] Allied to all those commercial considerations, are the manufactures of Scotland, during the successive steps of their progress. The first fabrics were undoubtedly produced by the dictates of necessity, for domestic uses. The rude produce of the soil was converted to the accommodation of the people, for the purposes of clothing, food, and drink. During the Scoto-Saxon period, the wool, the skins, and hides, were made by domestic hands into useful vestments. Their corns were fabricated into flour, and meal, in various mills; and their malt was converted into drink, at the brewhouse of every hamlet (*a*). In that age, salt was abundantly made on the shore of every sea (*b*). Yet, the encouragements of the middle ages, by the legislature of Scotland, scarcely carried up the manufactures of linen, of woolen, of leather, and of the dairy, much beyond the household supply. We might infer this circumstance, from the laws, which were made, during the reign of James VI., to prevent their exportation (*c*). The effort of England, in consideration of her chief manufacture, was to oblige the people to bury in *woolen*: The legislators of Scotland were equally zealous to compel the people to *bury* in *linen* (*d*). But, whatever may have been the encouragements, which were given to the fabrics of linen, this manufacture seems to have languished, for many a year. At the epoch of the Union, the whole quantity that was made for sale, did not exceed 1,500,000 yards (*e*): When the commission was established, for promoting manufactures, and fisheries, in 1727, the surplus quantity was only 2,183,978 yards, of the value of £103,312: But, the progress of this manu-

late Honourable James Stuart Mackenzie caused to be engraved Comparative Tables of the weights and measures of England, and of Scotland: But, this accurate work was never published. In the Edinburgh *Essays*, Physical and Literary, i. 223, there is a *Dissertation* "on the measures of "Scotland, compared with those of England;" By James Gray. In 1791, the Rev. George Skene Keith published a Collection of Tracts on weights, measures, and coins. Yet, all those treatises, whatever may have been their ingenuity, and their use, were written in vain; as they were read by the learned, and neglected by the ignorant, without much recollection of their several merits.

(*a*) Caledonia, i. 787. (*b*) Ib. 787-8.

(*c*) The exportation of butter, cheese, candles, and shoes, were prohibited, by 4 Ja. VI. ch. 59. The export of coals was prohibited, by 9 Mary, ch. 84.

(*d*) 1 Parl. Ja. VII. ch. 16.; 1 Parl. Wm. and Mary, ch. 35: But, these laws were repealed by 1 Parl. Anne, chap. 14; when it was enacted, that every one should be buried in woolen.

(*e*) Yet, if we may believe the *account current* of Mr. Spreuel, Scotland enjoyed a commanding manufacture, at that happy epoch.

facture, and its ultimate value, will be best ascertained, by the *Tabular Statement*, which is immediately subjoined:

	The Quantity of Yards.	The Value Sterling.
There were made for sale, according to a 5 years average, ending the 1st November 1735 - - -	4,554,128	£ 171,887
According to a 5 years average, ending 1st November 1740	4,667,424	184,334
The same, ending 1st November 1745 - -	5,073,721	209,778
The same, ending 1st November 1750 - -	8,886,809	292,277
The same, ending 1st November 1755 - -	8,621,150	394,542
The same, ending 1st November 1760 - -	10,302,886	433,644
The same, ending 1st November 1765 - -	12,253,635	539,183
The same, ending 1st November 1770 - -	12,855,339	639,013
The same, ending 1st November 1775 - -	12,172,037	543,298
The same, ending 1st November 1780 - -	13,581,684	622,972
The same, ending 1st November 1785 - -	16,802,997	829,643
The same, ending 1st November 1790 - -	19,104,206	864,883
The same, ending 1st November 1795 - -	20,478,312	795,969
The same, ending 1st November 1800 - -	22,528,498	931,490
In the year 1801 - - - -	25,271,155	1,018,642

Such, then, were the origin, the progress, and the greatest amount of a manufacture, which added to the opulence of the country, a million a-year. Yet, this manufacture has been vastly surpassed, by a rival, the *cotton*, which has arisen, during late times; and has been called the *staple* of Scotland, though the rude material of it be brought from afar (*f*). It is supposed, that there are invested in *this staple*, for buildings, and machinery, half a million of capital: And the annual produce of it is worth, to the many persons, who are interested in this rich manufacture, upwards of three millions, Sterling, a-year. Connected with the cotton manufactures is the printing of such goods, which, in callicoes, and muslins, have been yearly carried, much beyond four millions of yards. There has been introduced into this country a silk manufacture, to a great length of ingenuity, and value. Scotland has also woolen manufactories, which, according to ancient practice, work up many of the fleeces of her flocks, for domestic uses. To all those, must be added, amidst many smaller manufac-

(*f*) Of cotton wool, there were imported into Scotland, during 1755, 105,831 lbs., which evince the infancy of this manufacture; and during 1800, 13,204,225 lbs., that prove its youth.

tures,

tures, iron fabrics, which have been carried to a great magnitude (*g*). A coarse manufacture, for household purposes, commenced, as we have seen, during the twelfth century (*h*). It did not add much to the improvement of the rude state of domestic fabrics, during six centuries of warfare, and revolution, that encouragements were proposed, by an uninformed legislature, to an idle people, who were destitute both of means, and of skill. The Union, in 1707, at once, put an end to commercial rivalry, by admitting the Scotish people to a participation with the English, in their mercantile projects, and colonial commerce. But, this communication was long of little benefit to those, who were not prepared to receive its influences. The year 1750 has been assigned, as the true epoch of manufacturing advance from deplorable feebleness, to real improvement. Yet, is it apparent, from the documents, which have just been laid before the judicious eye, that it was only from the year 1760, that the manufactories of Scotland have advanced, in a constant state of melioration, till they have obtained a great elevation of vigorous prosperity.

§ XXI. *Of its Foreign Trade.*] From such topics, it is easy to diverge to considerations, with regard to *foreign trade.* It is vain for authors, who professedly write of commerce, to talk of the great traffic, which Scotland enjoyed of old (*i*). Large, and little, are only comparative. And whoever compares the details of her present foreign trade, with the list of her imports, and exports, as they appear in her chartularies, consisting merely of a few articles of rude produce, will not form magnificent notions of her ancient trade. Even under

(*g*) But, of the rise, progress, and perfection, of the manufactures of Scotland, the clearest judgment may be formed, from the subjoined statement:

The value of the British manufactures, which were exported by sea, from North-Britain, in 1755, was	£	284,700	18 1
According to a 5 years average, ending with 1760		375,057	7 0
The same, with 1770		451,170	14 10
The same, with 1780		549,315	9 11
The same, with 1790		769,296	6 11
The same, with 1800		1,402,650	0 3
The value, in 1801		2,449,171	4 6

(*h*) Caledonia, i. 787.

(*i*) Anderson's Hist. Deduction, throughout; Campbell's Political Survey: "It is not much "doubted, saith Bishop Nicolson, but that those parts of Great Britain have all along maintained "their commerce, in the same methods, with those, that are more southern, even down from "Malcolm II." Scots Hist. Lib. 290. So little capable was the learned bishop of perceiving truth, from falsehood, during his researches, as to the ancient history of North-Britain.

James I., after all his endeavours to energize his people, their exports consisted of "wool, wool-fels, and hides," as we know from a contemporary writer; and their imports of haberdashery, cartwheels, and wheelbarrows (*k*): And this wretched traffic was carried on chiefly with Flanders, where manufactures flourished, and commerce invited customers, while exchange enlivened every enterprize (*l*). Ages elapsed before the foreign trade of North-Britain assumed a more favourable cast, amidst penury, the result of disasters, and idleness, the effect of wo. The reign of King James VI. was chiefly remarkable, for preventing the export of native commodities. After a century of civil war, the Union, by admitting the traders into a better system, came to their aid (*m*). They did not soon profit much, from their commercial admission, though every facility was given them; as

(*k*) See Hackluyt's Voyages, 1599, 187: "The Libel of English Policie," ch. 4.: "Of the "Commodities of Scotland; and draping of her Wolles, in Flanders, 1436."

(*l*) In 1424, there is an act of the first parliament of James I., which is very curious in itself, and applies to this subject; as it appears, from a MS. in the Register House, at Edinburgh: "Alsua the commissaris of the borouys, in the name of the haill merchandis of the realme, has "tane on hande and hecht [undertaken and promised] to mak the first payment of our lorde the "kingis finance, [revenue, or income]; that is to say, $\frac{m}{xx}$ nobillis Inglis, sua that na strangearis "by na [manner] haif away the merchandice of the lande at uther men's handis na tharis; [that "strangers shall not have the merchandize from any other persons, than the merchants of the "burrows]; takande frae our lorde the kinge allanerly [only] ii s. of thar lionis [a coin] for a "nobill Inglis, to be pait to thame of yeilde to be raisyt; [of the income then to be raised]; "ande for the said first payment of the finance [income] may nocht [not] be maid but [without] "chevisance [loan] of Flanderis to help; and [to] further [which] our lorde the king sall sende his "commissaris [with those] of [the] burrowis in Flanderis to mak this chevisance to quhais expenss "the burgess [burgeses] sall pay iii^{c} nobilis; sua that what costages [charges] be mad apone the "said chevisance be payit of the haill yeilde now to be raysyt: And gif the kingis commissaris, and "[those of] the burrowis, beande [being] togidder, can nocht mak the chevisance, qwhat chevisance "be maide throwe the kingis commissaris, the burgessis are oblist [are obliged] to freithe thame "[help them] and mak the first payment; and thai sall haif it agane of the haill yeilde." [be reimbursed out of the whole income.]——From this curious document, we may perceive the want of money, in Scotland, the defect of capital in the traders, and the ability of Flanders to aid them: We also see, that it was the burrows, and not the barons, or bishops, who interposed their credit, on that occasion, to help the king, during his necessities.

(*m*) In vain did Mr. John Spruel, and the merchants, offer, in 1705, to prove, "That Scotland's "product, and manufactures, are able to balance our trade, with any, or all parts, we do, or need "to trade with." An account current betwixt Scotland, and England, 1705. The income of the posts in Scotland, at that time, only yielded £1,100; and the customs £34,000, Sterling: The trade, and circulation of Glasgow, were not then able to employ a bank on the smallest scale: And the whole commerce of Scotland could hardly give employment, and profit, to a bank, with a capital of £30,000 Sterling. Caledonia, i. 868.

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they wanted commercial capability. The year 1750 is the supposed epoch of their enterprize. From the record of the customhouse, we may know what was the amount of their adventures:

	Imports.			Exports.			Imports Excess.			Exports Excess.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£			£	d.	s.
It was, during the year 1755	465,411	11	7	535,576	16	4	—			70,165	4	9
It was, according to a 5 years average, ending with 1760	643,221	5	11	862,578	8	3	—			219,357	2	4
The same, with 1765.	834,042	1	2	1,136,023	14	7	—			301,981	13	5
The same, with 1770	1,135,945	1	5	1,440,462	19	5	—			304,317	17	11
The same, with 1775	1,238,411	19	8	1,505,281	14	0	—			266,869	14	4
The same, with 1780	781,744	9	4	881,149	17	1	—			99,405	3	7
The same, with 1785	1,030,693	7	7	836,835	16	7	193,857	10	11	—		
The same, with 1790	1,444,432	17	10	1,124,888	11	4	319,544	6	5	—		
The same, with 1795	1,569,329	4	6	1,122,792	18	0	446,536	8	6	—		
The same, with 1800	1,934,960	14	9	1,694,395	0	1	240,565	14	8	—		
One year, 1801	2,579,944	8	10	2,844,502	4	0	—			264,557	15	2

This interesting Table admits of little exposition. It began with the war of 1755, which left the national trade greatly augmented. In the five years, that ended with 1770, the American products, particularly, of tobacco, swelled, in a high degree, the values, both of the imports, and exports. The revolt of the colonies began in 1775. Throughout the ten years, which ended, in 1785, we may plainly perceive the effects of that memorable event, on the commerce of Scotland. During the five years, ending with 1790, those effects were no longer felt. The commercial affairs of North-Britain had meantime taken a a new, and more favourable turn: Domestic manufactures were now substituted, for foreign trade. The capital of an enterprizing people was at this time usefully employed, in importing the rude materials of a vast manufacture, which, throughout the subsequent years, increased greatly the amount both of the Scotish imports, and exports, that stood at length on the firmer foundation of our native soil, and habitual industry. It may gratify a just curiosity to be informed, from what countries those vast cargoes were imported, and to what, those exports were sent, during the year 1800, together with the number of ships, both *British*, and *Foreign*, which were employed, in carrying on the whole foreign traffic of Great Britain. This useful information will most clearly appear, in the annexed detail, from the customhouse record:

A TABULAR

A TABULAR STATE of the Number of Vessels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, that entered Inwards, and cleared England, from Scotland, and the British, and Foreign Vessels; and also distinguishing

INWARDS.

THE COUNTRIES.	ENGLAND.				SCOTLAND.				GREAT BRITAIN.			
	British.		Foreign.		British.		Foreign.		British.		Foreign.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
Denmark	131	15,611	862	148,464	39	3,085	264	30,385	170	18,696	1,126	178,849
Russia	614	145,209	55	13,114	152	18,255	—	—	766	163,464	55	13,114
Sweden	51	7,092	248	37,027	43	3,216	19	2,114	94	10,308	267	39,141
Poland	143	27,452	138	25,769	33	3,672	—	—	176	31,124	138	25,769
Prussia	379	83,471	1,294	152,791	176	25,900	71	7,026	555	109,371	1,365	159,817
Germany	341	49,379	526	65,557	127	12,498	23	2,775	468	61,877	549	68,332
Holland	3	871	758	51,542	—	—	73	6,476	3	871	832	58,018
Flanders	—	—	63	5,925	—	—	—	—	—	—	63	5,925
France	9	945	241	20,953	—	—	—	—	9	945	241	20,953
Portugal and Madeira	253	35,989	78	9,115	23	3,100	—	—	276	39,089	78	9,115
Spain and Canaries	1	74	124	38,217	—	—	2	246	1	74	126	38,463
Streights and Gibraltar	20	3,944	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	3,944	—	—
Italy	76	13,668	37	7,434	2	203	—	—	78	13,871	37	7,434
Minorca	19	5,132	—	—	—	—	—	—	19	5,132	—	—
Turkey	14	4,439	5	1,145	—	—	—	—	14	4,439	5	1,145
Ireland	4,729	442,660	47	7,746	1,121	65,954	2	229	5,850	508,621	49	7,975
Isles, Guernsey, &c.	446	39,070	11	1,396	13	1,370	—	—	459	40,440	11	1,396
Isle of Man	232	9,106	1	70	19	448	—	—	251	9,554	1	70
Greenland	52	15,610	—	—	10	2,652	—	—	62	18,262	—	—
United States	44	10,983	503	114,946	33	6,351	47	9,069	77	17,244	550	124,015
British Colonies	150	27,216	—	—	45	8,774	—	—	195	35,990	—	—
British West Indies	502	148,302	—	—	63	13,756	—	—	565	162,058	—	—
Conquered Islands	236	54,105	5	542	24	4,569	—	—	260	58,674	5	542
Foreign West Indies	21	5,135	5	1,042	2	437	—	—	23	5,572	5	1,042
Honduras Bay	3	662	1	168	—	—	1	219	3	662	2	387
Florida	—	—	2	399	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	399
Nootka Sound	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
South Whale Fishery	25	7,087	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	7,087	—	—
Africa	12	2,183	3	317	—	—	—	—	12	2,183	3	317
Cape of Good Hope	3	620	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	620	—	—
Asia	62	49,635	2	1,018	—	—	—	—	62	49,635	2	1,018
New Holland	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
The Totals, in 1800	8,571	1,205,567	5,010	704,697	1,925	174,240	502	58,539	10,496	1,379,807	5,512	763,236
The Totals, in 1790	9,230	1,210,592	2,179	264,010	3,064	232,332	134	14,159	12,294	1,442,924	2,313	278,169

Outwards, in the several Ports of Great Britain, between the 5th January 1800, and the 5th January 1801; distinguishing the several Countries, whence such Vessels arrived, or to which they cleared.

OUTWARDS.

THE COUNTRIES.	ENGLAND.				SCOTLAND.				GREAT BRITAIN.			
	British.		Foreign.		British.		Foreign.		British.		Foreign.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
Denmark	262	45,850	802	145,995	81	9,275	113	14,218	343	55,125	915	160,213
Russia	597	153,348	129	25,896	96	11,871	—	—	693	165,219	129	25,896
Sweden	38	5,774	177	26,980	24	2,314	8	1,075	62	8,088	185	28,055
Poland	47	8,178	40	10,281	28	3,564	—	—	75	11,742	40	10,281
Prussia	216	42,902	1,646	166,222	81	11,522	55	5,024	297	54,424	1,701	171,246
Germany	487	75,013	548	77,498	129	12,393	7	707	616	87,406	555	78,205
Holland	—	—	301	21,536	—	—	12	1,910	—	—	313	23,446
Flanders	—	—	44	4,478	—	—	—	—	—	—	44	4,478
France	5	534	206	16,523	—	—	—	—	5	534	206	16,523
Portugal and Madeira	209	31,653	136	24,811	7	754	—	—	216	32,407	136	24,811
Spain and Canaries	5	1,584	86	15,722	—	—	—	—	5	1,584	86	15,722
Streights and Gibraltar	31	4,705	10	2,013	2	184	—	—	33	4,889	10	2,013
Italy	71	12,337	37	6,075	3	388	2	216	74	12,725	39	6,291
Minorca	4	469	1	119	—	—	—	—	4	469	1	119
Turkey	6	2,456	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	2,456	—	—
Ireland	5,710	498,398	3	157	1,446	87,024	1	63	7,156	585,422	4	225
Isles, Guernsey, &c.	586	38,655	2	276	8	786	—	—	594	39,441	2	276
Isle of Man	317	10,248	—	—	14	611	—	—	331	10,859	—	—
Greenland	51	15,077	—	—	10	2,652	—	—	61	17,729	—	—
United States	37	9,309	470	105,476	25	5,072	37	7,120	62	14,381	507	112,596
British Colonies	227	34,143	—	—	59	10,299	—	—	286	44,442	—	—
British West Indies	467	126,862	—	—	57	13,381	—	—	464	140,243	—	—
Conquered Islands	199	51,762	1	195	21	3,852	—	—	220	55,614	1	195
Foreign West Indies	—	—	5	757	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	757
Honduras Bay	3	843	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	843	—	—
Florida	—	—	2	579	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	579
Nootka Sound	1	149	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	149	—	—
South Whale Fishery	24	6,382	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	6,382	—	—
Africa	159	39,116	6	1,134	—	—	—	—	159	39,116	6	1,134
Cape of Good Hope	10	2,290	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	2,290	—	—
Asia	64	49,284	6	1,990	—	—	—	—	64	49,284	6	1,990
New Holland	3	2,008	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	2,008	—	—
The Totals, in 1800	9,776	1,269,32	4,658	654,713	2,091	175,942	235	20,338	11,867	1,445,271	4,893	85,051
The Totals, in 1790	10,757	1,260,828	1,102	144,132	2,005	164,084	38	4,787	12,672	1,424,912	1,140	148,919

§ XXII. *Of its Ports.*] To the ships employed in the foreign trade of Scotland, the next object of natural inquiry is the ports of the customhouse, which give entrance, and clearance, to the shipping of North-Britain. Such establishments, where customary dues were collected, may be traced back, in the chartularies, to the early reign of David I., perhaps to that of Alexander I. (*n*). Such establishments have continued, under various modifications, to the present day. They appear to have assumed, before the Union of Scotland, with England, in 1650, from the destination of nature, the location, and members of late times (*o*). After the Union, in 1707, the ports seem to have been again set out, with local descriptions, and legal authorities (*p*). On the east coast, there are fifteen ports, including the Orkney, and Shetland isles (*q*). There are fourteen ports, on the western coasts of North-Britain, with the same authorities, and similar uses; extending from Stronaway, on the north, to Dunfries, on the south *r*). Such, then, are the several customhouse ports of North-

(*n*) Caledonia, i. 777—9. (*o*) MS. in the Advocates Library. (*p*) MS. Customhouse.

(*q*) The following are the fifteen ports, on the eastern shore of Scotland; each having its subordinate creeks: (1) *Dunbar* is the most southern, and extends five and twenty miles along the coast, from the bound road: (2) *Preston Pans* extends along the shore of the Forth four and twenty miles, from the northern boundary of the former port: (3) *Leith*, the port of Edinburgh, extends, from the northern limit of Preston Pans, six miles along the same shore: (4) *Borrowstowness* has for its limits twenty miles, on the southern side of the Forth, and sixteen, on the northern: (5) *Aloa*, including Stirling, extends twenty miles along the northern shore of the Forth: (6) *Kirkaldy* extends from the limits of Aloa five and twenty miles along the same shore: (7) *Anstruther* extends five and twenty miles along the shore of the Forth, where the limits of Kirkaldy ends, to Edenmouth, on the German sea: (8) *Dundee* next succeeds, extending three and twenty miles along the south side of the Tay, from Edenmouth, and fourteen miles along the northern shore of the same river, from Powgavie: (9) *Perth* has for its limits seventeen miles on both the sides of the Upper Tay: (10) *Montrose* extends along the German sea, from Button-ness, nine and thirty miles: (11) *Aberdeen* extends, from Tod-head, on the German sea, to Buckie, on the Moray frith: (12) *Inverness* has for its limits a hundred and ninety miles, on both sides of the same frith: (13) *Thurso*, on the North sea, extends two hundred and forty miles eastward, and westward, from its harbour: (14) *Kirkwall* is the only port of the Orkney isles: (15) And *Lerwick* is the sole port of Shetland.

(*r*) (1) *Stronaway*, which is situated on the eastern extremity of Lewis isle, comprehends within its extensive limits the thousand islands, which lye in the Atlantic sea, from the Butt of Lewis, on the north, to Burrahead, on the south: (2) *Islemartin*, or rather *Ulla-Pool*, on Lochmore, extends along the western coast, from the limits of Thurso to Applecross: (3) *Fort William*, lying on Locheil, comprehends one hundred and ninety miles of that coast, with many of the nearest isles: (4) *Tobermory*, situated on the northern point of Mull, comprehends a hundred miles of the same continent, with many adjacent isles: (5) *Oban* comprehends about eighty miles of the same shore, with many islands, from Appin to Duntroon: (6) Campleton, on Kintyre, extends a hundred miles from

North-Britain, which are attended with a greater, or a less convenience, according to the natural position of a singular coast, and the numbers of shipping, which, from various causes, belong to each district.

It may gratify a reasonable curiosity, to have a distinct view of the numbers of shipping, in each port, alphabetically arranged, as they were variously employed, during the year 1800, from the custom-house register, in the annexed

TABULAR STATEMENT:

THE PORTS.	Foreign Trade.			Coast Trade.			Fishing Vessels.			The Totals.		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
Aberdeen	48	5,597	332	240	18,484	1,278	8	189	48	296	24,270	1,658
Air	20	2,115	160	14	609	54	16	764	44	50	3,488	258
Alloa	26	3,042	166	65	3,010	192	7	289	71	98	6,341	429
Anstruther	9	823	60	41	1,620	133	—	—	—	50	2,443	193
Borrowstouness	23	2,330	149	111	6,415	429	—	—	—	134	8,745	578
Campbeltown	8	733	54	22	600	77	57	2,743	634	87	4,076	765
Dumfries	1	60	5	19	747	59	10	439	32	30	1,246	96
Dumbar	2	223	14	11	589	37	3	770	118	16	1,582	169
Dundee	47	4,707	298	88	4,407	338	2	488	70	137	9,602	706
Fort William	—	—	—	7	247	23	—	—	—	7	247	23
Inverness	—	—	—	35	1,830	151	—	—	—	35	1,830	151
Irvine	67	4,713	334	23	1,238	98	18	708	104	108	6,659	536
Isle Martin	3	168	13	2	76	6	8	239	26	13	483	45
Kirkcaldy	56	8,527	493	31	1,274	107	44	173	213	131	9,974	813
Kirkcudbright	—	—	—	21	866	66	8	432	91	29	1,298	157
Kirkwall	1	56	5	14	836	76	2	145	32	17	1,037	113
Leith	56	8,180	467	52	2,996	202	2	575	72	110	11,753	741
Lerwick	6	257	21	2	141	10	—	—	—	8	398	31
Montrose	38	2,967	235	68	3,105	240	—	—	—	106	6,072	475
Oban	1	39	4	13	722	59	7	199	52	21	960	115
Perth	9	1,329	66	27	1,525	104	—	—	—	36	2,854	170
Port Glasgow	56	9,039	746	33	2,292	141	9	254	32	98	11,585	919
—— Greenock	204	26,707	1,938	163	9,546	611	187	7,953	1,374	556	44,206	3,923
—— Partick	3	103	14	3	159	17	—	—	—	6	262	31
Preston Pans	—	—	—	1	47	3	—	—	—	1	47	3
Rothsay	—	—	—	11	594	48	79	3,849	901	90	4,443	949
Stornaway	—	—	—	—	—	—	51	1,982	225	51	1,982	225
Stranrear	—	—	—	3	124	11	40	1,480	358	43	1,604	369
Tobermory	1	25	3	2	42	6	1	45	3	4	82	12
Thurso	2	167	12	17	946	77	—	—	—	19	1,113	89
Wigtown	—	—	—	28	1,046	78	—	—	—	28	1,046	78
The Totals	687	81,907	5,589	1,169	66,133	4,731	559	23,688	4,500	2,415	171,728	14,820

from Duntroon to Barmore, with the adjacent isles: (7) *Rothsay* has for its port Bute, Arran, and the Cumbraes: (8) *Port Glasgow* comprehends the whole Clyde above, with various subordinate members: (9) *Irvine*, on the frith of Clyde below, comprehends eighteen miles of the southern shore, from Largs to Troon-point: (10) *Ayr*, on the same frith, comprehends five and twenty miles, from Troon-point to Sandhouse, on the south: (11) *Stranraer*, lying along the south-west coast, comprehends seventy-five miles: (12) *Wigton* has for its limits thirty-five miles of the same coast, from Gillespie burn, on the west: (13) *Kirkcudbright* comprehends thirty-five miles of the same coast: (14) And *Dunfries* extends from the water of Orr, where Kirkcudbright ends, to the water of Sark, where England begins.

§ XXII. *Of its Fisheries.*] Connected with all those topics is the *Fishery* of North-Britain. This great object of general desire, and public encouragement, scarcely existed in *Celtic* Scotland; because the Celtic people considered fish, as forbidden food: And hence, none of the Celtic nations have ever been famous for the use of fishing, or the practice of navigation. With the introduction into Scotland of a new people of a different lineage, new customs began. As early as records commenced, we may trace, in the chartularies, fishings, as objects of desire in the subjects, and of grant in the kings: And hence, at the epoch of record, fishery was deemed among the *regalia*, in the jurisprudence of North-Britain (*a*). During the Scoto-Saxon period of the Scotish annals, every sort of fishing, whether in the rivers, or in the sea, whether moveable, or stationary, was introduced, with appropriate rights (*b*). But, those individual privileges soon became general wrongs. The owners of the fisheries, by erecting weres, cruves, and other obstructions, in the rivers, attempted to appropriate to themselves what nature had made free for every one. And, as early as the reigns of the Alexanders, an assise was passed, directing the mid-streme to be free (*c*). While this assise was supposed to be obsolete, its general principle was expanded, and restricted by several statutes (*d*). In 1471, the parliament of James III. extended the fishery to the open sea, by providing that nets, and vessels, should be provided, for fishing on the west coast (*e*). But, the principles of a Celtic people; the wide diffusion of settlement on an inhospitable shore; and, more recently, the discouraging regulations of the salt-laws; have hitherto prevented the good effects of a thousand encouragements (*f*). From

(*a*) See the chartularies, every where; and Lord Stair's Institutes, 235—7: The chartularies establish *the fact:* That great lawyer, for the support of his opinion, refers to an abstract principle.

(*b*) Caledonia, i. 782-3—5.

(*c*) The assise "De aquis cognita" provides, "Ut filum cujuslibet aque sit liberum." This assise is in the Bern Collection of the *Leges Scotiæ*. But, it is not appropriated, in that very ancient MS., to any king. Skene gives it to Alexander II., though without authority. It must have been made, by some of the predecessors of Robert I.; as the MS. was written before his accession. The late Lord Hailes has favoured his readers with a learned exposition of that ancient assise. An. i. 340. The great charter of England had already provided, for the freedom of fish.

(*d*) Lord Stair's Institutes, 235—7. (*e*) 6 Parl. Ja. III. ch. 49.

(*f*) The committee on the fishery reported to the House of Commons, on the 11th of May 1785, among many considerations of great importance, "that the present system of the salt laws "is one of the principal causes, that the fisheries of Great Britain have never been carried to the "height of prosperity, and advantage, of which they are capable."

the

the reign of James III. to the epoch of the Union, a thousand laws were passed, by the Scotish parliament, on this important point of domestic economy, which sometimes promoted, and as often restrained the commerce of fish (*g*). The British parliament continued its efforts of fishery, with some what more success. Much has been obtained, though much remains to be acquired. It is of great importance to keep the lamp of adventure burning. Meanwhile, several towns, on the western coast of North-Britain, Greenock, Rothsay, and Campbeltown, have been reared from infancy to manhood. And, since the beginning of the present reign, many a ship, and thousands of seamen, are busily employed, which, at that epoch, had not an existence (*h*).

§ XXIII. *Of its Shipping.*] It is now time to cast some retrospective glances, on the shipping of Scotland, in various ages, as far as they can be traced, either in the chartularies, or in the custom-house registers. During the earliest ages, the vessels of the Britons of South, and North-Britain, consisted, as we have seen, of canoes, and currachs. The rival kings of Cantyre, and Argyle, Dunca-beg, and Selvach, contested, in 719 A. D., for the naval superiority of the Clyde, in their currachs (*i*). During many a rude age, they did not undergo much change, either in their fashion, or in their numbers. The Celtic descendants of the Gaelic settlers, in Wales, in Ireland, and in Scotland, even to our own times, have shown no passion for shipping. At the epoch of record, when the twelfth century commenced, and when the Scoto-Saxon people began to flourish, Scotland, we may perceive, had some ships. The monks, as they were the first agriculturalists, the first bankers, and the first traders, were also among the first ship-owners (*k*). In such a country, shipping could not much increase, amidst the fierce hostilities of so many centuries. In 1512, James IV. sent a fleet, in aid of France, comprehending one ship, which is said to have been of larger size, than had ever been seen. What shipping, or what trade, could a people possess, who prohibited the sailing of ships, from Hallowmas to Candle-

(*g*) See Stewart's Abridgment of the Scots Statutes, article *fish*, and *fishing*.

	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
(*h*) In 1760, Scotland had, of fishing vessels - - -	113	3,842	677.
In 1800, she had, of such vessels - - - -	559	23,688	4,500.

(*i*) Caledonia, i. 291.

(*k*) Ib. 782. The monks of Scone, we may remember, had a ship, which Alexander II. was studious to protect from the people of Cathness; and the monks of the isle of May, like the monks of England, had their shipping.

mas (*l*). Scotland can scarcely be said to have had shipping, at the accession of King James VI. to the English throne (*m*). In 1656, the whole vessels of North-Britain, from three to two hundred and fifty tons each, amounted merely to 137 barques, and brigantines, carrying 5,736 tons, which are rather under the quantity of tonnage, at present, in the port of Montrose (*n*). At the Restoration, the Scotish parliament adopted the policy of the English act of navigation (*o*); but, having fewer means, with less success. At the Revolution, the Scotish parliament entered zealously into commercial enterprizes; but, meeting every where the rivality of England, the Scotish traders did not possess, in 1692, many more vessels, than they had enjoyed, in 1656. Their shipping were probably somewhat increased, in numbers, and in tonnage, by the Union of 1707; as the Scotish merchants were now admitted into a participation of the English trade. Before the year 1712, their shipping had increased to the number of 224 vessels, carrying 10,046 tons. In the year 1787, they had been augmented to 1700 vessels, bearing 133,046 tons. They actually amounted, in 1797, amidst extensive war, to 1,950 vessels, of the burden of 137,206 tons. And the Scotish shipping had still further increased, in 1806, amidst the vicissitudes of hostilities, and of peace, to 2,788 vessels, which carried 211,431 tons. From those facts, then, it appears, that the naval superiority of Britain ensures her people a greater number of shipping, at the end of every war, than they had possessed, at the beginning of each course of hostilities. The Scotish shipping continue to increase, during the present war, which has little deranged the Scotish traffic, notwithstanding every obstruction: And, from this circumstance, we might infer, that the traders of Scotland happily possess, more capital, more skill, and more enterprize, than in any former age. But, it may afford additional information, as well as some pleasure, to see a series of the shipping of Scotland, distributed, in their various trades, during upwards of forty years; as they are accurately arranged, in the following

(*l*) Stat. James III., James IV., and James V.

(*m*) Commons Journals, vol. i.

(*n*) MS. in the Advocates Library; and the Register of the custom-house.

(*o*) Parl. 1. ch. ii. sess. 1. ch. 44.

TABULAR

TABULAR ABSTRACT of the Shipping of Scotland, from the Customhouse Register, as they were severally employed, in each Year, from 1760 to 1800.

YEARS.	Foreign Trade.			Coast Trade.			Fishing Vessels.			The Totals.		
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.
1760 -	454	35,067	3,709	432	15,004	1,557	113	3,842	677	999	53,913	5,943
1761 -	412	33,584	3,586	510	18,232	2,037	121	4,005	704	1,043	55,821	6,327
1762 -	405	32,860	3,461	498	17,384	1,905	126	4,522	839	1,029	54,766	6,205
1763 -	469	36,308	3,624	464	16,706	1,702	187	7,239	1,438	1,120	60,253	6,764
1764 -	504	37,776	3,776	557	21,128	2,135	185	8,101	1,762	1,246	67,005	7,673
1765 -	531	42,540	4,170	569	23,286	2,265	232	9,924	1,984	1,332	75,750	8,419
1766 -	506	39,140	3,674	550	21,532	2,080	242	12,665	2,643	1,298	73,337	8,397
1767 -	535	43,674	4,010	569	22,694	2,154	281	12,007	2,698	1,385	78,375	8,862
1768 -	591	47,644	4,340	588	24,098	2,323	299	13,324	2,749	1,478	85,066	9,412
1769 -	591	48,479	4,384	594	24,615	2,506	290	13,275	2,812	1,475	86,369	9,702
1770 -	665	51,293	4,741	622	26,167	2,454	222	11,385	2,265	1,509	88,845	9,460
1771 -	604	48,844	4,427	677	28,623	2,667	222	10,985	2,113	1,503	88,452	9,207
1772 -	643	51,484	4,555	661	28,334	2,624	253	11,652	2,373	1,557	91,470	9,552
1773 -	684	52,931	4,675	632	26,515	2,595	262	12,275	2,553	1,578	91,721	9,823
1774 -	692	52,181	4,476	648	26,214	2,575	306	14,902	2,866	1,646	93,297	9,917
1775 -	635	51,448	4,302	606	23,979	2,355	318	15,903	3,306	1,559	91,330	9,963
1776 -	603	48,598	4,144	660	25,131	2,421	377	17,764	3,782	1,640	91,493	10,347
1777 -	623	50,553	5,142	613	23,529	2,124	309	14,947	3,235	1,545	89,029	10,501
1778 -	636	52,352	5,409	633	25,587	2,251	348	16,976	3,603	1,617	94,915	11,263
1779 -	609	48,929	5,517	646	26,613	2,230	266	12,781	2,662	1,521	88,323	10,409
1780 -	542	44,277	4,864	705	28,683	2,324	244	11,455	2,197	1,491	84,415	9,385
1781 -	526	42,113	4,598	697	28,430	2,413	241	10,535	2,174	1,464	81,078	9,185
1782 -	524	40,530	4,032	690	27,585	2,331	217	9,882	2,041	1,431	77,997	8,404
1783 -	556	42,138	3,843	647	27,523	2,278	262	10,473	2,152	1,465	80,134	8,273
1784 -	643	50,386	4,241	709	32,042	2,511	297	12,421	2,519	1,649	94,849	9,271
1785 -	756	60,078	5,062	786	36,371	3,019	258	11,252	2,502	1,800	107,701	10,583
1786 -	762	70,991	5,472	853	40,163	3,224	321	18,159	3,436	1,936	129,318	12,132
1787 -	801	85,893	6,068	878	42,963	3,190	338	20,468	3,945	2,017	149,324	13,203
1788 -	766	80,796	5,648	951	48,035	3,414	341	22,006	4,185	2,061	150,838	13,247
1789 -	793	84,206	5,838	958	47,901	3,555	381	22,798	4,373	2,132	154,905	13,766
1790 -	794	86,823	5,726	950	47,688	3,388	361	19,898	3,807	2,105	154,409	12,921
1791 -	776	85,468	5,763	1,058	51,998	3,999	388	19,632	4,020	2,222	157,098	13,782
1792 -	718	81,027	5,494	1,022	50,940	3,965	376	19,890	3,827	2,116	154,857	13,286
1793 -	698	80,024	5,195	1,143	57,318	4,393	393	17,973	3,460	2,234	155,315	13,048
1794 -	612	66,864	4,268	1,074	55,311	4,121	418	19,547	3,994	2,104	141,722	12,383
1795 -	553	63,168	3,896	1,061	56,187	3,976	382	16,526	3,313	1,996	135,882	11,185
1796 -	599	66,386	4,284	1,032	52,790	3,931	447	19,112	3,663	2,078	138,289	11,878
1797 -	508	61,629	3,799	1,072	56,695	4,237	430	18,364	3,406	2,010	136,688	11,442
1798 -	597	67,538	4,624	1,172	63,267	4,400	467	19,886	3,735	2,236	150,691	12,759
1799 -	674	76,594	5,546	1,116	59,997	4,329	381	14,099	3,118	2,171	150,690	12,993
1800 -	687	81,907	5,589	1,169	66,133	4,731	559	23,688	4,500	2,415	171,728	14,820

§ XXIV. *Of its Wealth, private and public.*] From years of industry, and from periods of improvement, it is reasonable to infer, that the Scotish people must have meantime made many acquirements of *private wealth*, and *public opulence*. During the Scoto-Saxon period of the North-British annals, the inhabitants of Scotland obtained much of what constitutes riches, at least of native products, and domestic comforts. With the demise of Alexander III., acquisition must have ceased, when waste began. Throughout several centuries of disputes, and hostilities, the Scotish people must necessarily have spent much more, than they gained. The civil wars of Charles I.'s time left them completely exhausted in their property, and in the means of acquiring wealth In the fifty years, which ensued, fanatical practices, and revolutionary politics, did not enable a people, who were oppressed by their own fanaticism, as much as by the harshness of their governors, to acquire either the comforts of riches, or the habits of business. A nation, who could not, by the various employments of its traders, give occupation to a bank, with a capital of thirty thousand pounds, attempted, in an evil hour, to colonize Asia, Africa, and America. This distant effort only evinced their domestic inquietude. Their disappointments did not either energize, or enrich them. The Union of 1707 was the epoch of some melioration, though not, perhaps, of much acquisition. The epoch of acquirement was fifty years later. At length, in 1800, the industrious people of North-Britain were found to enjoy a taxable income of four millions and a half, which, with their commerce, yielded a private, and public revenue of great extent.

§ XXV. *Of the moral Effects.*] It is of equal importance to estimate the *moral effects*, both of private riches, and public wealth, on the Scotish people, from their gradual prosperity. Their opulence, and morals, kept pace nearly with each other; as the increase of their riches accumulated, nearly, in proportion to the activity of their advancement, and their habits of economy. From coarseness, however, to refinement, wide is the distance. When the British isles were originally explored by the inquisitive voyagers of antiquity, the inhabitants were in the rudest condition; as we know from their appropriate remains. When the British people were first noticed by the classic authors, they still appeared to intelligent eyes in a savage state. It was the Roman conquests, which introduced among that brave, but untutored people, some civilization. From the Romanized Britons, the wildest of the Caledonian tribes derived some polish. Ages, however, elapsed before any thing like civilized society appeared among the Northern-Britons, whether Caledonians, or their kindred

kindred Picts. Their habits may have taken a new cast, from the arrival among them of various tribes, during the fifth, the sixth, and the seventh centuries. Yet, the Saxons, the Scots, and the Picts, continued, through many a wretched period, by turns, uncivilized by christianity, and unimproved by collision. The twelfth century saw a great change take place, both in the people, and in their manners. The introduction among the Scots, during that, and the subsequent age, of English, Normans, and Flemings, undoubtedly gave a new form to habits, and a different turn to practices, though the Scotish civilization still admitted of great improvement. The demise of Alexander III., in 1286, with its sad effects, plunged the nation back into ages of conflicts, with their accompanying immoralities. The *Reformation*, conducted as it was, only aggravated the evils of a wretched degeneracy. Universal history evinces how much civil wars deteriorate the human character. The domestic wars of Charles I.'s disputatious times; the religious troubles of Charles II.'s factious age; the revolutionary warfare of William's reign, did not amend the morals of the Scotish people. They became a moral, when they became an industrious nation. Employment is the parent of innocence, as well as of profit. While Scotland advanced in her commercial enterprizes, domestic and foreign, and accumulated private, and public wealth, her people distinguished themselves, by the variety of their genius, the extent of their erudition, and the products of their literature.

§ XXVI. *Of its Chorography.*] Connected with the foregoing topics, is its *chorography*, which the Scotish people also cultivated, during those disastrous times, though not with much skill. It was, indeed, late before the age of map-making any where arose. Among the ancient philosophers, Anaximander is said to have been the first, who essayed to make a map, by drawing out the representation of a country, five centuries and a half, before our usual era. His knowledge could not have been great; and his execution must have been rude. Maps were better executed, in the speculative age of Socrates, and were better known, in the inquisitive times of Herodotus. It was the irruption of Alexander into Asia, which first laid open the east to the curious eye of liberal science. It was the conquests of the Romans, that took a contrary direction, which enlarged the views of geographic knowledge, in western Europe. Yet, during the learned days of J. Cæsar, little was known of the British world. The fleet of Agricola, by making a circumnavigation, first ascertained Britain to be an island. This was a wide step. The progress of the Roman arms, however, under the command of Lollius Urbicus, during the reign of Antoninus,

more fully exposed the northern parts of this island to the erudite curiosity of the accomplished age of the Antonines. But, it was the sun of Ptolomy, which gave a new day to universal geography, a century and a half, after the birth of Christ.

Yet, the table of Ptolomy, which ranks, as the earliest map of North-Britain, has exhibited that country, in a very unlucky aspect, by giving an eastern direction to what ought to bear directly to the north (*p*). The next delineation, as well in curiosity, as in usefulness, is the map of *Britannia Romana*, by Richard of Cirencester, 1338 (*q*). There are other maps of North-Britain, which were also made, soon after; and which are not only curious, but useful, for the topographical knowledge, that they convey of Scotland, during the middle ages (*r*). At the revival of learning, Mercator, and Ortelius, Saxton, and Speed, published maps of North-Britain: Bishop Lesley offered to the public, at Rome, in 1578, with his work, *de origine moribus, et rebus gestis Scotorum*, what has been deemed improperly the first map of North-Britain. But, there is not one of those maps, from the draught of Mercator to the sketch of Lesley, which can be considered, as either useful, or curious. The voyage, which James v. made into the western islands, in 1540, for the purpose of navigation, as well as of government, merits just celebration (*s*).

Soon

(*p*) We may easily suppose his mistake to have arisen, from the misinformation of the Roman officers, who, standing on the shore of the Moray frith, and seeing the land beyond it run without their ken to the right hand, imagined that, the whole country took a positive direction to the eastward.

(*q*) See Richard's map, in Bertram's edition of 1757, and Stukeley's map of Richard, with Whitaker's useful commentary, in his history of Manchester.

(*r*) See Gough's Topography ii., for the curious map of Harding. It is material to remark, during the present times of union, and of amity, how diligent the ministers of England were, in the earliest times, to get the most accurate, and minute, information, with regard to every part of Scotland. Harding's map, and description of Scotland, were presented to Edward the 4th, on that inquisitive principle of national interest. Ib. 579. On the 17th of June 1548, a warrant was issued "for forty shillings to *Cecil*, given in reward to Mark Brown, for a plat of the coast, about "the river of Tay, in Skoteland." Privy Coun. Reg. On the 27th of December 1550, a warrant for £5 was granted to Clement Adams, "for his charges sustained, about the new making of a "plott of Scotlande." Privy Coun. Reg. I have obtained, from the college of arms, the copy of a paper, which was probably drawn up, during the hostile reign of Edward VI., entitled, "An Abstract for an Englishman to know the realme of Scotland throughout." Towards the conclusion of Elizabeth's reign, Lord Burleigh had procured very accurate sketches of the countries, lying on each side of the borders, with accounts of the families living thereon; and had obtained, also, very minute descriptions of the western isles; all which remain in the Paper Office.

(*s*) There was a hydrographical account of that voyage published, at Paris, in 1583, by Nicolay D'Affreville,

Soon after the beginning of the seventeenth century, the intelligent men of Scotland began to make surveys of its shires, before they had yet ascertained any accurate outline of the whole. Timothy Pont, who is celebrated, "as by nature, "and education, a complete mathematician," was the first projector of a *Scotish Atlas* (*t*). He personally surveyed several counties, and islands; but, he unhappily died, before he had completed his laudable enterprize. The project, and papers of Pont, were afterward delivered to Gordon of Straloch, who undertook to finish this difficult work, under the patronage of Sir John Scot, the director of the Scotish chancery (*u*). In 1649, the Assembly of the Church of Scotland gave the aid of their approbation to this national undertaking (*x*). The charts were, at length, transmitted by Scot to Blaeu, the bookseller of Amsterdam, who published the first edition of his *Atlas Scotiæ*, in 1655, and the second, in 1662 (*y*). With this splendid *Atlas*, which was given by Blaeu, in several

D'Affreville, the royal cosmographer of the French king. My copy of this curious work is not illustrated by any chart: But, there was published, at Edinburgh, by John Adair, in 1688, an Hydrographical Description of the sea coast, and isles of Scotland, made in a voyage round the same, by James v.: The epoch of this royal voyage was placed mistakingly, by Buchanan, in 1535, and by Lesley, in 1538: But, the MS. account book of Cardinal Beaton, in the Advocates Library, proves clearly, that 1540 was the true epoch of that voyage.

(*t*) Nicolson's Hist. Lib., 1702, p. 25. Timothy Pont probably died, between the years 1625, and 1630. He was the son of the Rev. Robert Pont, who was also a mathematician. Being appointed one of the senators of the college of justice, he obtained the consent of the kirk of Scotland, on the 12th of January 1571-2, with a protest, however, of the Assembly, that this assent should not form any precedent. Melville's MS. Abstract. He seems to have been a vigorous character: For, in 1584, he protested, on behalf of the church, against the acts of the late parliament, as not obligatory on the kirk. This was done, in the true spirit of the times: But, he was obliged to flee; and he was put from his place, in the session, saith Spottiswoode, Hist. p. 333. Robert Pont died, on the 8th of May 1608, aged 81. Maitland's Edin. 179. This aged ecclesiastic was the son of John Pont, a Venetian protestant, who had fled to France, and came into Scotland with James v., in the retinue of Q. Magdalene: He obtained the lands of Shyresmill, and married Katherine, the daughter of Moray of Tullibardin.

(*u*) Ib. 7.

(*x*) Among the unprinted acts of Assembly, 1649, there is "a recommendation to the "brethren to make out descriptions of those parts of the kingdom, which were not yet described." Blaeu complains, however, that this ecclesiastical ordinance was not very punctually obeyed. The clergy of that age were otherwise occupied, than with chorographical inquiries. It was reserved, for a subsequent period, to obtain the general concurrence of the ministers, in giving minute accounts of their several parishes.

(*y*) The map of Aberdeen is No. 33, in Blaeu's *Atlas Scotiæ*. Argyle is laid down, in 7 Nos., in the same collection. Ayrshire is exhibited in 4 Nos., corresponding with so many districts. Banffshire, with Aberdeen, by Gordon of Straloch, is No. 33, in Blaeu. Berwickshire is represented

several European tongues, the people of Scotland remained sufficiently content, during many years. Sir Robert Sibbald, the king's physician, was appointed by Charles II., geographer for North-Britain: But, though he circulated his local inquiries among ingenious men, he did not publish any satisfactory result. At the end of the seventeenth century, John Adair, a professed artist, undertook to make surveys, and give descriptions of the coasts, and islands of North-Britain. This surveyor is praised by Bishop Nicolson, "as an artist, who can "never be too often mentioned (*z*)." Yet, his sketches remain, without much notice, because having little science in their construction, they are without much use; and have at length been superseded by more accurate charts (*a*).

At length appeared Murdoch Mackenzie, the grandson of the bishop of Orkney, a surveyor of more skill, and diligence, who made a nautical survey of the same isles, and some of the same shores (*b*): His charts, as they are more

sented by him, in Nos. 8, and 7. Bute, and Arran, are represented, in Nos. 33, and 25. Cathness is No. 40; and Cathness, Ross, and Sutherland, are delineated in No. 36. Lennox, in Dunbartonshire, is No. 28, in Blaeu. The three districts of Dunfries may be seen in Nos. 11, 12, 13. The three Lothians are represented in No. 9. Fife is delineated, in Nos. 30, 31, 32. The great shire of Inverness is represented in six several maps. Galloway is delineated in Nos. 14, 17, 18. The two divisions of Clydesdale are represented by Nos. 6 and 26. Moray is delineated in No. 37, together with Nairn. Orkney, and Shetland, are laid down in No. 49. Tweedale is No. 5. Perth is No. 34. Renfrew is No. 27. Ross is No. 36. Roxburghshire is delineated in No. 4 of Blaeu. And Stirling is laid down in No. 2, by the same artist, to whom Scotish topography owes so much elucidation, though his draughts are far from perfect.

(*z*) Hist. Lib. 25. Adair appears, indeed, to have been a fellow of the Royal Society, the geographer for Scotland; and as early as 1686, to have been protected by the Scotish parliament, who passed an "act in favour of John Adair, geographer, for surveying the kingdom of Scotland, "and navigating the coasts, and isles thereof." Stat. 1st Parl. Ja. VII. ch. 21. The views of parliament were just, and the encouragement to Adair was a tax on shipping, which were to be benefited by his labours. In 1704, he was again encouraged by the parliament of Anne, though, perhaps, without much benefit. Sir Alexander Murray, in 1740, invidiously, remarked, "that "the making of such surveys was discouraged, by the *great lords*, who wanted to hide the vast "extent of their jurisdictions." But, the great lords could have prevented the passing of such statutes. The surveys were actually made; yet, from the paucity of shipping, during that age, the surveyor, who spent his life, in the public service, received but little for his pains. He began to publish his sketches, which were wretchedly engraved by Clark, and Moxon, under James VII., and continued to publish them, under King William, and Queen Anne.

(*a*) In the Paper Office, there is a letter from Adair to the Secretary of State, the Earl of Mar, in June 1713; stating his services, and claims; and containing a long list of his unpublished surveys. Adair was alive, in 1715: But, my researches have not discovered, when he closed his life of labour.

(*b*) I have before me a certificate, dated the 19th of November 1742, from Colin Maclaurin, the

more scientific, as well as accurate, have proved of much more benefit to a naval people, by giving greater safety to navigation (*c*). The very dangerous shore, from Cape Wrath, on the west, to Duncansby-head, on the east, remained still unsurveyed. This northern coast of Scotland, with the Pentland frith, was surveyed about the year 1740, by Alexander Bryce, the learned minister of Kirknewton, a gentleman of more various science than Adair, or Mackenzie. In 1744, this excellent man, at the desire of the philosophical society of Edinburgh, gave his valuable map to the public, with some curious, and interesting observations (*d*). During our own times, Murdo Downie, a master in the royal navy, surveyed the east coast of Scotland, from Duncansby-head to the Staples, a chart whereof he gave to the public, in July 1792 (*e*). In the meantime, maps of several shires, in North-Britain, from actual surveys, have been published, which will be hereafter mentioned; and which will be found good supplements to Pont's surveys, and Gordon's maps. In 1766, were published, by Taylor and Skinner, actual mensurations of the existing roads, in Scotland, which, from their accuracy, are of the greatest use to topographical inquiries (*f*).

But, of a general map of North-Britain, nothing appeared, after the delineation of Speed, which merits much regard; as neither the science of map-making,

the celebrated professor, of the qualification of Murdoch Mackenzie, "to take a *geometrical survey*." Mackenzie's Treatise of *Maritime Surveying*, which was published, in 1774, justifies the professor's opinion.

(*c*) He published, in 1750, his *Orcades*, a geographic, and hydrographic survey of the Orkney, and Lewis, isles. He was now taken into the service of the Admiralty. In 1751, he was sent, with Commodore Rodney, in quest of an unknown island. In 1776, he published, in two vast volumes, with many charts, a Marine Survey of Ireland, and of the west coast of Great Britain, from the Bristol Channel, to Cape Wrath, the north-west point of Scotland. These extensive, and useful surveys, were made by the order of the Lords of the Admiralty. Murdoch Mackenzie died, a fellow of the Royal Society, in 1797, a very aged man, as he was born, in 1712. In 1794, Captain Huddart published a hydrographical survey of the north coast of Ireland, and the west coast of Scotland, from Tory Island to Cape Wrath, including the western islands.

(*d*) Mr. Bryce's map has stood the test of critical examination. This useful citizen, to whom his country owes several other services, died, in 1786, one of the king's chaplains for Scotland. I am indebted for some of those particulars to the instructive letter of his son, the Rev. William Bryce, at Aberdour.

(*e*) He also published, in 1792, "the New Pilot, for the east coast of Scotland," which, to a nautical nation, is a very useful book.

(*f*) Various sketches of Scotland, with delineations of the roads, had been, indeed, published, during the rebellion of 1745. Gough's Topography, ii. 586. But, they did not pretend to the accuracy of measurements.

nor the art of map-engraving, were sufficiently understood, in this island. At length, in 1653, Gordon of Straloch communicated to Blaeu a delineation of *Scotia Antiqua* (*g*): But, it is far inferior, in usefulness, to the Table of Ptolemy, and the map of Richard, which convey so distinctly the chorography of North-Britain, during Roman times. In after ages, various maps of North-Britain were printed, without much of public attention, as they were of little value (*h*). Thus many maps of Scotland had been offered to the public; but not one delineation, which could bear accurate examination. As late as the busy year 1746, there did not exist any printed map of that country, which an intelligent officer could trust, for his military operations. This truth was felt by General Hawley, when he was going, in the dark, to command against the insurgents, who knew the country, without a map (*i*). Meanwhile, Dorret, a land surveyor,

(*g*) See it in Blaeu's *Atlas Scotiæ*. In this interesting work, there is also a geographical sketch, entitled *Scotia Regnum*. Gordon of Straloch, who was superior to his age in scientific knowledge, as well as in useful enterprize, died in 1661, aged 81. The Scotish parliament, in June 1633, confirmed to Robert Gordon of Straloch, his heirs-male, and assigns, a grant, in 1630, of the whole lands, which had belonged to the dissolved priory of Monymusk, for his encouragement. Unprinted Act of that year. But, saith Bishop Nicolson, Gordon was incapacitated, by the iniquity of the times, from executing his great work. Hist. Library, 18. Gordon's superiority to Pont, as a geographer, is evinced, by the better delineation of his map of Aberdeen, and Banffshire, than any of Pont's sketches, in Blaeu's Atlas. It corresponds, indeed, very much with the engineer's survey of the same districts.

(*h*) Gough's Top. ii. 586-7 There was published, in 1734, by J. Cowley of London, a map, for the avowed purpose of exhibiting the singular mistakes of six geographers, in their maps of Scotland; Adair, Moll, and Gordon of Straloch, Senex, Inselin of Paris, and Sanson; and Cowley evinces their incompetence, by "A Display of the coasting lines of their six several maps "of North-Britain, shewing the disagreement among geographers, in their representations of the "extent, and situation of the country; drawn from the originals as published, and laid down by "one and the same scale, according to their respective bearings, and distances, from the point of "Ardnamurchan, on the west." By thus laying down the principal head-lands, according to those six maps, he exhibits to the judicious eye the egregious errors of those six famous geographers. Cowley, who had surveyed the north-west coast of Scotland, northward from Ardnamurchan, says that, "Loch Suinard, which is navigable to the head, by vessels of three hundred tons, had "been entirely omitted, in all former maps." Nothing but geometrical certainty could stand the test of such scientific criticism. We are not, however, to suppose, that Cowley's own map of Scotland is altogether free from the grossest blunders.

(*i*) In the Paper Office, there is a very querulous letter from General Hawley, on his way to assume the command of the king's troops, in Scotland, to the Duke of Newcastle, dated, at Newcastle, on the 29th of December 1745. The general wrote the Secretary of State, in this manner: "I am going in the dark; For, Mareschal Wade won't let me have his map: He says, "[the mareschal then commanded at Newcastle], his majesty has the only one to fellow it. "I could

veyor, under the patronage of Archibald, the Duke of Argyle, published, in April 1750, a four-sheet map of Scotland (*k*): But, it soon retired from the public notice; as critical examination discovered its manifold deficiencies: It is most faulty, in its delineation of Argyle, and the Hebrides, where it ought to have been the most perfect. The defects of Dorret made way, in 1789, for Ainslie's nine-sheet map of Scotland, which, also, has its various imperfections.

During that disastrous period of domestic insurrection, there were other officers, who felt, with Hawley, the daily want of proper maps of North-Britain (*l*). The Duke of Cumberland, after he had conquered, at Culloden, and seen *the Highlands*, was convinced of the necessity of a new survey. He directed Colonel Watson, the deputy quarter-master general, in North-Britain, to employ proper engineers, for that useful object. In 1747, were at length

" I could wish it was either copied, or printed, or that his majesty would please to lend it me: " 'Tis for the service, or I should not be so bold." We thus perceive, that M. Wade, during a long command, and diligent road-making, in Scotland, had procured an improved map of that country, which he communicated to the king. There certainly was perfected, as I learn from official information, " A Survey of the Highlands of Scotland, and also of the forts, and military " roads of communication, in that country, in 1730." In fact, there was published, on the 4th of January 1746, by Thomas Welldey, " A Map of the king's roads, made by General Wade, in the " Highlands of Scotland, from Stirling to Inverness, with the adjacent countries: But, this could not have been the map, which General Hawley mentioned to the Duke of Newcastle. I have seen, in the drawing-room of *the Tower*, a very lage, and accurate delineation of Scotland, which was constructed, in 1730; with design chiefly to describe *the Highlands*, the countries of the several clans, with the supposed strength of each, the king's forts, the military roads, the rivers, the location of battles; every thing, that a general wanted, without the distraction of many places. I think this likely to have been the original draught of Wade's map.

(*k*) It was reduced into various sizes; was sought for a while; and was even copied by the French geographers.

(*l*) Among the many maps, in his majesty's library, there are several copies of Elphinston's map of Scotland, with the manuscript notes of Colonel Watson, the quarter-master, showing the posts, occupied by the regular troops, in 1749, and the military districts of each command, in 1750. We thus see the acting quarter-master making use of Elphinston's map, which, as it was drawn, by an incompetent hand, from *Mercator's Projection*, distorted the whole surface of Scotland. Elphinston's map was elaborately exploded, in 1746, by Jefferys, the geographer. Gough's Top. ii. 586. On the 11th of April 1748, the Board of Ordnance represented to the king, " the great difficulty " of getting proper persons to act as engineers; that the whole establishment of engineers consisted " only of 29, of whom, 4 were appointed to carry on the works, in Scotland:" Whereupon the king approved of an addition to the establishment of 6 sub-engineers, and 10 practitioners. The books of the Privy Council of that date. The *four* engineers, who were alluded to above, were Morrison, Bramham, Gordon, and Archer, who accomplished their surveys of the military roads, and military posts, in 1749.

sent,

sent, on this service, with appropriate attendants, the engineers, Debbieg, Manson, Howse, Williams, and afterward David Dundas, to whom were adjoined, Paul Sandby, at the age of seventeen, and William Roy, from the post office, at twenty-one. To each of those engineers were assigned different districts; in the north, and west: And they all returned, to Edinburgh, every winter, when they protracted on royal paper their several surveys (*m*). Having accomplished those various delineations, on the northern side of the Forth, in 1753, they were directed to extend their scientific labours to the southern districts of North-Britain, which they finally accomplished, in 1755 (*n*). Cave's surveyor in the middle of October, found the mountains of Tweedale already covered with snow; he was impeded by the very hazy horison of the Pentland hills; and in protracting his line from Edinburgh castle to Errick-Stanebrae, he "was

(*m*) In December 1748, the Scots Magazine, 610, observes that, "several engineers, and "architects, are ordered for Scotland, *to view* the north, and west coasts, and mark such places as are proper to be fortified." It is a singular coincidence that, in October 1748, a scientific person, who was employed by Cave, the proprietor of the Gentleman's Magazine, made a journey from Carlisle to Edinburgh, "to settle the meridian of Edinburgh castle, for *avoiding old errors*, "and *proceeding on true principles*, in the county maps," which were designed, by the public spirited Cave. That scientific person, "having, by the favour of the moon, rode four hours, before "day-break, [from Errick-Stane-brae], to reach Burnswark, by the sun-rise, and having "effected his object, by the time proposed, found, to his great surprize, *a great variation*, from "what geographers have made the meridian of Annan, and Edinburgh." Gent. Mag. 1748, p. 3, 4, 5, 205. There was, about the same time, *a great variation* between astronomers, about the latitude of Edinburgh: The justly celebrated Maclaurin, having stated it, in round numbers, at 55° 55′, and M. Monnier, a French philosoper, who presumed to think, "that the latitude of Edinburgh is 2½ *degrees* further north." Ib. 1749, p. 349. Monnier must have said 2½ minutes, which had been very near the truth, as subsequent observations have settled the true latitude.

(*n*) On the 3d of March 1759, Hugh Debbieg was one of the 12 ordinary engineers, who ranked as captains: And, after rising high in his profession, rose to the rank of general, in 1803. Manson, and Howse, seem to have retired. John Williams, (if he were the same), on the 3d of March 1759, was one of the 12 extraordinary engineers, with the rank of captain-lieutenant. At the same time, David Dundas was one of the 14 sub-engineers, with the rank of lieutenant: But, having obtained a troop of dragoons, he relinquished the engineer department: And, rising through the successive gradations, in the army, he acquired the rank of general, in 1802; obtained the red ribbon; became colonel of the second dragoons; and was appointed governor of Chelsea. In 1752, Paul Sandby left his associates, at Edinburgh, after employing five years, in drawing their protractions of the country, lying north-westward of the Forth, on a vast scale of 3,000 feet to an inch, without any purpose of rejoining them: But, he was afterwards persuaded, to return to Edinburgh, in 1753, where he reduced that immense map, and drew it on a scale of 12,000 feet to an inch, with a thousand graces. For his admirable labours, he received a hundred guineas. He rose to the very top of his profession; and became one of the Royal Academicians.

"carried

"carried through impervious mosses, and mountains (*o*)." We may from those intimations readily suppose, what difficulties the king's engineers had to encounter amidst the deep glens, and rugged heights, of Northern-Britain. But, their knowledge, and zeal, and perseverance, overcame every obstruction (*p*). The surveys of the southern districts were completed, in 1755; and were protracted on the same scale: It was at a much more recent period, that the engineer Roy, with Thomas Chamberlain, from the ordnance drawing-room, for his draughtsman, delineated those southern surveys, according to the original scale of Paul Sandby. None of those surveys, however, extended to the Hebrides: And the chief defect of all those ingenious labours, probably, was the want of more numerous positions, settled by the mean of many observations, with well-adjusted instruments.

In speaking of those surveys, more is commonly attributed to the scientific labours of the late Major General William Roy, than accurate inquiry will fully warrant. Those surveys began, in 1747; and were not completed till 1755, as he himself informs us (*q*). In 1752, when *the border* of the contiguous kingdoms was surveyed, Roy seems to have been present, though he did not sketch the Roman entrenchments, at Chew-green, on the source of the Cocquet (*r*). He was certainly present, at the survey of the wall of Antonine, from the Forth to the

(*o*) Ib. 1748, p. 205. It is not easy to decide, whether Cave merits most commendation, for his undertaking, or his surveyor most praise, for his perseverance.

(*p*) From what we have seen above, we may infer, that it was almost impracticable to make a survey of the Highlands, which can be deemed *strictly trigonometrical*. All that could be done was to make good use of the theodolite, the chain, the compass-box, and the sketch-book; And, from their survey-book, to protract, at their leisure, with minute accuracy, the bearings, the distances, the measurements, and observations: The map, that was subsequently made, from their various labours, is the best proof the skill, and diligence, with which the engineers had performed their difficult task, by methods, which are sufficiently scientific, for real use. It is a singular trait of human nature that, when Mr. Bryce made his nautical survey of the northern shore of Scotland, in 1740, he was in some danger, from the people along the Cathness shore, who, like the good folks on the Cornwall coast, did not wish navigation to be more safe: And, when the king's engineers surveyed Aberdeenshire, in 1747, the country people observed, "It was for nae guide," no good. Those facts were stated to me by intelligent persons, who were perfectly acquainted with the circumstances.

(*q*) Rom. Antiq. 155-106. "The continuation of the Roman road, *beyond the Tay*, was "totally unknown to him till 1771." Ib. 108. This fact, which is also stated by himself, intimates pretty plainly, that he had no leading share in the surveys, which were made beyond the Tay, and indeed beyond the Forth.

(*r*) Rom. Antiq. 116-17. The camp at Chewgreen was not surveyed till September 1774. Ib. pl. xxii.

Clyde,

Clyde, in 1755 (*s*). As the whole of those memorable surveys were made, by several engineers, whatever part was performed must have been equally protracted by him, and his work communicated to the superintendant, Colonel Watson, at Edinburgh (*t*). We have now seen what share General Roy had, in those excellent surveys, and what hand he had, in constructing the extensive map of North-Britain, which was deposited in the royal library (*u*).

After all those efforts, for improving the chorography of Scotland, when the parliamentary commissioners, for making roads in the Highlands, sat down to execute, so difficult a work, and so worthy of parliamentary munificence, they felt themselves constantly embarrassed, by not finding a map of Scotland, that contained, with any accuracy, the divisions of the shires. Owing to an ancient, but absurd policy, such boundaries are more embarrassed, in North Britain,

(*s*) Rom. Antiq. 106, 136.

(*t*) Ib. 155, 6, 7. David Watson died, at London, the 7th November 1761, a major-general, and colonel of the 38th regiment.

(*u*) In 1747, when those surveys began, William Roy left the post office, at Edinburgh, when he was about the age of one and twenty. He now acted, for some time, as clerk to Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, who, from the recommendation of M. Gen. Napier to the Duke of Cumberland, was employed, as superintendant of the whole survey. Roy, after a while, joined the surveying engineers, under the patronage of Colonel Watson: And, from his predetermination of mind, and habitual application, he became an excellent surveyor, and an admirable draughtsman. He never was admitted into the Royal Academy, at Woolwich, as a gentleman cadet; nor was he ever of the drawing-room in the Tower; but, he was probably, adopted, as *a practitioner*, on the new establishment of the engineer department, dated the 11th April 1748. In March 1759, he was merely a sub-engineer, with the rank of lieutenant. He remarkably distinguished himself, at the battle of Thornhausen, on the 1st of August 1759. The praise of Prince Ferdinand, the illustrious commander of the allied army, supported the efforts of Roy, throughout his whole service. He soon became captain of engineers, and major. He was made deputy quarter-master, in 1762, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in the army. The peace of Paris immediately ensued, when Colonel Roy returned to his *Roman Antiquities*. In 1764, 1769, and in 1771, he appears to have employed much time, in those interesting pursuits. In 1774, he constructed, with the help of those surveys, his "Mappa Britanniæ septentrionalis Faciei Romanæ," which was drawn by Thomas Chamberlain, the skillful draughtsman, of the Tower drawing-room. In 1778, Colonel Roy was appointed commissary general of the whole army: And, in 1786, when major-general, he was promoted to the command of the 30th regiment. He died, after two hours illness, on the 1st of July 1790; leaving his great work, on the Roman Antiquities of Great Britain, to the Antiquary Society of London, who published his ingenious labours, with more splendour, than accuracy. The rule, which he formed, for measuring heights with barometers; his measurement of the base of a triangle on Hounslow-heath, for which he obtained, from the Royal Society, the Copley medal; his trigonometrical experiments, for determining the true positions of the observatories at Greenwich, and at Paris; which are all recorded in the philosophical transactions of the Royal Society, evince his skill, in all the parts of geometry, that are connected with his profession. His Roman Antiquities show how little he was acquainted with the Roman localities of North-Britain: But, in his antiquarian speculations, his sagacity was constantly over-ruled by his system.

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than in any other country: Of old, the great land-owners might have their property, wherever it might lye, declared to be within any county, however distant. The commissioners, in executing so noble a trust, were not to be impeded by such difficulties. They soon discovered, that the engineer's map, before mentioned, had been deposited in the royal library: And they readily obtained his majesty's gracious permission to copy that geographical picture of a rugged country. They found in Arrowsmith a geographer of high reputation, for skill, activity, and disinterestedness; for that sort of activity, which is never at rest, while any new notice is to be found, and that kind of disinterestedness, which disregards the expence of obliteration. Such a geographer soon saw, that even the engineer's map, though on a scale of 3,000 feet to an inch, did not comprehend the Hebrides; did not abound in geographical positions; and was even deficient in the limits of shires; as they had never been settled. The influence of the commissioners was again exerted. Several proprietors of the western islands communicated their private surveys; various scientific persons were by them induced to adjust, by astronomical observations, new positions (*u*); and the intelligent rector of the academy of Inverness (*x*), was also induced to investigate the entangled boundaries of the five northern shires. The surveys of the western coast, and the isles of North-Britain, by Mackenzie, and Huddart; the survey of its northern extremity, by Bryce; the survey of the east coast, by Downie; and above all, the skilful observations of Doctor Mackay, at Aberdeen, which rectified the position of the south-eastern coast of Aberdeenshire; were all of the greatest use to such a geographer, as Arrowsmith (*y*). In this manner, then, was given to the public, after two years

(*u*) Mr. Professor Playfair of Edinburgh; and Mr. Jackson of Ayr. (*x*) Mr. Nimmo.

(*y*) The whole coast of Aberdeenshire, from the town to Peterhead, had been placed too much to the southward, 4½ English miles, and too much to the westward, nearly 8 English miles: Doctor Mackay's observations corrected the longitude of Aberdeen 13′ 30″; which correction brought out the whole coast almost eight miles; and the latitude 4′, or more than 4′½ English miles, which had been placed too far to the south: The observatory at Aberdeen, with excellent instruments, was erected, in 1781, by the scientific zeal of the principal and masters of the Marishal College. Doctor Mackay communicated to the Royal Society of Edinburgh his observations, for settling the position of that observatory on the 20th June 1796. Hist. of the Edin. Royal Society, iv. 28—30; and p. 136 of the same volume. Yet, such is the indifference of mankind to the most useful discoveries that, several maps, and nautical books, preserve the old errors, as to the latitude, and longitude of Aberdeen. Meantime, Doctor Lind made many observations, in the observatory at Hawkhill, near Edinburgh; the Reverend Alexander Bryce made astronomical observations, at Kirknewton; the same scientific practice was established in the observatory at Glasgow; and other astronomers, in Scotland, were active, in the same period, to enlarge the views of science. Meanwhile, was published, by Faden, in 1807, a two-sheet map of Scotland, much improved.

inquiries, and elaborations, such a map of North-Britain, whereof a nation may boast, for its science, and utility. Of the making of those roads, to which this map is subservient, cannot be said what Addison observed of the Roman labours: "The grandeur of the *commonwealth* shews itself chiefly in works, "that were necessary, or convenient: On the contrary, the magnificence of "Rome, *under the emperors*, was rather for ostentation, than any real use-"fulness."

In the meantime, a *Statistical Account* of Scotland, which was attempted, unsuccessfully, as we have seen, in the seventeenth century, was actually accomplished, at the end of the eighteenth. The project of obtaining, from more than nine hundred persons, a particular statement of the localities of every parish, in a whole kingdom, was adopted, by Sir John Sinclair, and carried into effect, by the persevering exertions of the worthy baronet, in the seven years, which ended, in 1798. The cooperation of the church, and the concurrence of the clergy of Scotland, in this national work, merit great commendation. As a whole, this Statistical Account has many inequalities: Yet, it contains ten thousand local facts, which are of the greatest use, in cultivating the antiquities, the annals, and chorography of North-Britain. Such, then, are the notices, which were intended to introduce the more curious reader to the following accounts of the several shires of Scotland; beginning with the most southern, and ending with the most northern, in a correlative sequence.

CHAP. II.

Of Roxburghshire.

§ 1. *Of its Name.*] THE appellation of this shire is obviously derived from the designation of the town, which, as it owed its existence to the *burgh* upon a rocky peninsula, also owed to it the name of Rox-burgh. The ancient castle of Roxburgh stood high on an oblong protuberance of solid rock, upon the neck of a peninsula, which was formed by the near approach of the Teviot and the Tweed. Within the isthmus, on which the castle stood, the end of the peninsula expands to nearly the breadth of half a mile, by a curve of the Teviot, and an opposite bend of the Tweed, before they unite their kindred waters. On this commodious site, in predatory times, stood the town of Roxburgh, which was protected by the two rivers, on the east, south, and north, and by the castle, on the west. The most ancient name of this remarkable site, which occurs in record, is *Rokesburg* (*a*). Froissart calls it *Roseburg*, Buchanan *Rosburgum*, and Camden *Rosburgh*. But, these are probably vulgar names, which were adopted by popular writers, without much inquiry. More eastward, saith Camden, where Twede and Teifie join, Rosburg sheweth itself, called also Roxburg; and, in *old time*, *Marchidun*, because it was a town in the *marches* (*b*); where stands a castle, that for natural situation, and towered fortifications, was in past times, exceeding strong. But, his intimation is not warranted by the fact: It was not a town in the marches. If, by *old time*, Camden meant, the British period, Marchidun, in the British speech, would signify the towering fortress (*c*): And this name would be very descriptive of the position of Roxburgh, if we suppose, what is not improbable, that there was some fortress of the Gadeni upon this lofty knoll, when the Romans entered their diversified country. Fordun, indeed, calls Roxburgh *Marche-*

(*a*) In Earl David's charter to Selkirk, the name is *Rokes*burg; and *Rokes*burc, in other charters. Nicholson's Hist. Lib. 363, and Smith's Bede, 764. The late lamented Duke of Roxburgh wrote his name, as his fathers had done before him, Roxburghe, and was even solicitous to retain the final (e), as a part of his inheritance. The worthy Duke might have defended his practice, by the authority of Somner, in art. *burg*, *burge*, arx, castrum, urbs, civitas.

(*b*) Holland's Camden, Scotia, 10. (*c*) Owen's Dict. under *march* and *din*.

mond, and Boece, and Bellenden, *Marchmond*. This appellation, plainly, means the mount on the marches. But, as Fordun was aware, that *dun* signified a hill, he may have merely translated the old name of March*edun* into March*mont*. There is reason to suppose, that the modern name of Rokesburgh, signifying the strength upon the *rock*, is not older than the Norman times (*d*). This shire is popularly called *Teviotdale*; because the vale of Teviot constitutes at least three-fourths of the whole county (*e*).

§ 11. *Of its Situation, and Extent.*] Roxburghshire, as the most southern county of North-Britain, has Northumberland, on the east; Northumberland, and part of Cumberland, on the south; Dumfriesshire, on the south-east; Selkirkshire, on the west; and Berwickshire, with a small portion of Edinburghshire, on the north (*f*). The county of Roxburgh extends from south-west to north-east 38 miles; and from south-east to north-west 27 (*g*). The breadth, indeed, about the middle of it, is carried out to a larger extent, by a projection of the shire northward of the Tweed, between the streams of the Gala and the Leader. This county contains a superficies of 696 square miles, or 445,440 statute acres. The population of this shire, in 1801, being 33,682, allows exactly 48:39 persons to a square mile. This county is divided by its waters into several districts. Teviotdale, which forms the great body of its ample extent, comprehends the district, which is drained by the Teviot, and its subservient streams. And, Teviotdale comprehends 521 square miles, or 333,440 Statute acres. Lidisdale, which forms the south-west corner of Roxburghshire, on the borders of Northumberland, and of Cumberland, comprehends the Alpine country, which is drained by the Lid, the Hermitage, and other streams, which all send their kindred

(*d*) *Rock*, meaning a stoney protuberance, is not in the Teutonic speech: In this sense, the word is old French, from the Celtic tongue; as we may learn from Bullet, and Menage: The Records, in Rymer, about 1400, call the castle, *Roke*-burg.

(*e*) Agricultural Survey, by the Rev. Dr. Douglas.

(*f*) Roxburghshire lies between 55° 6′ 40″ and 55° 42′ 52″, N. lat.; and between 2° 11″, and 3° 7′ 50″ W. longitude from Greenwich. Old Roxburgh castle, which gave its name to the shire, stood in 55° 36′ 35″ N. lat.; and 2° 29′ 15″ W. long. Jedburgh, the county town, stands in 55° 29′ 40″ N. lat.; and in 2° 35′ 30″ W. long. Kelso, the largest town, in this shire, is in 55° 36′ 48″ N. lat.; and in 2° 28′ 20″ W. longitude. These positions were taken from Arrowsmith's late, and most accurate map of Scotland. In Blaeu's *Atlas Scotiæ*, may be seen Pont's sketches of Teviotdale No. 4, Lauderdale No. 6, and Lidsdale No. 9. There is a good modern map of Roxburghshire, in four sheets, on a scale of one inch to a mile, by Matthew Stobie, land surveyor, in Edinburgh, at the expence of the gentlemen of the county.

(*g*) Id.

waters

waters to the Solway frith: The superficies of Lidisdale contains 120 square miles, or 76,800 statute acres. The third division of Roxburghshire is that projection, which extends northward of the Tweed, between the Gala, and the Leader: And this northern district contains 28 square miles, or 17,920 statute acres. The fourth, or lower division of this shire, is that portion of it, which, lying northward of the Tweed, is included in the *Merse*; and which comprehends a superficies of 27 square miles, or 17,280 statute acres (*b*).

§ III. *Of its natural Objects.*] The southern parts of Roxburghshire are very mountainous. A remarkable range of hills runs quite across the country, from east to west; beginning with Whitelaw, and Chillhill, on the northern declivity of the Cheviot mountains; and ending with Craikmuir, on the source of Borthwick water; and even proceeding westward into Ayrshire (*i*). From those remarkable hills flow many streams into Teviotdale, on the north, and into Northumberland, Lidisdale, Ewisdale, and Eskdale, on the south. Lidisdale is an Alpine region, which is, however, dry; and affords excellent pasturage. Several of its hills are conspicuous objects from afar (*k*). The interior of Teviotdale abounds more with fertile vallies, than with great heights. Yet, has it several hills, in various places of its ample range, which attract notice, either from their natural appearances, or incite curiosity, by their memorable antiquities. Hounam-law emulates the Cheviot heights; and is the parent of the Kail, and Bowmont waters (*l*).

(*b*) The subjoined recapitulation will shew the comparative size of each of thofe divisions:

	Sq. Miles.	Stat. Acres.
Teviotdale - - -	521 -	333,440
Lidisdale - - -	120 -	76,800
The Gala and Leader - -	28 -	17,920
The portion of the Merse -	27 -	17,280
The total of the shire - -	696 -	445,440

These proportions were ascertained, by minute measurements, and calculations, from Arrowsmith's map of Scotland; and which were made, by dividing the surface into a series of triangles, and by calculating each triangle separately. This intimation is given, because other computations have been made mistakingly.

(*i*) The Cheviot mountain, on the eastern extremity of this range, rears its conical top, above the level of the sea - - 2,682 feet | Tudhope hill - - 1,830 feet
Chillhil rises - - - 2,000 | Wisp hill - - 1,820
Winburgh hill - - 2,000 | Carter fell - - 1,602

(*k*) Millenwood-fell is about 2,000 feet above the sea-level. Tinnis hill is a land-mark to sailors, Stobie's map of this shire; Stat. Account, xvi. p. 62-3.

(*l*) Stat. Account, i. 52.

Dunian

Dunian hill rears its conical summit 1,031 feet above the sea-level. Rubers-law rises to the height of 1,419 feet above the same plain. Bonchester hill, though not so high, deserves more notice, on account of the British strength on its summit, from which it derived its name. *Burgh* hill, in Cavers parish, though not remarkable for its height, merits notice from its ancient fort, which defended its crest, and gave it an appellation. In the same parish, *Pen*-crest-*pen*, and Shelfhill*pen*; and, in Crailing parish, *Pen*ielheugh, are memorable, for preserving, through successions of people, their British names. On the north of the Teviot, the eminences, which attract the greatest observation, are the *Minto-craigs*, which rise to the height of 858 feet above the sea-level; and which, as they are formed of rocks, and are interspersed with planting, are picturesque objects, and are real ornaments to Teviot's vale (*l*). In the northern part of Teviotdale, the only eminences, which merit particular notice, are the Eldon hills, which are distinguished in that somewhat level region, by their singular appearance, and by the British, and Roman, strengths, that were formed on their acclivities (*m*). In that division of Roxburghshire, which projects northward of the Tweed, the only hill, which rises to a great height, is William-law, on the Gala water; and it commands an extensive prospect, and has, on its summit, a collection of stones, that are called *Bells Cairn* (*n*). The hills of this county are happily both ornamental, and useful. They add much to the superficies of the shire, while they contribute much to its landscape, and still more to its pasturage. And very few of them are bleak, and scarcely any of them are rugged (*o*). Crawford, in his elegant *lyrick* poem of "the Cowden-"*knows*," is studious to mark, with fond recollection, "Teviot braes, so green,

(*l*) Ainslie's map; Stat. Account, xix. 571.

(*m*) They rise, in three summits, to the height of 1,330 feet, above the sea. Ainslie's map of Scotland. They are covered, in some parts of them, with a kind of red stone, without a pile of grass; and these circumstances gave them a striking appearance from afar. Stat. Ac. xvi. 231. There is a fine delineation of the Eldon hills, in Roy's Rom. Antiq. pl. xxi. He, mistakingly, supposed them, to form the site of the *Trimontium* of the Itinerary.

(*n*) Stobie's map; and Miln's Melrose, 65. In this district, about four miles northward of the Tweed, there is a remarkable object, called the *Blue Cairn*, from the colour of the stones: A large space, which is sufficient to contain many persons, is completely inclosed, and may be said, to be fortified by a natural rampart of stones. Miln's Melros, 67-8.

(*o*) Some of the sloping hills of less eminence are highly cultivated: Such as Ednam hill, and Henderside hill, on the north side of the Tweed. Stat. Acco. ii. 304; Agricult. Survey, 7; and the Statistical Accounts of this shire; wherein we find, that its hills are generally dry, fertile, and green.

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" and gay (*o*)." Gilpin is more picturesque. The downy sides, says he, of all those vallies of the Teviot, are covered with sheep, which often appear to hang upon immense green walls: So steep is the descent in some parts, that the eye, from the bottom, scarce distinguishes the slope from the perpendicular. Several of those mountainous slopes (for some of them are very lofty) are finely tinted with mosses of different hues, which give them a very rich surface (*p*).

In writing of the waters of Roxburghshire, we treat of objects, which are, indeed, sacred to song. The lakes of this shire are very few, and very small (*q*). Yet, is it well watered by a variety of streams, which are at once ornamental, and advantageous. The Tweed's " fair flood " enters this shire at the influx of the Etterick; and, winding through this variegated country, for a course of thirty miles, it leaves Roxburghshire, at the confluence of the Carham burn; having received, in its " gently-gliding flow," the Gala, the Allan, the Teviot, and the Eden (*r*). The Teviot rises in the Fan-hill, one of the eminences, which separate Roxburghshire, from Dumfriesshire; and being swelled by several subservient streams, it meanders through its own *dale*, for almost forty miles, when it falls into the Tweed (*s*). Besides the rivulets, which rush down from their springs, in their several mounts, and join the Teviot, near its sources, this ample river receives the Borthwick, and the *Ale*, from the heights on its northern side, and the Allan, the Slitrig, the Rule, the Jed, the Oxnam, and the Kail, with their tributary streamlets, all springing from the kindred hills of the Cheviot range. The Teviot thus forms the common drain of many hills, on both sides of its rather level dale, which it fetilizes, by laying it also dry. The *Teviot* obtained its British name, like its kindred *Teivie*, in Wales, from its quality of flooding

(*o*) Ritson's Scotish Songs.

(*p*) Pict. Tour. i. 48.

(*q*) Primside loch, in Morbatle parish, is not more than a mile, in circumference. In Ashkirk parish, there are two lochs of still less size. In Galashiels parish, there are also two lochs of the same diminutive size. Whitemoor loch is only about three quarters of a mile in circumference. In Linton parish, there are two lochs of still smaller dimensions. They all contain pike, perch, and eels, and other fish. Stobie's map of Roxburghshire; and the Stat. Accounts.

(*r*) The Scotish lyrists have delighted to speak, in encomiastic strains, of the Tweed. It was Thomson's " parent stream, whose pastoral banks first heard his Doric reed." It is questioned by Ritson, whether any English writer has produced so beautiful a pastoral, as Crawford's *Tweedside*. Hamilton of Bangour also celebrates " the flow'r-blushing bank of the Tweed." " Bonny Tweedside " is the frequent topic of Ramsay's muse.

(*s*) Crawford, in his song of " Cowdenknows," invokes " the powers, that haunt the woods, " and plains, where Tweed, with Teviot, flows."

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its fertile haughs (*t*). The Ale rises from Ale-moor, in Selkirkshire; and, coursing through Roxburghshire, for twenty miles, it mingles with the Teviot, below Ancrum (*u*). The Berthwick water, which derived its modern name, from a place on its borders, rises in Craikmuir, on the south-east extremity of Selkirkshire; and, flowing through a pastural country, closes its course of thirteen miles, by mingling with the Teviot, below "the braes of Branx*holm*." The Kail rises from the northern declivity of the same Cheviot mountains, which send the Northumbrian Cocket to the southward; and, quitting the hilly regions, the Kail meanders through a spacious plain, till it mixes with the Teviot, below Eckford-mill, after a course of eighteen miles, through many clumps of full grown trees: The Kail derived its ancient name from the woody coverts, which embellished its banks; *Cell*, and *Celli*, in the British, signifying a grove, and *Coille*, in the Gaelic, a wood. Oxnam water also descends from those border mountains; and, passing Oxnam, whence it borrowed its recent name, it pursues its winding course of twelve miles, till it mingles its congenerous waters, below Crailing, with the Teviot, the common receptacle of a million of rills. The "silvan Jed" rises from several sources in the declivity of the Carter-fell, one of the border hills, which also send from their southern declivity, through Northumberland, the North-Tyne, and the Reed: And, rushing through a rocky channel, and woody vales, the Jed winds round the Shiretown, to which it gave its well-known name of Jedworth, which corruption has converted into Jed-burgh; and, after a rapid course of almost twenty miles, it pours its dusky waters into the Teviot, below Bonjedworth (*x*). The Rule rises from three sources, in the northern declivities of Winburgh-hill, Fanna-hill, and Needlaw, the same range, that sends the Lidel southward to the Solway: The Rule rolls its rapid waters between well-wooded banks; and, after a meandering course of twelve miles, it mingles its congenerous stream

(*t*) Ramsay, in praising "the bonny lass of Branksome," sings, "As I came in by Teviotside, "and by the braes of Branksome." Branks*holm* is a hamlet, on the Teviot, in Hawick parish.

(*u*) The *Ale*, which was formerly called the *Alne*, obtained its name from the British *Al*, a fluid, water: This elementary word enters into the names of many waters, both in South, and North-Britain. The *Alna* is mentioned in a charter of David I., in 1128. It is of a dark colour; it is, in some parts of its course, precipitous, running over a free-stone bottom: And there is a cave in the rock, as large as a common sitting-room, having in it a copious spring of pure water.

(*x*) The *Jed*, which was anciently written *Ged*, and *Gedde*, may have derived its singular name from the Celtic *Gaid*, the plural of *Gad*, and signifying withes, or twigs. And the researches of Bullet have discovered an old Celtic word *Ged*, for a *wood*: In Hertfordshire, there is a river named *Gade*; and in Aberdeenshire a *Gadie*.

with

with the Teviot, below Spital: The Rule is merely the British *Rhull*, which means what moves briskly, what *breaks out*; a meaning this, that is very descriptive of this mountain torrent (*y*). This water may vie with the silvan Jed, in the variety, and value of its woods, but not in its picturesque scenery. The *Slitrig*, rising from several springs, in the Leap-hill, the Maiden-paps, and Great-moor-hill, flows through hollow vales, and green hills, during a rapid course of ten miles, till it falls into the Teviot, below Hawick, driving many mills for that industrious town (*z*). Allan water issues from two springs, in the northern declivity of the same ridge, which sends the Hermitage water to the south; and, after a short course, through wealthly sheep-walks, pours its *fair* stream into the congenerous Teviot, at Newmill. There is another *Allan*, in the northern part of this shire, which mixes its waters with the Tweed, above Melros. This stream is called *Alwent*, in a charter of William, the lion, to the monks of Melros: And, this term is merely the *British* form of the name *Al-wen*. The Bowmont, which may have derived its modern name, from its remarkable curvature round some of the mounts of Cheviot, drains the parishes of Morbotle, and Yetholm; and joins its rapid waters with the Northumbrian *Till* (*a*) Such are the streams, which drain the several districts of Teviotdale, and contribute to the elegance of its landscape, as well as to the fertility of its plains. Lidisdale is emptied of its waters, by the Liddal, the Hermitage, and other currents, which pour from the circumjacent heights. The Liddal was "unknown in song, though there be not a *purer stream*," till Armstrong "first drew air on its Arcadian banks." It rises near the sources of the Tine, from the *southern* declivities of Fanna-hill, Note of the Gate, and Needslaw, the same border mountains, which send the *Rule*, and the *Jed*, from their *northern* declivities, into Teviotdale. The Liddal rolls its *rapid* maze, over a stoney channel, towards the western main. Liddisdale, the modern name of this district, is a corruption of the pleonastic name of Liddalsdale. The ancient name of this "crystal stream," which it derived from the British people, was the *Lid*, which denotes its natural qualities. It bore this name, without the affix *dal*, when Drummond wrote his "Forth-feasting," to celebrate King

(*y*) Owen's Dict.

(*z*) Slitrig is not the original name of the water, nor is it the appellation of any place, near its banks; but, it is a Scoto-Saxon name, [Slit-rig], which has been imposed from local circumstances, that cannot now be traced: In Pont's map, indeed, it is called *Slit-ricke*.

(*a*) In several charters of the 13th century, this stream is called the *Bol-bent*, which more recent corruption has converted into *Bowmont*.

James's return, in 1616; wherein he sings of "*Lid with curl'd streams* (*b*)". The Hermitage, which borrows its modern name, from Hermitage castle, that stands on its woody banks, joins the Liddal, at Westburnflat: The united stream now tumbles through a more extended valley, till it quits Roxburghshire, at the influx of the Mareburn, after a rapid course of twenty miles. The Kershope, the Tweeden, the Tinnis, the Blackburn, and some smaller streams, all contribute to drain the pastoral district of Lidisdale; and all flow into the Lid. Of these mountain torrents, the Kershope is only famed, for being a long contested boundary of England, and Scotland, throughout its whole course of eight miles. The Tweeden is only remarkable for its water-falls. But, it is the Blackburn, which exhibits cataracts of the greatest variety, and grandeur; one of those falls being thirty-eight feet of perpendicular height, and twenty feet wide: The romantic vale of the Blackburn shows nature in her most diversified forms; sometimes beautiful, often awful, frequently sublime, and not unfrequently terrible: Yet, the greatest curiosity of the Blackburn is a natural bridge, which, as it stretches across the stream, five and fifty feet, joins the opposite hills together (*c*). Of the two divisions of Roxburghshire, which run out on the northern side of the Tweed, the upper district is watered, by the Allan, in the centre; and by the Gala, and Leader, on either side. The Allan takes its rise, on the north extremity of this shire, near the farm of *Allan* Shaws; and, running in a course of eight miles, through a pastoral country, which was once a forest, pours its clear waters into the congenial Tweed. The name of this stream, like the other Allans, is derived from the British *Al-wen*, from the brightness of its waters (*d*). The Gala, after leaving the southern limits of Edinburghshire, runs a somewhat winding course, for six miles, between the northern division of Roxburghshire, on the east, and Selkirkshire, on the west. The waters of the Gala were stained, with the blood of ravenous monks, who fought of old for its luxuriant pasturages. The Leader, which falls down from

(*b*) The British word *Llid* denotes rapidity, gushing out. Davis, and Owen Dict. in vo. The Anglo-Saxon *dal*, to denominate the valley, was affixed to the original name, as in Tweed-dal, which has sometimes, like Lid-dal, been applied to the river, instead of the valley, particularly, by the writer of "Peeblis to the Play;" wherein he speaks of "Tweedell-syd."

(*c*) Stat. Acco. 16. 79. The small streams of Dinlabyre, Harden, and Sundhope, have also some beautiful water-falls. Ib. 78.

(*d*) The British Al-wen is very nearly retained in the vulgar pronunciation, which is Alwen, or Elwan, as in Elwanfoot, on the Clyde: And the British Al-wen is, merely, the Gaelic *Alain*. The Allan water is celebrated in Scotish song, though it is not easy to tell, which of the Allans the songster meant to immortalize by his praise: Burns, indeed, points to the Allan of Perthshire.

the

the western end of the Lamermoor, and which Camden calls the *riveret Lauder*, flows through Lauderdale, for six miles, when it falls into the Tweed, below Drygrange, " with the milk-white ewes, 'twixt Tweed and Leader, standing." The *Leader-haughs* are greatly celebrated in Scotish lyricks; and were, indeed, famous, in feudal times, for breeding the stateliest steeds: The Leader-haughs also were once dignified by the residence, at Ercildon, of Thomas, the rymer, the earliest of the Scotish poets. The lower division of northern Roxburghshire is also watered by the Eden, which flows gently along, through the Merse, for nine miles, when it enters the Tweed. Near Newtondon, the Eden, tumbling over a rock, from the height of forty feet, forms a cataract of very diversified beauties, both agreeable, and splendid. This, like the Eden, in Cumberland, and the Eden, in Fife, derives its descriptive name, from the British *Eddain*, denoting the quality, which they all possess, of a *gliding* stream. The Roxburgh Eden was recollected by Burns, when addressing the shade of Thomson: " While virgin spring, by *Eden's flood*, unfolds her tender mantle " green." Such are the waters of Roxburghshire, which has been penuriously supplied with lakes; yet abounds with streams of every quality, and every size, that are dignified by the British names, which denote their qualities, and have become of classical importance, from their frequent celebration, by the Scotish lyrists.

For so mountainous a district, Roxburghshire enjoys few minerals. It is almost destitute of pit-coal. Lidisdale has coals of a good quality, both at Lawston, and on the Tweeden (*e*). In Teviotdale, the only coal, which has been discovered, is a thin stratum of a course kind, in Southdean; and some seams of little consequence, in Bedrule (*f*). Roxburghshire is chiefly indebted to the neighbouring countries of Northumberland, and Mid-Lothian, for the coal, which it uses for fuel: And the south-west parts of this county receive some supplies of coal, from Dumfriesshire (*g*). Limestone exists, abundantly, in various districts of this shire: But, it is not generally manufactured, from the scarcity of proper fuel. New quarries of limestone are however discovered, and additional manufactories of it are established, in proportion to the demand for so valuable an object of daily life (*h*). Marl of every kind is found, in various parts

(*e*) Agric. Survey, 196.

(*f*) Stat. Acco. 15. 564. The coal of Bedrule was found after a persevering search of great expence. In the neighbouring parish of Oxnam, and the adjacent country, every attempt to find coal has failed. Ib. 11. 319.

(*g*) Agricult. Survey, 196.

(*h*) Agricult. Survey, 139-40; Agricult. View, 47. In Sprouston parish, a considerable

parts of this shire; is much used in its agriculture; and has contributed greatly to its fertility (*i*). Yet, has marl been more anciently known, as an useful mineral, and longer used, as a manure, than those recent writers seem to think (*k*). Freestone every where abounds, in this shire, except in the north-west, and the south-eastern districts. Lidisdale has freestone of an excellent quality, every where, except near the source of Hermitage water, where there is only blue whinstone. From Lidisdale, the freestone veins run north, and north-east, throughout the whole extent of Teviotdale, to Sprouston, where it is of a superior quality (*l*). The hills, on the south of Teviotdale, are chiefly composed of whinstone, which are generally of the sort, that contains numerous nodules, and veins of agate, jasper, and Scotish pebbles; and these are often found intermixed with the soil, and discovered in beds of rivers. Hardly a mole-hill is cast up, in the neighbourhood of the Cheviot mountains, which does not contain some of those pebbles, that are mostly of an amber colour, with bluish veins, and streaks of deep red (*m*). At Roberts-linn, in Hobkirk parish, there are large rocks, which are full of those pebbles; that are manufactured into seals, and formed into buttons of various kinds. These pebbles are sent to Sheffield, and Birmingham, for the purposes of diversified manufacture (*n*). Iron stones are mixed with the soil, in several parts of this shire (*o*). The red clay soil

manufacture of lime has recently commenced. Stat. Acco. 21. 30. In Oxnam parish a bed of limestone has been discovered, but not yet manufactured. Ib. 11. 319. There is limestone in Bedrule, which is not yet worked. Ib. 15. 557. In Southdean, there is an inexhaustible quarry of lime, whereof some is calcined, by the coarse coal, in its vicinity. In Hobkirk parish, near Winburg mountain, there are several quarries of limestone; and three kilns are employed in calcining it. Ib. 3. 312. In Lidisdale, there is much limestone; and a draw-kiln has been lately erected at Hermitage. Ib. 16. 77.

(*i*) Agric. Survey, 135. Stat. Acco. 16. 233. Ib. 10. 293. Ib. 17. 174. Ib. 8. 522. Ib. 19. 573. Ib. 15. 557. Ib. 8. 25. Ib. 11. 304. Agricult. View, 48.

(*k*) Near Westermoss, there is a hamlet, called *Marlefield.* Stobie's map of Roxburghshire. In 1721, Marlfield was the residence of Sir William Bennet, the friend of Allan Ramsay, who wrote, in the house of Marlefield, a poetical address to Eolus, on the boisterous night of a high wind, though the muse seems not to have been much elevated by the uproar.

(*l*) Agricult. Survey, 11; and the Statistical Accounts. In Southdean parish, there is an excellent quarry of hard white stone, which is much used for chimneys; as it stands the greatest heat, and lasts for many years. Ib. 12. 70.

(*m*) Agric. Survey, 10-11; Agric. View, 8.

(*n*) Stat. Acco. 3. 312. Most of those rocks are of a light blue colour; while some of them are variegated with streaks of red, and yellow.

(*o*) Agricult. Survey, 10.

of

of the northern district of Teviotdale contains a proportion of iron, from two to six per cent. (*p*).

There are petrifying springs in various parts of this shire. In Roxburgh parish, on the banks of the Tweed, there are two petrifying springs; one whereof is so strong, as to crust a bit of moss, or any capillary substance, in three months, so as to render it, as hard as ice, in half a year: The large petrifaction, which it has formed, at its issue, exhibits the appearance of a solid rock (*q*). There are also, in Roxburghshire, several chalybeate, and sulphurine springs, which, however, are not very remarkable for their medical powers (*r*). In Lidisdale, there are several springs, which are strongly impregnated with sulphur. In a morass, called Deadwater, there is a sulphureous spring, which is much frequented by persons, who are afflicted with cutaneous, and scrophulous complaints; and who receive great benefit, by drinking the water, and by using it as a warm bath: It only wants proper accommodations to make Deadwater a place of more resort (*s*). There are several *consecrated* wells, in the neighbourhood of Melrose; as St. Helens, St. Roberts, St. Dunstans: And the mineral springs of Eldon, and Dunstan's-wells, have long been used by the country people, as a sovereign remedy for the cholic (*t*).

§ IV. *Of its Antiquities.*] Under this head, the first objects of antiquarian research are the people, and their language; because notices, with regard to

(*p*) View of Agricult. 10.

(*q*) Stat. Acco. 19. 132. There are also some petrifying springs in Minto parish. Ib. 578. In Lidisdale, there are several petrifying springs: One of these on the Tweeden is very powerful; and emits so large a quantity of water, that considerable masses of petrified matter appear on every side, as if it were converted into solid stone: The progress of the petrifaction is distinct, and beautiful: The fog, which grows on the edge of the spring, and is sprinkled with the water, is eight inches high, while the lower part is converted into solid stone; the middle appears, as if it were half frozen; and the top is green, and flourishing. The petrified matter, when burnt, resolves into lime. The spring, when used to irrigate the fields, fertilizes them extremely. Ib. 16. 78.

(*r*) Near Jedburgh, there are two chalybeate springs; one whereof, called Tidhope well, has been used with success, in scorbutic, and rheumatic disorders. Stat. Ac. 1. 4. In Oxnam parish, there is a chalybeate spring, of similar qualities to that at Gillisland; yet, is it not much used. Ib. 11. 319. Near Crailing Manse, there is a mineral spring, which is in much repute among the common people, as a cure for the cholic. Ib. 2. 328. On the banks of the Tweed, within the minister's glebe of Lessudwen, there are several springs of water, one of which is of a chalybeate quality: It has been long used, with success, in scorbutic complaints. Ib. 10. 208.

(*s*) Ib. 16. 77-8. In a swamp, on the farm of Dinlabyre, there is another spring of the same kind. There is also another of an excellent quality, on the farm of Shortbut-trees. At Lawston, there is a very strong mineral spring; but, as the water has not been analyzed, it is not certain to what class it belongs. Id.

(*t*) Miln's Melrose, 45.

both,

both, support the history of each other. At the epoch of Christ, the western, and the greater part of Roxburghshire, were inhabited by the Gadeni, while the eastern, and lesser districts, were occupied by the Ottadini (*u*). The language of those tribes, who were the descendants of the pristine people, may still be traced in the topography of their countries. The names of rivers, and of mountains, remain the longest unchanged, amidst the revolutions of the world. We have already seen, that the rivers, and streams, have generally retained their British names, notwithstanding the conquests of the Romans, and the intrusion of the Saxons, the ascendency of the Scoto-Irish, and the prevalence of the English (*x*). The ancient names, from the British speech, may also be traced, in the names of several hills, however they may be disguised by ignorance, and perverted by vulgarity (*y*). *Peel*, which is so frequently applied to border strengths, in every district of this shire, is obviously derived from the British Pîl, which denotes a moated fort, and was adopted, in this sense, by the Scoto-Saxon people of North-Britain. The British *Caer*, signifying a fortress, also appears in several names; as *Car*-bie, in Lidisdale, where there are the remains of a British hill-fort: *Caer* has, in many instances, been changed to *Ker*, by vulgar use; and from this corruption of the Cambro-British word were derived the local surnames of *Ker*, *Karr*, and *Carr*, which still abound, in this shire. The British *Cors*, signifying a marshy place, appears in some names of places, as in *Corsick*; and the *Cors* is retained in popular language, under the form of *Carse*. Several other names of places, in Roxburghshire, retain their Cambro-British appellations, though they be much corrupted: Such as the *Catrail*, *Kelso*, for *Calchou*, Crailing, for Traverlin, Cavers, Plenderleith, Frith, and others (*z*): *Melros*, indeed, may be either a British, or a Gaelic,

(*u*) See before, v. i. ch. 2.

(*x*) The Tweed, the ancient Tued, the Tweeden, the Teviot, the Ale, the Jed, the Kail, the Rule, the Lid, the Allans, the Eden, and the Leader, were all named, by the original people, from their qualities; the etymology of their names are still discoverable, in the dictionaries of the Cambro-British speech. To all these, may be added *Lyn*, or *Lin*, a pool, which is common to the British, and Gaelic, and appears in several names, as Roberts-*lin*, *Lin*-hope, *Lin*-ton, &c.; and it is even retained in the common language, when applied to pools, that are formed by waterfalls.

(*y*) Pen-*crest*-pen is the name of a height, with a double pleonasm: Pen, in the ancient British, signifies a head, or *crest*, and the affix *pen* is merely a reduplication of the first; Shelf-hill-*pen* is another name of a mountain, with similar reduplications; *Pen*-iel-heugh is also a name of a similar kind, in which we see the British *pen* very conspicuous, notwithstanding the obscurities of many ages.

(*z*) See Davies, and Owen's W. Dict., under the several words. The Tweed, the *Tued* of Richard, the *Tueda* of Buchanan, and the *Twede* of Camden, is the *Tuedd* of the British, signifying the state of being in a side, the border of a country, the coast, a region. See Lluyd's Arch. 239; Davies; and Owen.

word;

word; as the terms, which form it, are common to both those congenerous tongues.

The genuine topography of North-Britain is, undoubtedly, the truest history of its ancient colonizations. We have already seen, in the names of mountains, and waters, the real precedence of the British people. Amidst the obscurities of the Scotish period, we may yet see, that the Scoto-Irish people made some settlements, in this county, by the names, which they imposed on several objects (*a*). The Saxon people, settling here, during the sixth, perhaps, as early as the fifth century, while they retained many names of places, imposed, as we may easily suppose, many new appellations (*b*). There are several instances of Scoto-Saxon words being conjoined pleonastically with British, and with Scoto-Irish; such as, *Pen-crest*-pen, Shelf-*hill*-pen, *Down*-law; and so of others, which show the genius, and practice, of the Saxon settlers. It will readily be supposed, that the great body of the names of places in this shire, are Scoto-Saxon, in the modern forms, or in plain English. But, we see no trace, in this district, of Scandinavian names; because Scandinavians never settled, in Roxburghshire.

From the language, we may naturally turn to the funereal remains of the descendants of the first people. In Lidisdale, there are many sepulchral cairns, or tumuli: On the farm of Whisgills, and in the midst of an extensive moss, there is a cairn of an immense size, which is composed of stones, that are mostly of great bulk, and must have been brought from afar, as there are none such in this vicinity (*c*). At Carlinrig, in Teviotdale, a number of sepulchral

(*a*) The most conspicuous of those names, which the Scoto-Irish undoubtedly imposed here, are *Dun*-ian *hill*, *Down*-law, El-*dun* hills, all from the Gaelic *Dun*, a hill; Alncrum, which is now *Ancrum*; Tinnis-hill; Both-eldun, which is now Bowden; *Inch*-bonnie; *Loch*-inches; *Knock*-knows; Lustruther, &c.

(*b*) There may be traced in Roxburghshire many names of places, from old Saxon words: As, Hleaw, or *Law*, which appears, in 49 names to so many hills; *Leag*, or Lee, or Lea, in 32 names, imposed on fields, or pasturages; Hope, in 25 names, imposed on little valleys, in the recesses of the mountains, or dingles; *Shiel*, in 19 names, imposed originally on temporary cottages, and afterwards to hamlets; *Shaw*, in 19 names of woods; *Holm*, in 17 names of meads, on the margin of waters; *Dean*, on many *vales*; *Rig*, *Dod*, *Ham*; Wic, one from *Threap*, one from *Botl*, one from *By*: But, there is not here any name from *Thwait*, which appears near Dumfries.

(*c*) Stat. Ac. 16. 84-5. In a sepulchral cairn, on the farm of Cleughhead, there was found, when opened, an urn full of ashes, and of burnt bones. There were also discovered, in the same cairn, a number of stones, for clearing corn from the husk. In some other cairns, which have been opened, in this district, there have been found square chests of stone, containing ashes. Id.

urns

urns were dug up, some years ago (*d*). They are said, indeed, to be Roman urns: But, it is a too common error, among the North-British antiquaries, to regard every funereal urn, as Roman, though they contain the more ancient remains of a prior people. The parish of Southdean exhibits many sepulchral tumuli. In some of these, have been found stone cases, containing human bones (*e*). In Minto parish, have been discovered stone coffins, containing similar remains (*f*). In the parish of Lilliesleaf, on inclosing the grounds of Bewlie, the workmen laid open an ancient burial place of a circular form, wherein were found a great number of human bones, which had been partly burnt. The same sort of remains has been found, in other parts of this parish. And with them, have been discovered military weapons, particularly, spear heads with two edges (*g*). Such are some of the remains of the Gadeni people, or their British forefathers! In the Ottadini country, within Eckford parish, on the farm of Hospital-land, a tumulus was opened, wherein were found two earthen pots, containing the fragments of human bones, with their accompanying dust (*h*). There are sepulchral cairns in different parts of Kelso parish: One of these, on the estate of Wooden, is composed of a vast number of stones, intermixed with moss; though neither the same kind of stones, nor moss, are now to be found, in this parish (*i*). Near Ednham, there is a tumulus, called *the Picksknow*, which disclosed, when opened, three stone coffins, one whereof inclosed an urn, containing ashes (*k*). Such are the remains of the Ottadini, which

(*d*) Stat. Acc. 17. 92. (*e*) Ib. 12. 70-1. (*f*) Ib. 19. 578. (*g*) Ib. 17. 179.

(*h*) Ib. 8. 33. One of those pots was three feet deep, and eighteen inches wide; the other was somewhat smaller; and when they were exposed to the air, they crumbled to dust. Id. In digging for stones on Woodenhill, there were found, about two feet deep, two or three earthen vessels, containing pieces of human bones, and dust. Id. On Caverton-edge, there have been found, in several places, fragments of human bones, with black dust. And at one of those places, there was discovered a copper vessel, about six inches diameter, inclosing an excavated wooden ball. Near the village of Eckford, in a field, called the Dales, there was found a stone chest, containing bones of a large size. Id. Human bones, and memorials of slaughter, are found every where, in Roxburghshire. Ib. 19. 138.

(*i*) Ib. 10. 583. On the same estate, several stone coffins have been discovered, containing human bones. Id.

(*k*) Ib. 11. 307. On the farm of Comb-flat, in the same parish of Ednham, there are several barrows, or earthen tumuli, which are called *Comb-knows*. Id. The Scotish *know* is the English *knoll*, a little hill. Near Hawick, on the west, there is an earthen mount, or barrow, of a conical figure, which is popularly called *the mote*. This is supposed, by some, to have been a sepulchral tumulus, and by others, a juridical seat. Stat. Acco. 8. 534. The fact seems to be, that this barrow

which tend to evince their practice of sepulture, and to show the rude state of their arts.

Roxburghshire contains also many monuments, which indicate the worship of its earliest inhabitants. In Lidisdale, upon high ground, near Tinnis-hill, there is an oblong cairn, eighty-six yards, in length; consisting of freestone of a large size, great weight, and square form: And, these stones must have been brought from a great distance; as none such are now to be found near this immense cairn. At the north end of it, is a cromlech, consisting of several large stones, which are set on edge, and fixed in a quadrangular form; and which are covered, on the top, by a large broad stone, in a sloping position. At the south end of this uncommon cairn, there is a large stone, set upright, seven feet above the surface of the moss, and thirteen feet in circumference. This has been long called *the standing stone;* and, for ages, it has marked the northern boundary of Canoby, or the debateable ground. Near to the standing stone, there are five other stones of nearly an equal size with it, which are placed in the form of a circle, the diameter whereof is forty-five yards (*l*). This would be deemed a very extraordinary monument, in Cornwall, the land of druidical art, and long the seat of druidical power. In the face of such monuments, as Tinnis-hill exhibits, it is in vain to inquire, if the druids ever existed here! The fact will always outface the Gothic, and Romance authors, who only scribble about what they did not understand; and who only delude children, who read what they do not comprehend. In Lidisdale, on the farm of Millburn, there is a druid circle, or *oratory*, which is composed of nine upright stones. The hill, whereon this singular monument remains, is called *Ninestone* Ridge. And here, says tradition, with gossip tongue, Lord Soulcs was burnt (*m*). In Morbottle parish, there are several druid circles, which also consist of upright stones, and are generally situated on rising grounds. As these are near the borders of the two kingdoms, the sad scenes of former conflicts, and unavailing treaties, these circles are popularly called the *Tryst-Stanes* (*n*). In Linton parish, the ancient land of the *Ottadini*, there is another druid circle, which is composed of six upright stones; and is also called, by unconscious tradition, *the Tryst* (*o*).

barrow was a burial place of the first people; and, like other monuments of a similar nature, was converted afterwards to a *mote-hill*, for the administration of justice to a rude people, before court-houses were commodiously built.

(*l*) Ib. 16. 85. (*m*) Ib. 16. 84. (*n*) Ib. 16. 572.

(*o*) Ib. 3. 123. Tryst, in the old language of Scotland, means a place of meeting; and more recently a cattle-market, where sellers, and buyers, *meet*.

The whole extent of Roxburghshire, as it was by nature strong, from its *heights*, and recesses, appears to have been, in the earliest times, the bloody scene of many conflicts. The fathers of the Ottadini, and Gadeni, seem to have secured many hills, by artificial helps. The great peninsula, which is formed by the Teviot, and the Tweed, was once full of military works, as we know, from instructive remains. The Eldon hills, from their commodious situation, were finely formed, by nature, for British strengths. The most northerly of them, which is also the largest, rises to the height of 1330 feet above the level of the sea, and ends in a spacious summit, that was fortified by two fosses, and ramparts of earth; inclosing a circumference of more than a a mile (*p*). This great fort of the Gadeni was the commodious centre of other British forts, on the summits of the smaller eminences of the surrounding country. In after times, the Romans are supposed to have converted this native fortress into a commanding post, near their military road (*q*). About two miles west from the Eldons, rises the Caldshiels hill, whereon the Gadeni had a considerable strength, which, like the fort on Eldon hill, was strengthened by a double fosse, and rampart. This strength, which overlooked, and commanded the country around, appears to have been converted, as usual, into a Roman post: The form of the remaining entrenchments, and the appearance of the redoubt, which projects from the south side of the rampart and fosse, to cover the entrance, exhibit the genius of Roman fortification (*r*). From the principal strength, on Eldon hill, a fosse, and its accompanying rampart of

(*p*) In the area of this vast hill-fort of the first people, which is called *the Floors*, there appear vestiges of huts, or rude earthen buildings, which sheltered, no doubt, the inhabitants of this strength. Miln's Hist. of Melrose, 46.

(*q*) Ib. 47. Roy's Milit. Antiq. 102, and pl. xxi., which exhibit a fine sketch of the Eldon-hills, and their environs. Yet, is there reason to doubt, whether the Romans had ever a post on a position, which is quite unsuitable to their usual choice. Miln, indeed, calls this a *Roman* camp; but he also calls all the British strengths, in this neighbourhood, *Roman* camps, from the unsettled notions, that have been entertained, in North-Britain, on such subjects. Roy, who afterwards surveyed this hill, merely says, that there are some remains of entrenchments upon it, which he has delineated, in his pl. xxi.

(*r*) Miln's Melros, 47. The chief strength is an oblong square, with the corners rounded. It is about 200 yards long, from east to west; and 180 yards broad, from north to south: It is surrounded by double ramparts of earth, and by fosses, which encompass the hill about fifty feet, the one entrenchment below the other. The area of the square redoubt is about half an acre, and is defended, by a single rampart, and ditch. The Caldshiels-hill is steep on the north, and west sides, but slopes gradually on the south, and east. Such is the description of Mr. Kinghorn, who surveyed this country, for me, in 1803.

earth,

earth, run westward, in a connecting continuation, to the Caldshiel-hill. This ditch is from twelve to fifteen feet broad, and from nine to ten feet deep: The rampart was obviously formed of the earth, that was thrown from the excavation, upon the northern side; the ground sloping naturally to the northward (*s*). This immense work has much the appearance of the *Catrail;* was probably constructed by the Romanized Gadeni, in the same age, and with the same views of defending their land, from an invading foe, on the eastward. From the Eldon hills, west-north-west upwards of two miles, there was a British strength, which was called *Castlestead;* and which was fortified by a double fosse, and rampart, of an eliptical form, that approached to an oval (*t*). From *Castlestead,* there was a military road, which led down to the passage of the Tweed, at the Nether-Barnford (*u*). A similar military road of larger dimensions has been traced, from the strength on Caldshiels-hill, three miles, east-south-east, to the post of Rowchester, at Kippilaw-mains (*x*); and thence, a mile

(*s*) Miln's Melrose, 47, merely mentions this military work, in a general manner. The MS. Survey of Mr. Kinghorn is more special, and precise: Upon the tract of this fosse, on the declivity of the middlemost of the Eldons, there is a small circular entrenchment, which is called *Bour-je,* and contains about two-thirds of an English acre. Id. On the south side of this fosse, between the Eldons, and Caldshiels-hill, there may still be seen the remains of a small British strength, upon the summit of an eminence on Bowden-moor. Kinghorn's MS. Survey. Nearly a mile north-north-east from Caldshiels-hill, there was a British strength, near Huntley wood, which was fortified, by a double fosse and rampart, in an oval form, and was called the *Roundabout:* The greatest part of this ancient remain has been levelled, by modern cultivation. Miln's Melrose, 57; and Kinghorn's MS. Survey.

(*t*) Miln states, that parts of the ditches were, in his time, ten feet deep, but that the destruction of the fortifications had then begun, and those remains are now almost obliterated, by modern improvements. Miln's Melros, 56; Kinghorn's MS. Survey.

(*u*) This road, where it was most entire, measured twenty feet broad, and had, on either side, a deep ditch. Miln's Melros, 56; and Kinghorn's MS. Survey. This road has been almost obliterated by recent improvements; but Mr. Kinghorn says, the remains of it were still sufficiently distinct, to show its direction to the passage of the Tweed, at Nether-Barn-ford.

(*x*) The station at Kippelaw-mains was placed on the summit of an eminence of no great height. It is in the form of a *parallelogram,* with the corners rounded a little: It was fortified, by a rampart, and a fosse thirty feet wide, and nearly twenty feet deep, which inclosed an area of two and a half acres. It has a fine spring of water in the centre of it: And there are two hillocks, which the country people call the *Centry-knows;* the one at the east end, distant five hundred yards; and the other at the west end, at the same distance. The military road, which is mentioned above, passes this post of Rowchester, four hundred yards to the westward, which communicated with it, by means of two small branches, that strike off from the main road, and lead to an opening in the west end of the principal strength. Kinghorn's MS. Survey, and Sketch.

and a half south-east, to the post of Blackchester (*y*). This road probably proceeded across the Ale water, to a strength on Bewlie-hill; and thence, to another strength on an eminence northward of Raw-flat: But, from the improvements of cultivation, this way cannot now be traced farther than *Blackchester*. This remain is, in general, about forty feet broad; yet, in some part of its course, it is enlarged to fifty. It was originally formed, by scooping the earth from the sides, which left the middle high: It has a ditch, on each side, from twelve to twenty feet wide; and the earth, which was thrown from the excavations, formed a bank on the outside of the ditches: But, no part of it appears to have been laid with stones, like the Roman roads, in North-Britain, nor, like them, does it go forward in a straight line; as it has, in several places, a bending direction, through marshes, and through stoney places; and it is still pretty distinct, to inquisitive eyes, within the Duke of Roxburgh's park, at Halydean (*z*). Various weapons of war have, at different times, been turned up by the plough, and spade, in the vicinity of this ancient work, as well as in the adjacent mosses (*a*). This curious remain has been generally considered, as a Roman road, however unlike, in its course, and formation, to Roman ways. It may be rather deemed a *Catrail* of a less magnitude, than the *war fence* of this name, which passes through the same country, from north to south, at some distance to the westward. The posts of Caldshiels-hill, of Rowchester, of Kippilaw, and of Blackchester, seem evidently to have been British strengths, which were subsequently converted to Roman posts; and, on their relinquishment, repossessed by the Romanized Gadeni, who were probably the fabricators of the work, which connected so many posts, during the fifth century.

About half a mile from Blackchester, there is the remain of a Gadeni fort, upon Bewlie-hill, on the south side of Ale water. This British strength is of an eliptical form, and was fortified by a fosse, and rampart (*b*). From Bewlie-hill, south-south-east, about a mile and a quarter, there was another Gadeni post of a similar form, and construction, on an eminence at Raw-flat (*c*). Returning to the vicinity of Eldon hills, there may be seen the remain of a

(*y*) Blackchester is situated on a small eminence, in the south-east extremity of Bowden parish, on the north of the Ale water. It is also a *parallelogram*, with its corners rounded off; and is much larger than the post at Rowchester. It was defended by a double fosse, and rampart. Kinghorn's MS. Sketch.

(*z*) Miln's Melros, 48; and Kinghorn's MS. Survey; Stat. Acco. 16. 240.

(*a*) Id. The minister of Bowden says, this work appears, in some parts, like a large ditch twenty feet wide.

(*b*) Kinghorn's MS. Sketch. (*c*) Id.

British

British strength, at Hercas, distant a mile south-south-east. The oval area of this post contains about three-fourths of an acre; and is surrounded by a fosse, about ten feet wide, and a rampart on the inner-side of the ditch, which was composed of the earth, that was cast up from the excavation. About the trenches of Hercas, there have been dug up human, and horses bones, and some fragments of shields, and bucklers: The *umbo*, or boss of a shield, and a buckler, which were found here, were made of a kind of brass, or bell-metal, and were of very rude workmanship (*d*). On the north side of the Tweed, from the Eldon hills distant about two miles, on the hill above Galton-side, there was a British strength, which has long been called the Closses (*e*); and which was fortified by a rampart of stones and earth, nearly half a mile in circumference; having one entry upon the east, and another upon the west: And, near to this large strength, there was a small post of a circular form, which is called the *Roundabout* (*f*). Three quarters of a mile, eastward from *the Closses*, there was a pretty large British strength, which was environed by a deep fosse, and earthen rampart, nearly half a mile in circumference, that has been levelled, by tillage, on the south side (*g*): It still bears the name of *Chester-know* (*h*). About three quarters of a mile eastward from *Chesterknow*, on the top of the hill, above Drygrange, there was a small British strength of a circular form; measuring about a hundred and fifty yards in diameter, and surrounded by a fosse, and rampart (*i*). There are some other British strengths, on the same side of the Tweed, in this vicinity (*k*). Thus much, then, for the British hill-forts, in the north-western parts of Roxburghshire.

(*d*) Kinghorn's MS. Sketch.

(*e*) This was a strong camp of an irregular rhomboidal figure, which was encompassed by a rampart of stones; and which contained, in its area, near 4½ acres of ground: There seem plainly to have been once some buildings, within it; as there are still a great quantity of stones, that cover its whole surface.

(*f*) Miln's Melros, 61; and Kinghorn's MS. Survey.

(*g*) A part of this camp has been planted with trees, and other parts are entirely levelled.

(*h*) Ib. 62; and Kinghorn's MS. Survey.

(*i*) Ib. 58. Kinghorn's MS Survey.

(*k*) About a mile and a half northward, from the ancient camp above Drygrange, and nearly as much northward from the Chester-know, there is, on a small eminence, called Brown-hill, the remain of a small British fort, which is of a circular form; and which has been encompassed by a single fosse, and rampart, that are now nearly destroyed. Miln's Hist. Melros, 69; Kinghorn's MS. Survey. Northward from Brownhill, there are the remains of several other British strengths, upon their several heights, along the west side of the Leader water. Id.

In

In the western, or upper part of Teviotdale, the Gadeni had also a number of hill-forts. In Cavers parish, there are the remains of several British strengths, with one or two Roman posts, that had been placed among them (*l*). There are are, also, in the neighbouring parish of Hawick, several British strengths of a similar site, and the same construction (*m*). On an elevated ground, between Bedrule and Newton, there is the remain of a British strength, which has been surrounded by a rampart of earth. About half a mile eastward of this ancient post, there is a Roman fort, which is enveloped by a fosse, and an earthen rampart (*n*). In the neighbouring parish of Southdean, at the hamlet called *Chesters*, there are the remains of a British hill-fort, which is of a circular figure, and is defended by a double rampart of earth; and on the tops of the adjacent heights, there are also similar remains of the same sort of strengths, which have areas each of about an acre, in extent (*o*). Such were the Gadeni forts in Teviotdale.

In Lidisdale, the same people had also a number of similar fortlets. The most conspicuous of these is a fort on the top of *Car*-by hill, which obtained its appropriate name, from the fortification upon it. The summit of this hill, which stands alone, and commands a view not only of the circumjacent country, but of Cumberland, is fortified by a rampart of stones, that surrounds it, in a circular form. In the centre of the area, which is a hundred feet in diameter, there is a round building of stones, with an opening on the east; and about this, there is a number of smaller buildings of the same kind; which have all been constructed, obviously, for the habitation of those, who occupied the post: There still remain nine of these buildings. There plainly appears a road, which winds round part of the hill, and enters at an opening in the rampart, on the south side of the strength (*p*). The fortifications on *Carby*-hill are exactly similar to those well-known British posts, called Catherthun, and Barrahill (*q*). On the summit of the Side-hill, which is opposite to *Carby*, in Lidisdale, there is the remain of a Roman post, which is of a square form, and is three hundred feet wide. It was defended, by a rampart of earth, eighteen feet high; and was obviously constructed, there, to bridle the British fort, on on Carby (*r*). We may see another instance of the same policy, in that neighbourhood: Upon the farm of Flight, on the eastern side of Lidisdale, there is

(*l*) Stat. Acco. 17. 92. (*m*) Ib. 8. 533. (*n*) Ib. 15. 563-4. (*o*) Ib. 12. 71.

(*p*) Ib. 16. 83; wherein there is an engraved delineation of this remarkable fort, the great work of the British people.

(*q*) See Caledonia, i. ch. i. (*r*) Stat. Ac. 16. 83.

a British

a British strength of a circular form, and about a hundred feet in diameter, which is encompassed with a rampart of stone: At a little distance from it, there is a Roman post of a square form, about a hundred and sixty-eight feet long, which was fortified by two ramparts of earth; and which was plainly constructed, on this site, to oppose the British fort, on Flight. The various instances of this nature, which we have seen, evince, that the Roman posts were not thus opposed to the British strengths, by accident, but design; to bridle what they could not assault: And those circumstances equally disclose the chronology of the circular strengths, which must necessarily have preceded the Roman works, that were established, in consequence of their prior erection. In several other parts of Lidisdale, there are British strengths, which are popularly called *Pictsworks*, or *Roundabouts*, from their circular forms, in contradistinction to the Roman forts, that are always square, with the angles sometimes rounded off. The British posts are always situated upon eminences, and generally within sight of one another. There are two of these, near Hudshouse, two on the farm of Shaws, one on Toftholm, one on Foulshiels, one on Cocklaw, one on Blackburn, and one on Shortbut-trees. When the ramparts of this last strength were removed, there was discovered, upon the south side, a place within it, twenty feet long, and ten broad, which was paved with flat stones, and lined with similar materials: And in this place, there were found some ashes, and burnt sticks, that plainly intimate the purpose of the building (*s*). Such, then, were the strengths of the Gadeni, which, as they were fortified with ramparts of stone, must have been of an earlier age, than those strengths, which were secured with mounds of earth; the first kind must have preceded, and the latter succeeded the Roman times, when the Roman manner is so exactly imitated by the Romanized Britons, in their military works.

In the eastern parts of Roxburghshire, which lay within the territories of the Ottadini, we may still trace their forts. On the summit of Hownamlaw, a high mount of a conical shape, there are the remains of a British fort, which was of considerable extent, and seems even to have been used, in the hostile conflicts of more modern times. There are some other British strengths, on the tops of the smaller hills, near Hownamlaw (*t*). There are also similar remains of British forts, in the neighbouring parish of Morbottle (*u*). On the summit of Peniel-heugh, a green hill of great height, in Crailing parish, there are the remains of two British forts, which were strongly fortified, by ramparts of stone: One of these, though much demolished, still retains the indicative name

(*s*) Stat. Ac. 16. 84. (*t*) Ib. 1. 52. (*u*) Ib. 16. 512.

of

of *the Castle* (*x*). Upon a high cliff, which forms the south bank of the Tweed, at Rutherford Common, there are the remains of a fort, which, from its circular form, is called *Ringley*-hall. It was fortified by two deep ditches, and earthen ramparts. Near it, is a tumulus, which has been enclosed, and planted with trees. This fort, which, like others of a similar kind, has been made use of, in the hostile conflicts of more recent times, is mistakingly called a Roman camp, and the barrow, an exploratory mount, by Pennant, who has been re-echoed by the minister of Maxton. Yet, the circular form of the fort, with its accompanying tumulus, show clearly, that it had been erected by British, rather than by Roman hands (*y*). In Roxburgh parish, there are remains of several strengths of a similar kind (*z*).

There are other remains, which have a relation to security, and were also the works of the British people, who roved over the area of Roxburghshire, rather than cut down its woods, and planted its glebe. In the steep banks of the Jed, there are several artificial caves, which were made in the rock, for hiding places, in early ages (*a*). In the rocky banks of the Ale, below Ancrum house, there were several caves, fifteen whereof still remain, the monuments of wretched times. In some of them, artificial fire places have been formed, which evince, that they have been used as apartments of residence, as well as places of concealment (*b*). In the parish of Roxburgh, there are several caves, which have been formed in the face of a rocky precipice, that is washed by the Teviot, which here meanders, in a broad, and deep channel (*c*).

There are other antiquities, in this shire, of a more miscellaneous nature. On a rising ground, near Ancrum, on the bank of the Ale, there is a remain, called *Malton Walls*, which tradition supposes, though perhaps mistakingly, to have been a cemetry of the knights of Malta (*d*). At Milholm, in Castleton parish, there is an ancient *cross*, consisting of one stone, which is eight feet four inches high, and is set on a basement of one foot eight inches. On the south

(*x*) Stat. Acco. 2. 331.

(*y*) Pennant's Tour. ii. 271; Stat. Acco. 3. 277; Ib. 19. 137.

(*z*) Ib. 19. 136. (*a*) Stat. Acco. 1. 5. (*b*) Ib. 10. 294. (*c*) Ib. 19. 136.

(*d*) *Malton Walls* are in the form of a *parallelogram*, and are strongly built of stone, and lime. Vaults, and subterraneous arches, have been discovered beneath the inclosed area; and human bones are frequently ploughed up, in the adjacent grounds. The name, and the tradition, seem to show, that these buildings, and the adjacent fields, were once vested in the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. Stat. Acco. 10. 294. The subterraneous vaults were probably hiding places, during the border wars; and the inhabitants of them may have buried their dead, in the neighbouring fields.

side

side of this cross, there is sculptured a sword, four feet long, with some letters, that are no longer intelligible. It was probably erected, to commemorate some of the events of the thirteenth century (*e*).

But, the most stupendous work of the Britons, who once were the hardy tenants of Roxburghshire, is the *Catrail*, or *Pictsworkditch*. This is probably the vast remain of the Romanized Britons, the children of the *Gadeni*, and *Ottadini* of former times, who enjoyed this country, after the abdication of the Roman power (*f*). And, it seems to have been constructed, as a line of defence, against the invading Saxons, on the east, during the fifth century. After traversing Selkirkshire, the *Catrail* enters Roxburghshire, where it crosses the Borthwick water, near Broadlee: Here, its remains are very visible; and it continues to be equally distinct till it reaches Slatehill-moss; whence it runs, in a south-east direction, across the Teviot, through the farm of Northhouse, to Dogcleugh-hill, where it appears very obvious to every eye. From this position, it proceeds south-east, in a slaunting direction, across Allan water to Dod; passing, in its course, two hill forts, on the left (*g*). From Dod, the Catrail courses, eastward, near another British fort, on Whitehill brae; and it now ascends the Carriagehill, whereon it appears very prominent to the eye, and very instructive to the intellect. From this height, it descends across Longside burn, where it becomes the known boundary of several estates. From this burn, it traverses the northern base of the *Maidenpaps* to the Leapsteel; and thence holding its forward course by Roberts-lin, and Cockspart, it crosses the dividing hills into Lidisdale; and again appears on the Dawstane burn, where the Scotish Aidan was defeated, in 603 A. D., by the Saxon powers. Its vestiges may thence be traced nearly to the Peelfell, on the confines of Lidisdale, where this district bounds with Northumberland (*h*). From its remains, the *Catrail* appears to have been a vast fosse, at least twenty-six feet broad; having a rampart, on either side of it, from eight to ten feet high, which was formed of the matter, that was thrown from the ditch. The whole course of the Catrail,

(*e*) Stat. Acco. 16. 86, and the drawing, which fronts, p. 83, where it is said to have been erected in memory of Armstrong of Mangerton.

(*f*) Caledonia, i. 236.

(*g*) These British strengths stand, as usual, on the tops of heights, which were fortified by a fosse, and rampart around their summits, in an eliptical form. One of these is called *Dogcleugh Castle*: The other is on an eminence called *Burghhill*, on the east side of Allan water; which, as it received this appropriate name from the intruding Saxons, this circumstance evinces, that a fort, or *burgh*, already existed on the *hill*.

(*h*) See book ii. ch. ii. before.

from the vicinity of Galashiels, in Selkirkshire, to Peel-Fell, on the borders of Northumberland, is upwards of forty-five miles, whereof eighteen of its course are within Roxburghshire. *Catrail* means, in the language of the constructors of it, the *dividing fence*, or the *partition of defence*; *Cad*, in the British speech, signifying a striving to keep, a conflict, a battle; and *Rhail* equally signifying, in the same speech, what divides, a division (*i*).

From that singular remain of the Britons, within this shire, it is natural to advert to the Roman *road*, which traversed Roxburghshire, from the south to the north. This way is a continuation of the Watlingstreet, or the middle Roman road into North-Britain. The Watlingstreet, after crossing the walls of Hadrian, and of Severus, at Port-gate, and passing the stations of Risingham, and Roechester, arrives at Chewgreen, the nearest station to the borders (*k*). It now enters Roxburghshire, at Brownhart-law; whence passing along the mountains, it forms the boundary of the two kingdoms, for a mile and a half, till it arrives at Blackhall, where it enters Scotland; and, descending the hills, it crosses the Kail water, at Tow*ford* (*l*); where, passing a hamlet, which is named from it *Street*house, the road runs several miles between Hownam parish, on the east, and Oxnam parish, on the west, till it arrives at the south-eastern corner of Jedburgh parish (*m*). From this position, the road pushes forward north-westward, in a straight line; passing the Oxnam water a little below Cope-hope, and the Jed, below Bonjedworth (*n*). Having now traversed the neck of land between the Jed, and the Teviot, where there have been observed some vestiges of a station (*o*), it crosses the Teviot, and runs through the inclosures

(*i*) See Davis, and Owen's Dict. The (d) in the composition of the British tongue changes to (t).

(*k*) Roy's Mil. Antiq. 102.

(*l*) Upon the west side of the Watlingstreet, after crossing the Kail, and on the upper waters of the Jed, there is the remain of a Roman post. See Ainslie's Map of Scotland.

(*m*) Stobie's map of Roxburgh; Stat. Acco. i. 52; Ib. 330-1.

(*n*) Between the Oxnam, and the Jed, the Watlingstreet, as it had some marshy land to pass, was here covered with large stones, part whereof are still visible. Kinghorn's MS. Survey. The minister of Eckford, Mr. Paton, says, he saw a medal of the Empress Faustina, that had been taken from *the heart of a peat*, which was dug at the *Moss Tower*, in that parish. It was about the size of half a crown; and the inscription was very distinct. Stat. Acco. viii. 34. The *Moss Tower* is south of the Teviot, and about three miles and a quarter from the Roman Road, which is above described. From those intimations, it may be inferred, that this moss had grown, since the Roman times. In 1747, a Roman *Cestus* of brass was found, about seven feet below the surface, in digging for a well, at the village of Stitchel. It was presented to the Antiquarian Society of Edinburgh, by Sir James Pringle. Acco. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 52.

(*o*) Roy, 102.

of

of Mount Teviot; the road now courses north-north-east, in a straight line, for upwards of three miles, between the parish of Ancrum, on the west, and the parish of Maxton, on the east (*p*). Entering now the parish of Lessudwin, it crosses Leiret burn; and, traversing St. Boswell's green, it passes Bowden burn, above Newton (*q*). From this passage, the road proceeds, in a north-north-west direction, along the eastern base of the Eldon hills, to the Tweed (*r*). Having now crossed this river, at the ford, which was opposite to Melros, the road went northward along the western side of Leader water, nearly in the tract of the present highway to Lauder (*s*), to a Roman station, called *Chester*-lee, which was placed on the north side of a rivulet, which falls into the Leader, above Clackmae (*t*). The Roman road, having passed the station of *Chester*-lee,

(*p*) In this course, on the eastern side of the road, there are vestiges of a Roman camp, on the declivity of the hill, bordering on Maxton parish. Stat. Ac. x. 294.

(*q*) Stobie's map; Stat. Ac. x. 294; and Kinghorn's MS. Survey; who says, the Roman road appears very clearly, as it winds down the bank, on the south side of Bowden-burn.

(*r*) For the Roman station on the Eldon-hill, see Roy's Sketch, pl. xxi. At the base of this hill, about the town of Melros, there have been found a number of Roman coins of the emperors, Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Constantine: Some of those coins were of gold, some of silver, and some of brass. Miln's Melros, 44-5. Miln, who was not an antiquary, supposes the Romans to have placed their station on the high top of the Eldon hills, rather than at Melros, at the foot of them below, where those coins have been found.

(*s*) From Eldon, on the south of the Tweed, General Roy has completely mistaken the course of the Roman road, throughout its whole course to Soutra-hill: He was plainly misled, by the intimations of the *Girthgate*, which goes from the Bridge-end of Tweed, in the valley of Allan water, and over the moors to Soutra-hill. This, he too hastily supposed to be the remains of the Roman road: But, upon a particular examination of it, by the accurate eye of Mr. Kinghorn, it was found to be merely a foot path, or track, which had been formed, by the feet of travellers, without the smallest appearance of a Roman way: It, no doubt, obtained the name of *Girthgate*, from its being the usual path to a well-known *sanctuary*, which belonged to the hospital of *Soutra*: In the Scoto-Saxon language, *Girth* means a *sanctuary*, and *gate*, a road.

(*t*) The camp of *Chester*lee stands on an eminence, which commands a view of several British strengths, in the surrounding country. It was of a square form, with its corners a little rounded; and it measures 160 yards on each side: It was surrounded by a double fosse, and earthen rampart, a great part of which has been destroyed by cultivation: The remainder of the camp has been planted with trees. About 500 yards westward from the camp of *Chester*lee, upon the north side of the same rivulet, there is a smaller Roman post, called *Ridgewalls*, which stands on a height, commanding a view of several British strengths, both on the north, and south. This camp of *Ridgewalls* is an oblong square, surrounded by three fosses, and earthen ramparts: The area, within the innermost rampart, is 85 yards long, and 37 yards broad. This ancient work has also been much defaced by cultivation. These several statements are made, from Mr. Kinghorn's Survey, for me, in November 1803. Miln, in his account of Melros, 1746, after mentioning the two camps of *Chesterlee*, and *Ridgewalls*, immediately adds, "from Chesterlee, there appears to be *a plain*

lee, about three quarters of a mile, may still be easily traced, for a considerable distance (*u*); crossing the turnpike, and a small brook, which mingles its waters with the Leader, below Chapel. From hence, the Roman road, proceeding northward to a small station, called the *Waas*, or Walls, near to New Blainslee, again appears, distinctly, to every eye, for almost a mile and a half, when it again crosses the turnpike road, and immediately afterwards a rivulet, about half a mile east-north-east from Chieldhells' chapel; whence it pushes up Lauderdale, through Berwickshire.

There was another Roman road, which is called the *Maidenway;* and which came down from the Maiden castle on Stanmore, in Westmorland, and through Severus's wall, at Caervoran, into Lidisdale, at a place called, *Deadwater* (*x*): Whence, under the name of the *Wheel Cause*way, it traverses the north-east corner of Lidisdale; and along the eastern side of Needslaw into Teviotdale (*y*). This way cannot now be traced throughout that vale; neither is it certain, whether it ever joined the Watlingstreet, within the limits of Roxburghshire. But, a chain of Roman posts was certainly established, as we know from remains, throughout this county. The Roman post, on the upper part of the Jed, the station on the eastern side of the Rule, the post, near Rawflat, between the Teviot, and the Ale, the post of Blackchester, the fort of Rowchester, at Kippilaw, the post on Caldshiels hill, and the station of Castlestead, form such a chain of posts, in Teviotdale, as evinces, that some vicinal way must have connected them together. The camp at Kidside, which is called *Castlestead*, is obviously a Roman remain (*z*): And, there is equal reason to suppose, that

" *military way*, to the *south*, and also to the *north*, running through the *chapel moor*, and the " *Blainslee* ground, to *Chieldhells chapel.*" p. 68. These facts evince, that such was the true course of this Roman road.

(*u*) This small post stands on a gentle eminence, upon the west of Leader water. It appears to have been of an oblong form, comprehending within its area about an acre and a half of ground. The ramparts seem to have been chiefly composed of stones: But, the ramparts are so much defaced, as to leave a little doubt, whether they had been built by Roman, or by British hands. Kinghorn's MS. Survey.

(*x*) Gough's Camden, iii. 177; Burn's Cumberland, i. 4; Hutchinson's Northumberland, i. 4: Camden describes the *Maidenway*, " as being eight yards broad, and paved with stones."

(*y*) See the map in Gordon's Itinerary; the map prefixed to Burn's Cumberland, where the course of the Maidenway is not quite accurately laid down; and see also Stobie's map of Roxburghshire.

(*z*) On Severus's wall, there are several Roman posts, which are also called *Castlesteads*. Gough's Camden, iii. 213—35. *Castlestead* is a general name, which the country people have given to the *Castellas*, on the Roman wall. Ib. 205—15. And, *Castlestead* has become the proper name of the Roman fort on the Cambeck. Ib. 201, 235; and Gordon's Itinerary, 81.

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the road, leading from this post to the Nether Barnford, on the Tweed, was also Roman. The post on Caldshiels hill, was also formed by Roman hands; as we might, indeed, infer, from its square redoubt. The post at Rowchester, or Kippilaw, is also Roman; as its form evinces (*a*). The post at Blackchester, is one of the same chain of Roman remains, as we have already shewn. The work at Rawflat, in this vicinity, is also Roman, if we may determine, from its position on a small eminence, and from its quadrangular form. In Upper Teviotdale, as we have perceived, the British, and the Roman strengths accompany each other. In Lidisdale, also, the Roman posts are often opposed to the more ancient British forts; and coins, and vessels of copper, and of brass, the instructive remains of those polished conquerors, have been discovered near those various strongholds (*b*).

The abdication of the Roman government, during the fifth century, and their retreat from the soft margin of the Teviot, and "pleasanter banks of the "Tweed," whereon they delighted to dwell, are memorable eras, in the history of Roxburghshire. It was soon invaded by a very different race of conquerors. The Romanized Ottadini, and Gadeni, the real possessors of the country, from ancient descent, struggled for a while against their invaders. They tried to repair their hill-forts, after the Roman manner. They erected military lines, for defending their native land, which emulate, in their construction, and magnitude, the Roman ramparts. But, they bravely struggled, without ultimate success. The Saxons gained upon them. And, before the conclusion of the sixth century, the new people appear to have occupied Teviotdale, and the eastern district of Roxburghshire (*c*). Included in the kingdom of Northumberland, it partook with it of its prosperity, and with it, of its decline (*d*). It was relinquished by the Earl of Northumberland, as part of Lothian, to the Scotish king, in 1020 A. D. The earliest antiquities of the Saxons are the names, which they imposed on their places (*e*). Next to the language, the

(*a*) A Roman fort on Severus's wall is called Rowchester. Gough's Camden, iii. 236. The Roman station in Reedsdale is called Roechester.

(*b*) Stat. Acco. xvi. 80—3.

(*c*) Saint Cuthbert was born on the Tweed, in 635 A. D.; as a boy, he tended flocks on the Leader; as a youth, he entered the old abbey of Melros, which is mentioned by Bede; he preached in his Teutonic tongue to the Saxon people of Roxburgh, and the Mers; and he died, in 687. Smith's Bede, 232—256.

(*d*) We may learn from Bede, l. iv. c. 27, and l. v. c. 12, that Roxburghshire was, in the age of Cuthbert, and long afterwards, a part of Northumberland.

(*e*) The topography of Roxburghshire, as we may easily suppose, and as we have indeed seen, abounds in names of places, from old Saxon words.

most

most ancient remains of the Saxons, which may be distinctly traced to the present times, are two religious houses: Old Melros, a monastery, which was erected, in a curvature of the Tweed, before the birth of the worthy Cuthbert (*f*); and, the church of Old Jedburgh, which was founded by Bishop Eccrede, who died, in 845 A. D. (*g*). But, the Saxons of this shire have transmitted little of their civil polity, and still less of their military actions, to posterity. Ethelfrid, who is celebrated for expanding the Saxon territories, defeated indeed the Scoto-Irish Aidan, at Dawston-burn, in 603 A. D. Amidst the civil wars of the Northumbrians, an obstinate battle was fought, near Eldun, on the 6th of August 761, wherein Ethelwald slew Oswin, the pretender to the crown (*h*). Kenneth, the son of Alpin, after the Picts had submitted, in 843 A. D., to his policy, as much as to his power, penetrated through *Saxonia* to Melros, where he exercised the destructive rights of a vengeful conqueror (*i*).

The weakness of the Northumbrian government, arising from its anarchy, transferred Roxburghshire to the Scotish kings. This revolution was so little felt, during ages of barbarism, that it has scarcely been recorded by history, or transmitted by tradition. It is only, by the names, which the Scoto-Irish people imposed on places, that we know, with certainty, how much their ascendency was once acknowledged on the Tweed, and the Teviot.

There is another class of antiquities, which is regarded, by some antiquaries, as the only objects of antiquarian research. The eyes of such antiquaries are most forcibly struck by the ruins of castles, which have been disparted by time, and which they see noding to the ground. Few of those castles are of ancient erection. The towers of Roxburghshire have been mostly all built "of "lyme and stane," after the accession of Robert Bruce, during the ages of civil anarchy, and of wasteful wars. They were all erected with a view to security, rather than to comfort, of similar construction, and with similar materials. And, in every shire, the ruins of castles, whether larger, or less, may be deemed, when compared with British forts, and Roman stations, and ancient ways, the *modern antiquities*, the wonders of ignorance, more than the curiosities of knowledge. The castle of Jedburgh, as we know from record, was erected as early as the accession of David I.; and is indeed the earliest castle, in this county, of which any distinct account can be given. The castle of Roxburgh, indeed, may vie with it, in its antiquity, and claim a pre-eminence, as a strength,

(*f*) Smith's Bede. (*g*) Ang. Sacra, i. 698; Hoveden, 412.
(*h*) Sim. Dun. 106; Flor. Wig. 275; Chron. Mailros, 137.
(*i*) Chron. Innes's App. No. iii.

and

and a decided superiority, as a royal residence. The pile of Clintwood, which gave a name to *Castleton*, was probably built, before the conclusion of his lamented life. It is certain, that Hermitage castle was built, during the able reign of Alexander II. And these were followed, in subsequent times, by various castellated buildings, which have been called *Peels*, and which all lye in the ruins of time, except the Peel of Hud-house, that still remains entire (*k*). There are *strong holds* of more modern erection, and more dignified cast, which are a little more famed, in the border conflicts; and yet merit little more notice, from antiquarian disquisition, though they may have ultimately been the successive scenes of coarse hilarity, and strenuous efforts (*l*). Yet, amidst the thousand conflicts, of which this shire was the theatre, during ages of trouble, scarcely any of the *war-cries* of the gallant men of Teviotdale have been transmitted by oblivious tradition. The strong banks of the Oxnam water were of old covered by impervious fastnesses, which were called the *Henwood*; and which furnished a *rendezvous*, for the border warriors, when invaded by their "ancient adversaries:" And this commodious circumstance gave rise to the *war-cry*, "A Henwoody! A Henwoody!" which made every heart burn with ardour, every hand grasp a weapon, and every foot hasten to the *Henwood* (*m*).

§ v. *Of its Establishment as a Shire.*] As early as the epoch of the Scoto-Saxon period, Roxburgh became a sheriffdom. At the origin of charters, we see a sheriff acting here, in his proper sphere (*n*). Early in the reign of David,

(*k*) There are, in this shire, the *Peels* of Prickinghaugh, Whitehaugh, Hillhouse, Riccarton, Mangerton, Puddingburn, and others. For their several sites, Stobie's map of Roxburgh may be consulted.

(*l*) In this shire, near the borders, are Cessford castle, Eckford castle, Moss tower, Wooden tower, Ormiston tower, Gateshaw tower, or Corbet house, Whitton castle, Cocklaw castle, Graden peel, Dolphinston tower, Mossburnford tower, Crag tower, Loch tower, Crailing castle, Bonjedworth castle, Hurdem peel, Edgarston castle, Fernyhirstcastle, Clesbry peel, Doror peel, Bedrule castle, Rew castle, Newton tower, Fulton tower, Comers castle, Fast castle, Castle weary, Goldy-land castle, whereof Grose has given an elegant view, Fenwick tower, Branxholm castle, Minto tower, Hassendean tower, the residence of quiet monks, Nisbet towers, Roxburgh tower, exhibiting in its sculptures Gothic magnificence, Bromhouse tower, Littledean tower, Halydean castle, Dernwick towers, the ancient residences of the Fishers, and Hytons, two families here of "old standing," Buckholm house, Colmslee tower, and Smallholm tower, which last is of such conspicuous appearance, as to form a land-mark for shipmen, entering Berwick.

(*m*) Stat. Acco. ii. 330.

(*n*) In Earl David's charter to Selkirk, while *Henry reigned, in England*, and *Alexander, in Scotland*, Odard, the Sheriff of Babenburgh, is a witness. Sir James Dalrymple's Col. 405. Among the charters, which belonged to Coldingham, and are preserved, in the treasury of Durham, there are writs addressed, by King David I. to the sheriff of *Rokesburgh*. Nicholson's Hist. Lib. 363-4.

John,

John, the son of Orm, was sheriff of Roxburgh (*o*). Gervase Riddel, who is mentioned, in the inquest of Earl David, 1116 A. D., is called, in a charter of King David "vicecomes de Rokesburch (*p*)." The policy of a sheriffdom, in Roxburgh, which was thus established, by the practice of two reigns, we may easily suppose, was continued, by the two successors of David I. John de Maccuswel was sheriff of Roxburgh, during the reign of William, before the year 1189 (*q*). He was succeeded by Herbert Maccuswel, who died about the year 1200 (*r*). John de Maccuswel, his son, succeeded him, as sheriff of Roxburgh, during a long life (*s*); or, what is more probable, he must have been succeeded in his office, by a son of the same name, who died, in 1241 (*t*). This respectable officer was succeeded, in his sheriffwick, before the demise of Alexander II., in 1249, by Bernard de Hawden (*u*). During the subsequent reign of Alexander III., the same office was executed, by various persons, while the same polity continued, for the administration of law, and the distribution of right (*x*).

We have thus traced this office, throughout the Scoto-Saxon period. Many changes were now at hand. When Edward I., by intrigue, and violence, obtained the direct dominion of Scotland, he seems to have considered Roxburghshire, as his own (*y*). When he settled the affairs of this kingdom, by

(*o*) Sir J. Dalrymple's Col. 382. (*p*) Ib. 348.

(*q*) John de Maccuswell, the sheriff of Roxburgh, was a witness to a charter with *Hugh*, K. William's chaplain. Chart. Kelso, No. 139. This charter was confirmed by K. William; and *Hugh*, his chancellor, who was placed, in this office, in 1189, is a witness. Ib. No. 143.

(*r*) Dougl. Peerage, 514.

(*s*) John de Maccuswell was a witness to a charter of Eustace de Vescey, about the year 1207. Ib. No. 207; 212.

(*t*) John de Maccuswell was sheriff of Roxburgh, in 1225, and 1226, under Alexander II. Chart. Arbroth, 94; Chart. Mail. No. 5; Sir J. Dal. Col. 405: John de Macheswell was buried, at Mailros, in 1241. Chron. Mail. 206.

(*u*) Bernard de Hawden, the sheriff of Roxburgh, appended his seal, with other seals, to a deed of Richard Gwalin to the monks of Kelso. Chart Kelso, No. 49; Sir J. Dal. Col. 413.

(*x*) In 1266, Thomas Randolph, the Sheriff of Roxburgh, was a witness to the resignation of Robert France to the monks of Kelso. Chart. Kelso, No. 189. In 1271, there is the report of an inquest, "in pleno comitatu de Roxburgh," upon certain rights of the house of Soltra, which was certified, under the seal of Alexander III. Chart. Solt. No. 17. In May 1285, Hugh de Reveden requested, by letter, Hugh de Peresby, the sheriff of Roxburgh, to affix his seal to a deed. Chart. Kelso, No. 218-19. The same sheriff was a witness, with Thomas of Ercildun, the rhymer, to a charter of Haig of Bemerside. Nisbet's Heraldry, i. 134.

(*y*) On the 14th of May 1296, he delivered the custody of the castle, and county of Roxburgh, to Walter Tonk. Rym. ii. 714.

his

his famous ordinance of 1305, he appears to have placed this frontier county under a sort of military government (*a*).

When the genius of Bruce had established the independence of Scotland, Roxburgh again enjoyed, for a time, its ancient polity of peaceful times. The castles of Jedburgh, and Roxburgh, were now placed, in very different hands. But, the demise of that great prince, in 1329, threw the county back into its late anarchy, while the English kings pretended to the sovereignty of Teviotdale. In 1334, Edward III. appointed Galfrid de Moubray, the Sheriff of Roxburgh (*b*). William de Seton was, however, appointed soon after sheriff of the same shire, by David II. (*c*). During the revolutions of that age, the sheriffs of Roxburgh were alternately appointed by David II., and Edward III., as their power predominated. After Roxburgh castle had been gallantly taken, by the skill, and valour, of Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalwolsy, this excellent officer was appointed, in 1343, sheriff of Roxburgh. Yet, was this truly respectable man surprized, on the seat of justice, at Hawick, by Sir William Douglas, the knight of Lidsdale; carried by him to the dungeon of his castle of Hermitage; and there immured, to die of want. The odious assassin of that gallant soldier, was appointed his successor, as sheriff, by the misguided weakness of David II. (*d*). During the sad period, from 1346, when David was taken prisoner, to 1384, when Roxburghshire was freed, from the dominion of the English, Edward III. had his sheriffs, in this county (*e*). New changes were now at hand. As this shire, the castle of Roxburgh excepted, had been chiefly

(*a*) By that ordinance, Ryley, 505, the king's lieutenant, was appointed to have in his hands the castles of Roxburgh, and Jedburgh; and, without a sheriff, this lieutenant was to govern the shire.

(*b*) There is a writ of Edward III., addressed to the sheriff of Roxburgh, dated 15th September 1334, to inquire, if the sheriffship of Roxburgh, and the custody of Selkirk-forest, belonged to Isobel, the countess of Mar. Rymer, iv. 622—35.

(*c*) William de Seton, the sheriff of Roxburgh, granted a charter of confirmation to the monks of Dryburgh of a *burgage*, in the town of Roxburgh. Chart. Dryb. No. 3. The date of this confirmation was 1338; as we see, from the subsequent resignation, of the same *burgage*, by Roger, the son of Hutred, *the fisher*. Id. The sheriff seems to have acted, *officially*, in this transfer, though it appears not, by what authority.

(*d*) Godscroft, 75.

(*e*) In Ayloff's Calendar, 108, there is a writ, "de audiendo Compotum Jo. de Coupland, "vicecomitatis de Roxburgh, 1351." It was Coupland, who took David II., in the battle of Durham. He is celebrated, among the eminent men of Northumberland, as *the valiant esquire*. Wallis's Hist. 415—16. In 1369, and in several successive years, Alan de Strother was sheriff of Roxburghshire. Rob. Parl. Rec. 115, 126; Rym. vi. 688.

freed, by the exertions of the Douglases, it generally followed their fortunes. In 1396, Sir William Stewart of Jedworth-forest, a dependant of that family, was sheriff of Roxburghshire (*f*). In 1398, the lands of *Cavers*, with the sheriffship

(*f*) MS. Contract of Marriage with Stewart of Dalswinton; Nisbet's Heraldry, ii.; Remarks on Ragman's Roll, 2. Sir William Stewart, the sheriff of Roxburgh, was the son of John, *de Foresta*, by a daughter of Turnbull of Minto, and the grandson of John *de Jedworth*, who was himself, probably, the *fourth* son of Sir John Stewart of Bonkyl, that fell at the battle of Falkirk, in 1298. Sir William Stewart of Jedworth-forest, as a strenuous character, was perfectly qualified to act a suitable part, during the bloody scenes of a misguided age. In 1385, he received, of the 40,000 livres, which were distributed, by the French admiral Vienne, among the leading men of Scotland, 100 livres, as his appropriate share, while the Earl of Douglas had 7,900. Rym. vii. 485. In 1394, Sir William Stewart of Jedworth was one of the ambassadors, who were sent, to treat of peace with England. Ib. 788. He was much employed on the borders, where he lived, by Robert III.; and was amply rewarded by his sovereign. In 1397, Sir William Stewart of Jedworth, and others, were appointed, to treat with the commissioners of Richard II. Rym. viii. 17. In 1298, Sir William Stewart was one of the sureties, for the Earl of Douglas's middle marches. Ib. 54. At a meeting of the commissioners, English, and Scotish, on the 20th of October 1398, at Hawdenstank, on the south-east of Roxburgh, for granting redress, on the borders, Sir William Stewart was accused of being in company with Earl Douglas's son, when he burnt the town of Roxburgh, broke down the bridge of Roxburgh, and did other damage, against the truce; Sir William, being then present, gave in his answer; but, the charge, for its *heighnousness*, was referred to the principal wardens. Ib. 58. Sir William's rewards, for his services on the borders, may be seen in Robertson's Index, p. 143, 150, 154, 157. Yet, is the identity of Sir William Stewart, and the place of his residence, disputed, by those, who had an interest to confound him, and it, with other persons, and places. See Williams's Evidence for the Earl of Galloway, throughout. But, there can be no doubt, with regard to either. (1) We see above, Rym. viii. 17, that he is called, in the Record, Sir William Stewart *of Jedworth*. (2) It was even doubted, whether there was such a place, as *Jedworth-forest*, or *the forest*, in Roxburghshire: It is, however, a fact, with which this sceptic was unacquainted, that the Earl of Douglas was, by his creation, baron of *Jedworth-forest*, in this shire: In 1319, the castle, town, and *forest* of Jedworth, was erected, by charter, into a *free forestry*: And, it was recorded, on the tomb-stone of James, Earl Douglas, in 1443, that he was *dominus Jedburg-forestiæ*. Godscroft, 159. Yet, Sir William Stewart, as we may thus see, was *not dominus Jedburg-forestiæ*; he was only *goodman* of some lands, within that forest. (3) He is purposely confounded with Sir William Stewart of Castlemylk, who lived, at the same time, though in a different shire: The border commissioners, who sat at Hawdenstank, in 1398, on the 28th of October, in that year, adjourned to *Clochmaban-stane*, near the Solway, in Dunfries-shire, not *Lochmaban-stane*, as it has been sometimes said, mistakingly; where they met, on the 6th of November, in the same year; and at this time, and place, "Sir William "Stewart *of Castlemylke*," became one of the sureties of the peace, on the west march. Rym. viii. 58-9. We thus perceive, in the Record, Sir William Stewart of Jedworth, and Sir William Stewart of Castlemylke, acting on the stage, at the same time, and on the same occasion, though in different shires; Sir William Stewart of Jedworth, as a person accused; and Sir William Stewart of Castlemylke, as a person trusted; And they were, therefore, different persons, and not the same

sheriffship of Roxburghshire, were granted to George, Earl of Angus, who died, in 1402 (*g*). Isobel, the countess of Mar, in whom seem to have been invested this office, and that property, on the death of Earl George, transferred both, without the necessary assent of the king, to the Earl of Douglas, who was then a prisoner in England (*h*). It was conceived, that both had thereby become escheat. And, Robert III., willing to reward the services of Sir David Fleming of Biggar, conferred on him, in 1405, the lands of *Cavers*, with the sheriffwick of Roxburghshire (*i*). But, he did not enjoy long either the lands, or the office: For, he was, soon after, assassinated, at Longherdmanston, by James Douglas of Balveny, the second son of Archibald, the Earl of Douglas, who fell, at the battle of Vernueil (*k*). Though this assassination emulated, in atrocity, the murder of Sir William Ramsay, a former sheriff of Roxburgh, by another Douglas, it equally passed away, as a common occurrence, without inquiry, or notice (*l*). The aged king was bowed down with afflictions; the

same person; being two respectable knights, the one of Roxburghshire, the other of Dunfries-shire. In 1399, Sir William Stewart of Jedworth was taken prisoner, at Fullhopelaw, during an inroad into Northumberland. Harding's Chron. 198; Border Hist. 367. In 1402, Sir William Stewart of Jedworth was again taken prisoner, at the more celebrated battle of Homildon, within the Northumbrian border; and was soon after tried, as a traitor, under the illegal direction of Henry Percy, the *Hotspur* of Shakspeare, and unwarrantably executed, by his lawless order. Wyntown, who wrote, at the time, is express upon the point. Chronykil. ii. 401-2: Goodal's Fordun, ii. 434, confirms the same fact: And Crawford's MS. Genealogy of the Stewarts of Dalswinton, and Garlies, to the same fact. The mangled limbs of Sir William Stewart being exhibited on the gates of York, he appeared no more, in record, or in history. But, Sir William Stewart of Castlemylke lived to fall before the walls of Orleans, on the 12th February 1429. See And. Stewart's Supl. to his Geneal. Hist. of the Stewarts. p. 78—82.

(*g*) Robertson's Index, 147. (*h*) Ib. 148.

(*i*) Robertson's Index, 148; Crawf. Peerage, 459, which quotes the charter.

(*k*) Wyntown, ii. 413; Crawf. Peerage, 495: Wyntown says, that the assassination was committed "of evil counsale, and feloune:" Crawford, after the Scotish historians, intimates, indeed, that Sir David had nstructed the Earl of Northumberland, to make his escape, who was the prisoner of Sir James Douglas. But, this suggestion cannot be true; as the secret, if it existed, could not easily be known, except from Sir David himself, or the Earl of Northumberland, who had been helped. Sir David, who is praised, for his loyalty, and his worth, when he was assassinated, with aggravated circumstances, was in the act of returning, after he had conveyed James, the heir of the crown, on board the ship, which was to carry him to France. This alone was sufficient provocation to James Douglas. But, that Sir David, though the king's relation, should have presumed to solicit, or accept a grant of lands, and an office, to which the Douglases claimed a right, was an offence to them, that was not to be pardoned, by that unforgiving family.

(*l*) The principal assassin was the king's grandson, and the Duke of Albany's son-in-law. Crawford's Hist. of the Stewarts, 21.

Duke of Albany misruled his kingdom; and the Douglases domineered over all, without controul.

The lands of Cavers, and the sheriffwick of Roxburgh, were soon after transferred to Archibald, a bastard son of James, the second earl of Douglas (*m*). This office continued in this family, though perhaps with some interruptions, till the final abolition of the heritable jurisdictions. Archibald seems to have been succeeded, as laird of Cavers, and sheriff of Roxburgh, soon after 1438, by his son, William (*n*). He was succeeded by his son Archibald, who was also heritable sheriff of Roxburgh (*o*). And Archibald appears to have been succeeded by William Douglas, as sheriff of Teviotdale (*p*). Various other Douglases of this family succeed each other, as sheriffs of Roxburgh, during those disastrous times (*q*). The hereditary sheriff of Roxburgh preserved his loyalty to James III., while so many important persons rebelled against that inoffensive prince, in the southern districts (*r*). Thus, did this family retain this hereditary office, during revolutionary times, till the days of Camden, who speaks of Roxburgh, as having its hereditary sheriff of the family of Douglas, commonly called the sheriff of Teviotdale (*s*). During the reign of James VI., Sir William Douglas was heritable Sheriff of Roxburgh. In the disturbed times of Charles I., Sir Archibald Douglas continued, by hereditary right, in the

(*m*) The historian of the house of Douglas is positive, that Archibald Douglas, of whom is descended the family of *Cavers*, and sheriffs of Teviotdale, was a bastard of James, the second earl of Douglas. Hist. 93; Nisbet's Heraldry, i. 79; Crawford's Peer. 413. Sir Archibald Douglas of Cavers, the sheriff of Teviotdale, witnessed a charter of James I., on the 12th May 1425. Dougl. Baron. 278. He witnessed charters of Archibald, Earl Douglas, in 1330, and in 1333. Dougl. Peer. 592; MS. Title Deeds of the Duke of Roxburgh. Sir Archibald Douglas, the sheriff of Teviotdale, was one of those, who swore, on the part of the Scotish king, to the observance of the truce, for nine years, on the 31st of March 1438. Rym. x. 695.

(*n*) John Ainslie of Dolphington, who succeeded his grandfather, in 1431, married the daughter of Sir William Douglas of Cavers, and heritable sheriff of Teviotdale. Dougl. Bar. 300. Andrew Ker of Altonburn, the founder of the house of Roxburgh, who died before the year 1450, married a daughter of Sir William Douglas, the heritable sheriff of Teviotdale. Dougl. Peer. 592.

(*o*) Archibald, vicecomes de Roxburgh, was appointed one of the conservators of the truce with England, on the 11th June 1457. 11 Rym. 397.

(*p*) On the 10th of December 1482, "before the lordis auditoris comperit Wilzaim of Dowglace "shiref of Tevidale; and protestit against Walter of Trumbul of Gargunnok, who had gert sum- "mon him, and comperit nocht." Robertson's Parl. Rec. 286.

(*q*) Dougl. Peer. 279; Dougl. Bar. 105, 240.

(*r*) Dougl. Peer. 189: Douglas of Cavers, then sheriff of Teviotdale, received several remissions, or pardons, from James IV., and his parliament, for his conduct, on that occasion. Id.

(*s*) Gough's Camden, iii. 294-5.

same

same office (*t*). He was sheriff, at the Restoration. And, during the factious reign of William III., Sir William Douglas was again heritable sheriff of this county. This family continued to enjoy this office, till the epoch of the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions. Archibald Douglas, the brother of William Douglas of Cavers, was compensated for the heritable sheriffship of Roxburghshire (*u*).

In this ample sheriffwick, there were of old various jurisdictions, which circumscribed the power of the sheriff, and deducted much from his usefulness. The castle of Roxburgh, like most of the king's castles, had a constable, who exercised his authority over the whole constabulary (*x*). This policy seems to have continued till the accession of Robert Bruce, and perhaps to a later age (*y*). There were, in this shire, no fewer than seven *regalities*, which all possessed exclusive jurisdiction. The monks of Kelso had a *regality*, which comprehended all their lands, and villages, with ample privileges, and exclusive powers (*z*). The whole became forfeited to James VI., on the Reformation, who conferred all those jurisdictions on worthless minions. On the forfeiture of Francis, Earl of Bothwell, this regality was granted, in 1605, by James VI., to Sir Robert Kerr, the predecessor of the Duke of Roxburgh (*a*). It was abolished, in 1747, with other jurisdictions, which were deemed inconsistent with the administration

(*t*) In 1596, the town of Cavers, belonging to Douglas, the sheriff of Teviotdale, was ravaged by the English. Border Hist. 689. Yet, it appears, that the Earl of Roxburgh was sheriff of Roxburgh, during pleasure, in the reign of Charles II. War. Book, in the Paper Office. Soon after 1669, the Duke of Monmouth, who then married the heiress of Buccleugh, was appointed the sheriff; and, in 1672, a statute annexed the duke's lands, in Dunfries, to Roxburghshire.

(*u*) List of Claims: He claimed for it £10,000, and was allowed £1,666: 13: 4. The Original Return, in the Books of Privy Council.

(*x*) In 1241, Alexander Strivelin, the constable of Roxburgh, was a witness to a charter of William, the son of Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar. Chart. Kelso, No. 238. Alexander de Chattem, *constabularius de Roxburgh*, was one of the sureties of Richard de Nichete, for the performance of an obligation to the monks of Kelso. Id.

(*y*) Robert I. granted to Bernard Hauden a certain duty, for keeping the castle of Roxburgh. Robert. Index, 12. There was of old a coroner, in this shire; but his functions, and the persons, executing the office, are extremely obscure. Rymer, vii. 508.

(*z*) In 1343, David II. granted to the monks of Kelso, that they should possess the town of Kelso, with its pertinents, the barony of Bolden, and the lands of Reveden, with their pertinents, "in liberam regalitatem," with exclusive jurisdiction of justiciaries, sheriffs, judges, with other privileges. MS. Monast. Scotiæ. This was confirmed by Robert III. Robertson's Index, 127.

(*a*) Keith, 249.

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of justice, and the quiet of the people (*b*). But, the town of Kelso is still a burgh of barony, the property of the same noble person, with baronial rights. The regality of Sprouston comprehended a large track of land, in the east of Roxburghshire. In the 14th century, the lands of Moll, of Aldtown-burn, of Blackdean, were included, in this regality, though it was nine miles distant (*c*). Robert I. granted to his son, Robert Bruce, the *barony* of Sprouston (*d*). David II. gave to Thomas Murray the barony of Hawick, and Sprouston (*e*). This barony, however, appears, as a regality, in 1357, as we have seen, and in 1747, when a compensation was granted for it; as hath been already shown. The monks of Melros had an extensive regality; including their various lands, and comprehending exclusive powers. By several transmissions, this regality came into the family of Buccleugh; and, in 1747, the Lady Isobel Scot was compensated for her rights (*f*). The regality of Jedburgh comprehended many lands, with exclusive jurisdictions. Robert I. conferred on Sir James Douglas the town, castle, and forest of Jedburgh (*g*): And, the gratitude of the same king granted to that favourite warrior, that he should enjoy his whole lands, as a regality (*h*). For this jurisdiction, which had descended through a long line of barons bold, the Duke of Douglas was compensated, in 1747 (*i*). The Kers of Fernyhirst appear to have been appointed baillies of the monastery of Jedburgh. This bailliery was distinct from the regality; and was bestowed on a hardy race, during an age, when the monks required the protection of steel, rather than the title of parchment (*k*). For this bailliery, however, no claim was

(*b*) At that epoch, the Duke of Roxburgh claimed, for the regality of Kelso - £2,000
For the regality of Sprouston - - - - - 1,000
For the regality of Glasgow - - - - - 1,000
4,000
He was allowed - - - - - - 2,100
List of Claims, &c. The regality of Glasgow comprehended the baronies of Ancrum, Lilliesleaf, and Ashkirk, within Roxburghshire.

(*c*) Douglas Peerage, 591. (*d*) Robertson's Index, 12.

(*e*) Ib. 45. In another charter, he granted the barony of Sprouston to Maurice Murray. Id.

(*f*) Miln's Melros, 44; Gough's Camden, iii. 295; and List of Compensations. The heritable office of baillie of the regality of Melros, claimed by Lady Isabella Scot, in so far as the same extends over the lands belonging to her, was valued at £1,200. MS. Original Return.

(*g*) Dougl. Peerage, 183; Robertson's Index, 10. (*h*) Id.

(*i*) List of Compensations: For the regality of Jedburgh-forest, the claimant was allowed £900. MS. Original Return.

(*k*) Dougl. Peerage, 419.

made

made, at the epoch of abolition, by the Marquis of Lothian, as his right was merely baronial, without any profit. The barony of Hawick appears among the many grants of Robert Bruce (*l*). Before the year 1545, it became a regality, which belonged to Douglas of Drumlanrick (*m*). And, before the year 1747, it became the property of the Duke of Buccleugh, who was then compensated, for his right of jurisdiction (*n*). The lordship of Lidisdale seems to have been early the estate of remarkable men. It was forfeited by William Soulis, when he plotted against Robert Bruce, in 1320 (*o*). It was granted by Robert Bruce to his son Robert, who soon after died (*p*). David II. transferred it to William, Earl Douglas, in 1342 (*q*). After various forfeitures, Lidisdale came to the milder family of Scot: And, for its regality, the Duke of Buccleugh was compensated, in 1747 (*r*). The extensive property of the bishoprick of Glasgow, in this shire, was included within the regality of Glasgow. Huntlaw, and a part of the lands of Moll, and of Hassendean, which were the property of the monks of Paisley, were all included, in the regality of Paisley. By the various abolishments of accident, and design, the exclusive authorities, which ought to have been never granted, as private rights, to particular men, whatever may have been their merits, were restored to the sheriffdom, with its legitimate powers (*s*). Such, then, were the origin, the degradation, and re-establishment of the sheriffwick. We see, in the best times of David I., and his immediate successors, a sheriff acting in his appropriate sphere, as the executive officer of the sovereign: But, we perceive nothing of an *earl*, who, as his superior, might give orders to the sheriff, as his deputy, whatever fictitious theory may suppose, on this curious point of juridical forms.

§ VI. *Of its civil History.*] The area of Roxburghshire, undoubtedly, formed a district of the Northumbrian kingdom, till this country was ceded, as a part of

(*l*) Robertson's Index, 5—27; Ib. 33—45.

(*m*) Stat. Acco. viii. 526. At that period, the town of Hawick received from the lord of the regality a charter of incorporation, as a burgh of barony.

(*n*) List of Compensations: For this jurisdiction, the claimant was allowed £400. MS. Original Return.

(*o*) Robertson's Index, 12; Lord Hailes An. ii. 95-6.

(*p*) Rob. Index, 12. (*q*) Ib. 39; 121.

(*r*) List of Compensations: For this regality, the noble claimant was allowed £600. MS. Return.

(*s*) The late Sir Gilbert Elliot, who was described, as "Mr. Gilbert Elliot, the son of Lord "Minto," was appointed the first sheriff-depute of this shire. Scots Mag. 1748, p. 155.

Lothian,

Lothian, in 1020, to the Scotish king (*t*). By the name of *Saxonia*, it was invaded, and wasted, by Keneth, the conqueror of the Picts. There is reason to believe, that the castle of Roxburgh was even built, by Saxon hands. The Saxon people remained, though the sovereignty was ceded to a new master. Yet, the Scoto-Irish people may have made some settlements, within the limits of this shire; as they certainly imposed on a few places their descriptive appellations. The Scoto-Saxon people, however, universally prevailed, and remained permanently settled, throughout the ample extent of Roxburghshire, under the children of Malcolm Canmore. At the demise of Edgar, in 1107, this county, with many lands, in the southern, and western districts of Scotland, came to Earl David, as his apanage: On his succession to the throne, those several territories returned to the crown. At the demise of Edgar, almost the whole extent of Roxburghshire was, not so much in fiction of law, as in fact, the positive property of David, its sovereign lord. At that epoch, Teviotdale was probably a dependency of the bishoprick of Durham. Yet, the monks scarcely enjoyed any temporal possessions, within that extensive region. But, in the effluxion of a century, many changes took place. David distributed many *manors* among his followers, from England: The Morvills, the Soulses, the Corbetts, the Riddels, the Cumins, the Olifards, the Percys, the Berkeleys, the Vesceys, enjoyed extensive domains, and established here considerable families. After the foundation of the great monasteries at Melros, Kelso, and Jedburgh, in that reign, their chartularies recorded the munificence of David, and the numbers of his vassals. In those chartularies, we see the settlement of a new people; and in them, we perceive that, the foundation of every religious house was the establishment of a fresh colony. And, before the demise of William, the lion, the monks of the several religious houses became the greatest, and the most beneficent occupants of the variegated surface of Roxburghshire.

By all those means, the country acquired a very numerous population: Every manor had its village, its church, its mill, and its brewery. The sturdy men of Teviotdale followed David, in 1138, to the battle of *the standard*, wherein they fought by his side, and shared his misfortune (*u*).

But, we attempt, in vain, to sketch the *border history*, if we do not ascertain the common limits of the adjacent kingdoms, at successive eras of their various fortunes. When Malcolm Canmore ascended his Celtic, and unsettled throne, the eastern boundaries of Scotland seem to have run up to the river Tweed, and

(*t*) Bede, l. iv. c 27; l. v. c. 27; Sim. of Durham; Lel. Collect. t. ii. p. 556; Ib. t. iii. p. 181.
(*u*) Aldred *de bello Standardi*: Lord Haile's An. i. 77-8.

to

to the Cheviot mountains (*a*). After many contests with the most vigorous of the English kings, he appears to have left the limits, as extensive as he found them. The reigns of Edgar, and of Alexander I., were not embittered by border wars. David I. spent much of his age in attempts to enlarge his kingdom, on the south. But, all his endeavours were frustrated, by the concessions of his infant grandson Malcolm IV., who was unable to support his pretensions against the power of Henry II.: Yet, the old limits of the Tweed, and the Cheviot, remained unchanged, till the fatal captivity of William, the lion, laid open the boundaries, and even sacrificed the independence of his kingdom. In 1189 A. D., however, Richard I. restored to that unfortunate king the castles of Berwick, and of Roxburgh; settled the dividing limits, according to the ancient land-marks; and fixed the allegiance of Scotland upon its former footing of undoubted independence, though the king may have owed fealty, for manors in England. The price of so many benefits, which were beyond calculation, was ten thousand merks (*b*). In the two subsequent reigns of the son, and grandson of William, there were contests, without warfare, and conflicts, without change (*c*). The disputes, which were occasioned, by the succession to Alexander III., but originating in the ambition of Edward I., were not so much about the boundaries, as the subjection of the kingdom. After a continued struggle of many years, both of intrigue, and warfare, the treaty of Northampton, in 1328, restored the limits, and the independence, of the nation to the state, wherein the relinquishment of Richard I. had placed them, in 1189 A. D. (*d*). The release of one prince, and the agreement of another, though confirmed by the English parliament, were not obstacles to the ambition of Edward III. Robert Bruce, the restorer of the monarchy, had scarcely breathed his last patriot respiration, when the late war was renewed, with more inveteracy, and longer continuance. In 1334, Roxburghshire, with almost all the southern counties, were ceded to the English king, by Edward Baliol (*e*). Scotland now became a scene of conflict, and a country of change, during more than forty years. The capture of David II., in 1346, embittered the calamities of an afflicted nation. Despairing, perhaps, during his contests with France, of the subduction of Scotland, Edward tried to secure a part of the southern shires. And he endeavoured to soothe the men of Teviotdale, by confirming their ancient privileges, on pretence of their fidelity, since they had been within his

(*a*) Lord Haile's An. i. 3, 4. (*b*) Rym. Foed. i. 64.

(*c*) When the parliament of Scotland settled the succession of the crown, in 1284, they described the territories of that kingdom to be, the isles, Man, *Tyndale*, and *Penrith*. Ib. ii. 256.

(*d*) MS. in the Pap. Office; Lord Haile's An. ii. 127. (*e*) Rym. Feod. iv. 615.

allegiance (*f*). The truce, which gave dear-bought liberty to David II., in 1357, did not restore Roxburghshire to its ancient obedience (*g*). By a treaty, for settling border disputes, which was held, at Roxburgh, within the church of the Minor Friars, during the same year, it was agreed, that all lands should remain, as they were then possessed (*h*). But, the time came at length, when the borders were restored to their old limits; and the men of Teviotdale were to return to their natural connexion (*i*). Yet, the people on the marches, between the two kingdoms, continued in a state of conflict, even after the accession of King James had united the sister, yet adverse kingdoms (*k*).

From inquiries, with regard to the limits of the two kingdoms, and the state of Teviotdale, the next objects of our attention are the castle, and town, of Roxburgh. And, they seem both to have existed, during Saxon times, and during the Scotish period of the North-British annals. The castle, and town, appear plainly to have been appropriate portions of Earl David's apanage, and his favourite residence, after his succession, as king (*l*). By Earl David's

(*f*) In 1356, Edward III. granted a kind of charter to the men of *Tevydale*: It recited their fidelity; it granted them all the liberties, which they had enjoyed, during the reign of Alexander III., with their old privileges, within the town of Berwick. Ib. v. 854. In 1359, a similar grant was made, by the same prince, to the men of Lidisdale. Ayloff's Calend. 222.

(*g*) Rym. v. 846—854; Ib. vi. 426-7: Edward III. retained within his artful grasp, the castles of Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Lochmaban.

(*h*) Id.

(*i*) An ordinance, issued from the Scotish council, in April 1385; directing, that the men of Teviotdale, who had come lately from the allegiance of the king of England to the allegiance of the king of Scotland, should retain their possessions; but, should be required to show their title-deeds, MS. Paper Office, which has been transferred to the Register House, at Edinburgh.

(*k*) In 1620, King James issued a proclamation "contra tenentes seditiosos," which recited the inconvenience of *tenant rights* on the Scotish borders, or customary right of holding, in consideration of services on the borders; and which decreed, that no estate should pass, in future, except by *indenture*. Rym. Foed. xvii. 249.

(*l*) Many of the charters of David I., Malcolm IV., of William, the lion, and the two Alexanders, his son, and grandson, were dated in the castle of Roxburgh; as we may see in the chartularies, and in the Diplomata Scotiæ, pl. 22—24. David I. granted to the church of St. John, within the castle of Roxburgh, a carrucate of his domestic lands, in Roxburgh, a toft, with its pertinents, and a piece of land, *below the castle*, with the oblations of those, who resided within it, and also a part of his own oblations, when he, or his family, should reside, in the castle; in the same manner, as one of his own chaplains ought to have: He gave also to this church of St. John the *tithes* of his *underwood*, and a tenth part "de sepo occisionis," by him, in Teviotdale. Chart. Glasgow, No. 205. This charter of the munificent David was confirmed by his son, Henry, and by his grandson, William. Ib. 267—9. Those charters not only show the residence of David I., but carry the mind back to the manners of ages, that are long passed.

charter,

charter, founding the monastery of Selkirk, he granted, "in burgo de Rokes-"burg," a piece of land, the seventh of the miln-profits, forty shillings out of the firm of the town, and a seventh share of the fishery (*m*). We thus perceive Earl David, acting as sovereign of Roxburgshire. In that age, we see, that there was already a *new* town of Roxburgh; owing to the confined site of the old. It was even then remarkable for its *schools*, which long prospered, under the guardian eye of the abbot of Kelso (*n*). The town of Roxburgh was, in that early age, fortified with a wall, and ditch (*o*). The town was governed by a provost, or alderman, and baillies (*p*). As early, if not earlier, than the reign of King William, the town of Roxburgh had the benefit of *fairs*. To the monks of Kelso, the king granted, that their men, residing in Kelso, should have the privilege of selling fuel, victual, and other matters, in that town, on any day, except on the day of *the king's statute fair in Roxburgh* (*q*). This was also called

(*m*) Chart. Kelso, No. 4. In the charter of David I., for removing this monastery to Kelso, he gave the monks, in the same *burgh*, forty shillings of the firm thereof, and all the churches, and *schools*, of the same town; a toft near the church of St. James, and another in "*novo burgo*;" the lands, which were Walter Cymentars; in the milns, twenty chalders of victual, and also the seventh of a fishery. Ib. No. 1. This grant was confirmed by Malcolm IV., and K. William. Ib. No. 2, 3. The monks of Dunfermling, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh, were studious to obtain grants of money from the firm of Roxburgh, or tofts under its walls, Dalrymp. Col. 384; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 29; Chart. Dryburgh, No. 107—10. Edward I., and Robert I., both enforced those several grants. Chart. Kelso, No. 179; Ib. No. 192; Ib. No. 193. Edward II., in 1309, issued a grant "de "*muragio* concesso burgensibus de Rokesburgh." Ayloff's Calend. 120.

(*n*) In 1241, Master Thomas, the rector of *the schools* of *Rokesburc*, was a witness, with the *constable* of the *eastle*, to a charter of William, the son of Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar. Chart. Kelso, No. 238.

(*o*) Earl Henry granted to the abbey of Dryburgh a toft "extra murum de Rokesburg." Chart. Dryburgh, No. 110. And, this grant was confirmed by David I., and Malcolm IV. In a charter of Herbert, bishop of Glasgow, during the reign of David I., some lands of the churches of Roxburgh are mentioned, as lying "*extra fossatum* burgi de Rokesburg, inter Tuedam et "Tevieth, versus abbatiam." Chart. Kelso, No. 412.

(*p*) John Sandal, the chamberlain of Scotland, under Edward I., issued a precept to the provost, and baillies, of the town of Roxburgh, to pay the monks of Dryburgh the said annuity of twenty shillings, out of the firm of the burgh. Ib. No. 179. Robert Bruce issued a similar precept, to enforce the payment of the same annuity. Ib. No. 192. Alexander Fraser, the chamberlain of Scotland, directed a precept to the alderman, and other baillies, of that burgh, to pay the same annuity to the monks of Dryburgh, in conformity to the grant of K. William, and the precept of K. Robert. Ib. No. 193. In those records, we see, that it was the *chamberlain*, who exercised legal authority over the corporation of Roxburgh, and indeed over every other corporation.

(*q*) Chart. Kelso, No. 13. It is to be remarked, that Kelso was only separated from Roxburgh by the Tweed. In the age of David I., Roxburgh was one of the *quatuor burgorum*.

the fair of St. James; and as the church had been dedicated to St. James, this circumstance shows, that James was the patron saint of ancient Roxburgh (*r*).

In the meantime, John of Crema, the legate of Honorius II., held a council, at Roxburgh, in 1125, the year after the accession of David I., and with his assent (*s*). To this commodious residence, came Thurstin, the aged archbishop of Yorke, in 1136, to solicit a truce, from David (*t*).

The castle of Roxburgh was used, as a state prison, as well as a royal residence, during the reigns of David I., and his grandsons, Malcolm, and William (*u*). In 1306, Mary, the sister of Robert Bruce, was confined "en "une *Kage*," within this castle (*uu*).

It became, in other times, the joyous scene of many festivities (*x*). Yet, had Roxburgh, and its castle, amidst the revolutions of those ages, many

(*r*) John of Wilton granted to Walter, the bishop of Glasgow, five merks of silver "in *nundinis* "*Sancti Jacobi* de Rokesburc." Chart. Glasgow, p. 281. In 1134, "dedicatio ecclesiæ Sancti "Jacobi, in Rokesburch." Chron. Mail. 165. In 1371, and in 1372, there were frequent frays, between the Scots, and English, at the great fairs, which were held, at Roxburgh, in August. Border Hist. 347. In 1377, in consequence of a fray, at the same fair, the Scots burnt the town of Roxburgh. Ib. 349. At present, the ancient fair of St. James's is held on the very site of St. James's church. Stat. Acc. 580. In 1369, David II. granted to Henry de Ashkirk the *custody of all the measures* of Roxburgh. Robertson's Index, p. 74.

(*s*) Chron. Melros, 165; Sim. Dun. 252; Wilkins's Concilia, 407; Lord Haile's An. 65.

(*t*) Ib. 69; and Hagustad: Pennant, from Hollinshed, places this event, mistakingly, in 1132: The Chron. Melros, in 1137.

(*u*) In 1134, Malcolm, being taken in arms, was imprisoned in the castle of Roxburgh. Chron. Mailros, 165. In 1151, Wimond, an English monk, who disturbed, by insurrections, the salutary government of David, after mutilation, was imprisoned in Roxburgh castle. Lord Haile's An. v. i. p. 88-9. In 1156, Donald, the son of Malcolm, was imprisoned in the same dungeon. Ib. 102; Chron. Melros, 167. This in the same person, who is called Wimond, by Lord Hailes. In 1197, Harold, the Earl of Cathness, with his son, Torfin, were confined here. Lord Hailes' An. i. 135; Chron. Melros, p. 180. Harold died, here, in 1206. Ib. 182.

(*uu*) Rym. ii. 2014.

(*x*) In 1239, on the 15th of May, Alexander II. married Mary, the daughter of Ingelram de Coucy, at Roxburgh. Chr. Mail. 204. In 1241, the 4th September, Alexander III. was born at Roxburgh, in the forty-fourth year of his father's age, and the twenty-seventh of his reign. Ib. 206. Alexander III. resided at Roxburgh, in September 1255, with Margaret, his queen, the daughter of Henry III., whom he had married in 1251: And here, they were received, with great joy, after a grand procession to the church of Kelso. Ib. 219—221. In 1266, Prince Edward, the brother of Margaret, was here magnificently entertained. Bord. Hist. 155. In 1268, Edward returned to Roxburgh, bringing his brother Edmond with him. Id. The marriage-contract of the princess Margaret, with Eric king of Norway, was settled, at Roxburgh. Ib. 161. In 1283, the nuptials of Alexander, the prince of Scotland, with Margaret, the daughter of the Earl of Flanders, was here solemnized. Id. Edward III. twice celebrated his birth-day, in Roxburgh. Walsingham, 134—146.

changes,

changes, both fortunate, and unlucky. As the safe-guard of that border, it was surrendered to Henry II., by William, the lion, as a part of the high price of his freedom (*x*). The castle was restored, by the more generous Richard, in 1189 (*y*). Much of the town was burnt, by accident, in 1207 (*z*). It was fired by King John, during his retreat, in 1216 (*a*). Meantime, the the bishops of Salisbury, and Rochester, frightened from England, by the interdict, found an assylum, in 1209; the former at Kelso, the latter at Roxburgh: And though they lived, at their own expences, William, with his usual generosity, sent them eight chalders of wheat, sixty-six of malt, and eighty of oats (*b*): We may thus perceive, that the Scotish king abounded more in victual, than in money. The war of the succession entailed on Roxburgh a thousand changes (*c*). In 1292, the English Court of King's Bench sat, for some time, at Roxburgh (*d*); the castle being entrusted to Brian, the son of Alan (*dd*.) In 1295, Baliol agreed, that Edward I. should hold the castle of Roxburgh, during his war with the French (*e*). It was yielded, by the stewart of Scotland, to the king of England, in 1296 (*f*). On the 20th of August 1296, the burgesses, and whole *comune* of Roxburgh, swore fealty to the ambitious Edward (*g*).

When this politic prince tried to settle Scotland, after a bloody struggle, he deemed the castle of Roxburgh of such importance, as to be delivered to the special charge of his own lieutenant (*h*). In 1306, Edward I. caused the wife of William Wysman, to be shut up in one of the towers of Roxburgh castle (*i*). In March 1312-13, this fortlet was surprized by the enterprize of Douglas, who soon after, by his vigour, expelled the English from Teviotdale, except, indeed, Jedburgh, and some places of smaller consequences (*k*). After various success, Roxburgh, Teviotdale, and Scotland, were relinquished to Robert Bruce, by the treaty of Northampton, in 1328 (*l*). Yet, it did not remain long in the possession of its ancient owners. In 1334, Edward Baliol, by an insidious

(*x*) Rym. Foed. i. 39. (*y*) Ib. 69. (*z*) Chron. Mailros. 182.

(*a*) Ib. 192. (*b*) Ib. 183.

(*c*) Edward provided for the fidelity of the burgesses of Roxburgh. Ayloff's Cal. 105.

(*d*) Hailes' Hist. Com. Law, 200. (*dd*) Ayloff, 105. (*e*) Ayloff's Cal. 112.

(*f*) Lord Hailes' Ann. 290. (*g*) Prynne, iii. 653. (*h*) Ryley, 505. (*i*) Rym. ii. 2014.

(*k*) Bord. Hist. 241: The fortifications of the town were immediately destroyed by the policy of Robert Bruce. Id. This prince granted to Nicol Fowler the yard of the castle of Roxburgh. Robertson's Index, p. 11. He granted to Bernard Houden a duty for keeping the castle of Roxburgh, on which he seems to have set but little value. Ib. 12. His plan of defence was more effectual, than by such strengths; experience had taught him, that wasting the country, and retiring behind the Forth, were the safest shield.

(*l*) Lord Haile's An. ii. p. 129; Caledonia, 819.

treaty,

treaty, conceded the county of Roxburgh to Edward III., with almost all the southern shires of Scotland (*l*). The rapacity of this prince instantly took seizin of the whole (*m*): And, the castle, and town, of Roxburgh, were frequent objects of valorous contest, during more than a century and a quarter. In 1342, Sir Alexander Ramsay, one of the bravest, and most successful commanders of the age, took the castle of Roxburgh, from the English, by scalade(*n*). Ramsay was rewarded with the keeping of the castle, and with the sheriffwick of Teviotdale, of which the envy of the bastard Douglas bereaved him with his life. The English regained the castle of Roxburgh, on the capture of David II., in 1346 (*o*): And, they seem to have retained it, notwithstanding every attempt, till 1460, when James II. lost his life, in besieging it(*p*): It was taken, after this misfortune, by the persevering vigour of Mary of Guilder, his widowed queen. The castle was now levelled to the rock; and the strength being thus razed, the town fell into ruins (*q*). This town, as it was early one of the four burrows, which formed a commercial judicatory, lost this pre-eminence, when it fell into the power of the

(*l*) Rym. Foed. iv. 615.

(*m*) Ib. 616. In 1334, Edward III. ordered the fortifications of the town, and castle of Roxburgh to be repaired. Bord. Hist. 314. In 1335, Edward kept his Christmas in this castle. Id. There are many writs by Edward III., and his successors, in respect to this town, and castle, in Ayloff's Cal. 166.—281. In 1341, Edward III. kept his Christmas at Mailros, while the Earl of Derby his lieutenant, celebrated the same festival in the castle of Roxburgh. During the truce, which then existed, Sir William Douglas, and three other Scotish knights, visited Lord Derby; and there amused themselves with justing, as they had often met, during a long course of warfare, in hostile conflicts. Border Hist. 332.

(*n*) Lord Hale's An. v. 2. p. Border Hist. 332.

(*o*) In 1356, Edward III. resided sometime in the castle of Roxburgh, where Baliol surrendered to him his right to the kingdom of Scotland. Border Hist. 342. In 1380, there is a document, shewing the property, claimed by that prince, in Roxburghshire. Rymer, vii. 273. In 1403, Henry IV. granted to the Earl of Northumberland the whole estates of the Douglas's in Scotland, with the county of Teviotdale. Ayloff's Calend. 266.

(*p*) Roxburgh suld not be helped with victual, or any other supplies, say the parliament of James II. 12 Parl. Ja. ii. ch. 52. The death of James II. is thus recorded by William of Wyrcester, i. 482: "Rex Scotiæ Jacobus, in obsidendo castrum de *Rokyburhe*, per fractionem bombardi, in *die dominico*, interemptus est."

(*q*) In 1547, the protector Somerset repaired this ruin, so as to make it defensible; and left in it a garrison of 500 men. Bord. Hist. 562. By the treaty of 1550, the King of England bound himself to raze to the ground the town, and castle of Roxburgh. Ib 571. On this head, see Gough's Camden, iii. 297; Pennant's Tour, ii. 271; Grose's Antiq. v. i. p. 115; and Hutchinson's Northumberland, v. i. p. 271-7.

king's

king's *adversaries* (*r*). Roxburgh was a place of coinage, during the reign of King William (*s*). There was a coinage, in the town of Roxburgh, by James II., during the siege, perhaps, in 1460 (*t*). Old Roxburgh town had an ancient seal, which has been lately engraved, by the Antiquary Society of London (*u*). Roxburgh had a bridge, which connected the town, with the opposite side of the Tweed. It was often destroyed, during the inveterate hostilities of those ages; was sometimes repaired; and was afterward, so completely destroyed, that not a vestige of it can now be traced. At length, the site both of the castle, and the town, with other rights, were granted, by James IV., to Walter Kerr of Cessford, a powerful baron, on the borders (*x*).

After Roxburgh, which was undoubtedly the capital of the kingdom, during the reign of David I., and the county-town, till it was ruined, by the sad hostilities of the succession war; the next object is Jedburgh. Bishop Eccred founded a village, and a church, on the Jed, before the middle of the ninth century (*a*). There was a church, and a village, and a castle, at New-Jedburgh, at the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period (*b*). At that epoch, the village, which had risen under the shelter of the castle, to be a burgh, was a

(*r*) In 1368, the Scotish parliament enacted that, in the room of Roxburgh, and Berwick, two of the four buroughs, should be substituted Lannark, and Lythew. Parl. Rec. 114.

(*s*) Cardonel Numism. Scotiæ, pl. i. No. 6; on the reverse of this coin, there is the name of the coiner, with the place; "Raul de *Recesbu*;" and No. 7. the inscription on the reverse whereof is "Raul on Rocab;" and No. 8. whereon the inscription is, "Raul on Rocebu." Ib. 41.

(*t*) Ib. pl. v. No. 6.; on the reverse whereof, and on the interior circle, is the inscription, "Villa Roxburgh."

(*u*) Astle's Seals, pl. ii. This seal was appended to the submission of the town to Edward I., in 1296. On this seal are impressed the arms of Scotland, with a bird, on either side: The legend is, "*Sigillum commune burgensiū de Rokesburg.*" Ib p. 13. In 1319, Edward II issued a precept, commanding, that the seal, "quod dicitur *Cocket*," should be sent from Rokesburg to the Chancery of England. Ayloff's Cal. 184. This was plainly some commercial, or revenue, seal; and quite different from the common seal before described.

(*x*) By a charter, dated the 20th February 1499, James IV. granted to Walter Kerr, his *familiar esquire*, the castle, with the site of the castle, called *Le Castelstede*, with the capital messuage of Roxburgh, with the right of patronage of the hospital, called *Le maison dieu* of Roxburgh; and also the right of patronage of the hospital, in Jedburgh, called *Le maison dieu*; rendering for the same, if demanded, a rose.

(*a*) Anglia Sacra, i. 698; Hoveden, 418.

(*b*) David I. mentions the castle of Jedworth, in his charter to the monks thereof, granting, "multuram molendini de omnibus hominibus Jedworth, ubi *castellum* est." MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 29. Earl Henry repeats this grant, in the same words. Ib. 27. Some of Earl Henry's charters are dated at Jedworth. Dipl. Scotiæ pl. 20. The same expressions are re-echoed, in the charter of King William to the same monks.

town

town of the regal demesn, where Malcolm IV. delighted to dwell (*c*); and where he finished his youthful career, in 1165 (*d*). Jedburgh, and its pertinents, together with other lands, which were to yield, yearly, 1000 l. were settled on Johanna, the sister of Henry III. of England, when she married Alexander II. in 1221 (*e*). In the great tower of Jedburgh castle, Alexander III. lying sick, admitted to his presence various nobles, who witnessed John Cumin resign certain lands to the bishop of Glasgow (*f*). To the same king was born, at Jedburgh, in 1263, a son, who was baptised Alexander (*g*). In 1285, the same unfortunate king, bereaved of all his children, married Joletta, a daughter of the Count de Dreux, at Jedburgh, with uncommon festivities (*h*). But, sad events were at hand. Alexander III. died soon after, and his demise was followed by the succession war. In 1291, the castle of Jedburgh was committed, by the ambitious Edward, to Brian, the son of Alan (*i*). Hostilities now commenced, which, as they lasted for several ages, involved Jedburgh in bloodshed, and devastation. The monks found themselves, by repeated strokes of hostility, so completely ruined, and so grievously unsafe, that the charity of Edward I. was induced to send them, in 1300, to several monasteries in England, for brotherly subsistence (*k*). In 1305, the castle of Jedburgh was deemed of such importance, as to be committed to the English king's *locum tenens* (*l*). What had belonged to David I. of Jedburgh, was supposed to be the property of Robert I.: And this prince, in 1324, granted to sir James Douglas, the town of Jedburgh, the castle thereof, the forest of Jedburgh, with Bonjedworth (*m*). The whole was relinquished to the Scotish king, by the treaty of Northampton, which was confirmed by parliament. Yet, this security did not save it from the rapacity of Edward III. Edward Baliol surrendered to the English king, in

(*c*) David I., we have seen above, granted to the monks of Jedburgh the *multure* of *his miln*, at that place. Earl Henry confirmed this, and granted to them, "decimis *villarum* totius *parochiæ*, scilicet, *duarum* Jedworth, Langton, Nisbet, Crailing, &c. In several charters of Malcolm IV., William, and Alexander II., Jedburgh is called Our Burgh: Malcolm IV.'s charters are often dated, at *Jedworth*.

(*d*) Chron. Mail. 169. (*e*) Rym. Foed. I. 252.

(*f*) Chart. Glasgow, 261. (*g*) Chron. Mail. 225.

(*h*) Border Hist. 163; Lord Haile's An. i. 183—307: His lordship repeats the story of an *apparition*, which danced at the festivities, on that occasion: Fordun says it was a *ghost*, and Boece a *skeleton*. We may suppose, that it was a *guisart*, or masker.

(*i*) Ayloff's Calend. 105. In 1295, the castle of Jedburgh was delivered in charge to Thomas of Burnham. Ib. 111. And it was committed to Hugh of Byland, in 1296. Ib. 113.

(*k*) Antiq. Repertory, ii. 54-5. (*l*) Ryley, 505.

(*m*) Robertson's Index, 10.—The same king gave a charter to the *town* of Jedburgh. Ib. 12.

1334.

1334, all that had been granted to the gallant Douglas (*m*). Such were the extent, and fastnesses, of the forest of Jedburgh, during those eventful times, that it furnished the most secure retreats for individuals, and for armies (*n*). The captivity of David II., in 1346, delivered Teviotdale into English hands. This country was recovered in 1384, by the bravery of William Douglas, who was aided by the zeal of the people (*o*). But, the castle of Jedburgh remained, in the power of their *old adversaries*, till 1409, when it was taken by the men of Teviotdale, and razed to the ground (*p*). Yet, the town remained. Jedburgh probably became the shire-town, after the fall of Roxburgh, under the influence of the Douglases. While both remained in the allegiance of England, Hawick was the polluted seat of the sheriff. When the first charter was conferred on Jedburgh is uncertain; as its ancient muniments were destroyed, while destruction was the great object of hostility. During the reign of David I. Jedburgh was a town in the royal demesn, as we have seen. Before the demise of Alexander III. it was certainly a corporation, though the component members cannot be exactly specified. On the 20th of August 1296, the whole *community* of Jedburgh swore allegiance to Edward I. (*q*). This town felt its full share of the miseries of subsequent times. It was still the property of the crown at the accession of

(*m*) Rym. Foed. iv. 615. Robert de Maners was soon after appointed keeper of the town of Jedburgh; and William de Pressan keeper of the castle, and forest, of Jedburgh. Ib. 617.

(*n*) Border Hist. 304—331, 333. (*o*) Ib 354.

(*p*) Hearne's Fordun, 1173. In 1334, Edward III. granted to Henry Percy the castle, town, and constabulary of Jedburgh. Ayloff's Calend. 149. In 1337, Edward III. issued a writ of enquiry, about *the houses built in the castle of Jedburgh*. Ib. 173. In 1352, Edward III. granted to Henry, the son of Henry Percy, the castle, and constabulary of Jedburgh, Ib. 210. There was an agreement, in 1403, for delivering up Jedburgh, by the Earl of Northumberland to the King of England. Rym. viii. 364. Robert III. granted to George, Earl of Angus, the sheriffship of Roxburghshire, with the town, castle, and forest of Jedburgh. Robertson's Index, 139. We may see, in the before-mentioned grants, by those several kings, the true cause of the enmity between the gallant families of Douglas, and of Percy. In 1558, the forest of Jedburgh accounted in the Exchequer for 300l. a year; but this ceased to be so, owing to relaxed management. In 1610 Jedburgh, with other lands, were erected into a lordship for Alexander Earl of Home, for the payment of a blench-duty of 266l. 13 s. 4d.; but this duty was also soon unaccounted for. In 1519, there existed a domestic feud, about the bailliewic of Jedburgh forest, between the Earl of Angus, and Sir Andrew Ker of Ferniehirst. Bord. Hist. 509. We have seen, that the Duke of Douglas received, in 1748, 900l. as compensation for *the regality* of Jedburgh forest.

(*q*) Prynne, p. 655. The corporation, which, on that occasion, submitted to Edward, consisted of John Dameson, the *aldirman*, and Symon de Ramington, Huwe de Lindsey, Robert le Marshal, Robert Fremansone, Rauf le Spicer, Stevene le Mareschal, Thomas le Tayllur, Simon le Tayllur, Richard le Clerk, Ewy le Clerk de *Jeddeworth* [the town clerk], Hugh de Watton, the burgesses. The arms on the common seal of Jedburgh were: Azure, an unicorn tripping, argent, ringled, maned, and horned. Nisbet's Heraldry, v. i. p. 311.

Robert Bruce, who gave a charter to the town of Jedburgh (*q*). It was granted, by that grateful prince, to his gallant companion in arms, Sir James Douglas: And, after it had been regained from the strong gripe of their *old adversaries*, it continued long the property of the same family (*r*). When the burrows were taxed, in 1556, Jedburgh appears to have ranked, as to opulence, with Kirkudbright, Wigtown, Whitern, Dunfirmling, and Elgin (*s*). In the monthly assessment of 1695, Jedburgh was the sixteenth in wealth, of the sixty-five burrows, paying 102 l. out of 10,000 l. (*t*). The revenue of the corporation, in 1788, as the same was reported to parliament, was 309 l. 13 s. 7 d. sterling (*u*). The amiable poet, Hamilton, laments, with fond recollection,

"——— Jeda's ancient walls, once seat of kings."

In Roxburghshire, there are also the market towns, of Kelso, Melros, Hawick, and Yetholm. When the monaftery was removed to Kelso, from Selkirk, David I. conferred on the monks, this village, with its lands, and waters, free from all exaction (*x*). In May 1138, was here founded the church, the same year, wherein the church of Holyrood was built (*y*). The town of Kelso shared the fate of the abbey, during the hostile conflicts between the kindred nations, in being often plundered, and sometimes fired (*z*). David II. erected the town of Kelso, the barony of Bolden, and other lands of the monks, into a *free regality* (*a*). This was converted, in 1607, into a lordship in favour of Robert Kerr, Earl of Roxburgh (*b*).

Old

(*q*) Robertson's Index, 12. It had a parliamentary ratification, on the 19th December 1597. Unprinted Act. In June 1640, its Monday's market was prohibited, by Parliament; and the same Parliament conferred on it two fairs, yearly. On the 4th of September 1672, a *correctionhouse*, for Roxburghshire, was here ordained to be built. Stat. that date.

(*r*) Robertson's Index, 139.

(*s*) Gibson's Hist. Glasgow, 87. (*t*) Ib. 103. (*u*) Report Apx. E.

(*x*) Charty Kelso, No. 4. This grant was confirmed by Malcolm IV. and William. Dipl. Scotiæ pl. xxiv. and Charty Kelso No. 3. William confirmed to the men of the monks the right of holding a market here. Charty Kelso, No. 13 and 384. In 1323, the burgesses of Kelso made an acknowledgement, in the Abbot's Court, that they had done wrong, in making new burgesses, without his authority. Ib. 456. David II. granted to the abbot a *free market* here. Robertson's Index, 39. Kelso has, at this day, a weekly market, on Friday, and twelve high markets, in the year, besides fairs. Stat. Acco. x. 587; Agricult. Survey, 207-8.

(*y*) Chron. Mailros, 165.

(*z*) The years 1522, 1542, 1544, were particularly fatal to Kelso. Border Hist. 514-540, 550.

(*a*) Charter of David, at the end of the chartulary of Kelso.

(*b*) This overture was dated on the 10th Dec. 1607, for the payment of a blench duty of 400 marks, which were accounted for in the Exchequer. There were afterwards several contracts, between the King and the Earl of Roxburgh, modifying the original contract: By a new contract, dated

Old Melros may be traced back to an early age of Saxon times. When David re-established the monastery at Melros, in 1136, he granted to the monks the villages, and the lands of Melros (*c*). The establishment of the monastery naturally gave rise to a town, whereof the abbot was the superior; and the town naturally shared in the fortunes of the monastery, during the revolutions of many ages (*d*). James III., when yet an infant, was crowned here in 1460. After the reformation, the town, monastery, and regality, came, by a grant from the crown, to Sir Thomas Hope, who preferred, however, the title of Hadington (*e*).

Hawick is a baronial town, which belongs to the Duke of Buccleugh, who was compensated for its *regality* in 1748. During the thraldom of Roxburgh, it was the shire-town, when it was indelibly stained, by the baseness of the knight of Lidisdale. As a border town, it was often involved in ruin, during ages of hostility (*f*). In peaceful times it flourishes under its beneficent lord (*g*).

Yetholm is also a privileged town, with its weekly market, on Wednesday, and its annual fairs, which collect the neighbouring people, for mutual traffic; and where *tinkers*, and *gypsies* abound, from the vicinity of the Cheviot hills (*h*).

It is not easy to trace the history of that district of Roxburghshire, called *Lidisdale*, beyond the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period. Earl David was undoubtedly the sovereign lord of this narrow district, at the commencement of the twelfth century, while Henry I. reigned in England, and Alexander I. in Scotland. Among the many English families, who followed the fortunes of David, Ranulph de Sulis, a Northampton Baron, came with that beneficent

dated the 10th July 1637, the Earl surrendered to the King the tithes of twenty kirks; and the King restricted the blench duty to 100 marks. The Duke of Roxburgh received, in 1748, 1,300 l. as compensation, for the regality of Kelso.

(*c*) Chart. Mailros. No. 54.

(*d*) In 1322, the town, and monastery, were plundered by the English under Edward II., who killed the abbot, and some of the monks. Miln's Melros 19; Border Hist. 271. It was also spoiled by Richard II., who burnt the monastery. Major, l. vi; Miln 20.; Border Hist. 355. In 1545, the town was more than once plundered by the English, who were in their retreat defeated on Ancrum-Moor. Border Hist. 552-3-4.

(*e*) Miln, 44. This town has a weekly market on Saturday, and four fairs in the year. The abbey lands of Melros, and the lands of Tyningham were erected into a lordship, on the 29th of August 1609, to Sir Thomas Hope, paying an yearly few duty of 1,148 l. 7 s. 2 d.; and a blench duty of 65 l. 6 s. 8d. amounting to 1,213 l. 13 s. 10 d. which were accounted for, in the Exchequer.

(*f*) Lord Sussex burnt it, in April 1570. Border Hist. 635.

(*g*) It has a weekly market on Thursday. Agricult. Survey, 208. It has fairs on the 18th November, and 17th of May; and it has a *tryst* for cattle between the Falkirk and Newcastle fairs. Ib. 207.

(*h*) Stat. Acco. xix. 613.

prince into Scotland (*i*). While David gave Annandale to Robert Bruce, he conferred Lidisdale on Ranulph de Sulis; and while Bruce built the castle of Lochmaban, Sulis erected the fortalice, which afterwards gave rise to the village, that acquired from it the name of *Castletown*, the metropolis of the parish, comprehending Lidisdale. Ranulph de Sulis had a brother William, who followed him into Scotland, but died before him, leaving issue Ranulph, and Richard (*k*). Ranulph succeeded his uncle, and inherited Lidsdale, with his various lands; and confirmed his several charters, according to the practice of the age. The second Ranulph de Sulis now reigned lord of Lidisdale till the fatal year 1207, when he was assassinated, within his own castle, by his own domestics (*l*). He was succeeded, in the territory of Lidisdale, by Fulco de Sulis, who was undoubtedly the heir of the eſtate, though it is not certain, that he was the son of the assassinated Ranulph (*m*). Fulco was succeeded, by his son Nicholas de Sulis, who was *pincerna regis* under Alexander II. (*n*). He continued in the same office under Alexander III., and died some time before the year 1270. In this year, William de Sulis, the son of Nicholas, succeeded him, as well in his office of pincerna, as in his estate; and was knighted by Alexander III. at Hadington. William de Sulis acted, during those eventful times, as one of the *magnates Scotiæ* (*o*), but he died before the year 1305; and he was succeeded by his

(*i*) Ranulph de Sulis, before the year 1147, granted to the monks of Jedburgh not only the church of Lidisdale, the "Ecclesium de Valle Lidel," and a carucate of land in Nesbith, but the church of Dodington, near Burton in Northamptonshire. Here was the original seat of the Sulis's. Ranulph de Sulis was a witness to David's charter of Annandale to Robert Bruce; and he was a witness to several other grants of David I. He witnessed several charters of Malcolm IV. and he was *pincerna* to his brother King William. Chart. Newbotle, No. 45. As he died, without issue, he was succeeded by his nephew, Ranulph de Sulis, the son of William de Sulis, who mentions in his charters to Newbotle, his *uncle* the *pincerna*. Chart. Newbotle, No. 46.

(*k*) William de Sulis left two sons, Ranulph, the eldest; and Richard, the second, who both appear conspicuous, in charters.

(*l*) Chron. Mailros, 182. The learned Ruddiman, mistakingly, applied this assassination to the first Ranulph de Sulis. Index Nom. Dip. Scot. in Vo. Sulis.

(*m*) The series of heirs, in those times, is traced, with sufficient accuracy, in the Charters of Confirmation, which the monks were studious to obtain, when a new heir appeared, from an ancestor deceased. The first Ranulph de Sulis granted a carucate of land, in Gilmerston, to the monks of Newbotle. Chart. Newbotle, No. 45. The second Ranulph confirmed the grant of his uncle. Ib. 46. Fulco de Sulis confirmed this charter of the second Ranulph, after his decease. Ib. 47.

(*n*) He was one of the faction of the Comyns, who during the minority of Alexander II. was removed from the government, by the influence of Henry III. Rym. i. 566.

(*o*) There were two Soulis's, who sat as *barons* in the great parliament at Brigham, in 1290: William de *Soulys*, and John de *Soules*. Rym. Foed. ii. 471. William, the eldest of these brothers, died

his son William, who was then under age, and lived to plot against Robert Bruce, in 1320 (*p*). He forfeited, by his attainder, the lands of Lidisdale, the barony of Nisbet, which was the ancient possession of his family, with Langnewton, Moxton, and Caverton, in Roxburghshire, with other lands, in different counties (*q*). Such was the influence of the Soulis's, as lords of Lidisdale, that their armorial bearings were adopted, in aftertimes, as the *feudal arms* of their ancient territory (*r*).

The restorer of the Scottish monarchy now conferred the lands of Lidisdale, "which William Sulis had forfeited," on his natural son Robert Bruce (*s*): and he probably retained this munificent gift till his death, on the unlucky field of Duplin, where he bravely fell, like the genuine son of a gallant father (*t*). Lidisdale was now to pass into another family of equal valour, and of happier omen. At that sad epoch, rose up among conspicuous men, William Douglas, who is celebrated, by the historians of that age, as the *knight of Lidisdale*, the *flower of chivalry* (*u*). He was present at the surprize of Annan, in December 1332,

died before the year 1305: John de Soules fell at the battle of Dundalk, with Edward Bruce, in 1318. He probably left a son, who obtained, by the name of Sir John de Sulis, from Robert Bruce, in 1321, the lands of Kirkandrews, and the barony of Torthorwald. Robertson's Index, p. 5.

(*p*) Riley's Placita, 373-5, for the fact, that William de Sulis, who was knighted by Alexander III. and William de Sulis, who was attainted in 1320, were quite different persons.

(*q*) Robertson's Index, p. 3, 10, 11, 12, 13, 21, 22, 39.

(*r*) William de Soulis, in 1278, carried "Ermine, three chevrons gules," which were afterwards quartered by the Douglases, for the title of Lidisdale. Nisbit's Heraldry, part 1. p. 19—158. The Nicholas de Soulis, who entered into competition for the crown, was of a different family, as his arms were different. Astle's Scots Seals, Pl. iii. No. 11: And see his genealogy from a bastard daughter of Alexander II. Rym. ii. 577.

(*s*) Robertson's Index, p. 12.

(*t*) The battle of Duplin was fought on the 12th of August 1332.

(*u*) He was the bastard son of the *good* Sir James Douglas, who was slain, in Spain, during the year 1331. Hume of Godscroft, the historian of the Douglases, is positive, "that he was the son "natural to Sir James; but not the brother of John of Dalkeith, as some say." Hist. 62. Crauford, and Douglas, the genealogists, are clear, however, that *the knight of Lidisdale* was the son of Sir James Douglas de Laudonia, the second cousin of *good* Sir James. Here is the puzzle; the two fathers were both Sir James, and the two sons were both named William. Lord Hales inclines to the opinion of the two genealogists. But, facts must decide, (1) William, the son of *good* Sir James, was taken prisoner, in March 1332-3, by Sir Anthony Lucy, near Lochmaban; and soon after, Edward III. commanded, that William Douglas de *Polerte* [Polbothy] should be imprisoned, in *irons*; this harsh mandate is dated the 28th of March 1333. Rym. iv. 552. His rival would have been called William Douglas *de Loudonia*. This, then, is the first difference, between those two competitors, for distinction. (2) The Knight of Lidisdale *being thus in irons*, could not be in the battle of Halidon, which was fought, on the 19th July 1333, and wherein William

1332, when Edward Baliol was obliged to flee from a kingdom, which he had so lately usurped. The Knight of Lidisdale seems to have been now appointed warden of the West-Marshes. In this character, he appears to have come out, to oppose the incursion of Sir Anthony de Lucy, when the valorous knight was overpowered, and taken. Having obtained his liberty, he again appeared in April 1335, among the Scotish barons, who were attached to the unfortunate son of Robert Bruce. He now performed the most gallant feats. By his valour, and perseverence, he expelled the English from the whole country of Teviotdale, except the castle of Roxburgh. The hardy knight seems to have supposed, that he had obtained a right to the country, which he had gained, by his valour. By a still greater effort of skill, and enterprize, Alexander Ramsay, of Dalwolsy took the impregnable castle of Roxburgh, by escalade, on the 30th of March 1342. And for this important service to the state, he was appointed sheriff of Teviotdale, an office, to which the Knight of Liddisdale thought himself entitled. From these events, envy, and hatred, steeled the heart of the valorous knight; and he was now prompted, by revenge, to assassinate Ramsay, whom he had once esteemed, for his virtue, and admired for his bravery. But, a distracted government found it necessary, to promote, rather than to punish, this

William Douglas de Laudonia was taken prisoner. Douglas Peer. 489; Lord Hailes, An. ii. 303-7. But, the Knight remained two years a prisoner, from March 1333. Lord Hailes An. ii. 161.—376. This, then, is the second fact, which distinguishes the two Knights. (3) William Douglas de Laudonia married *Margaret* the daughter of Sir John Graham. Douglas Peerage, 489. Now, the widow of the true Knight of Lidisdale was called *Elizabeth*, as we know from Rymer, v. 760. where there is a precept of Edward III., dated the 10th October 1553, after the death of the Knight, "De tractando cum *Elizabetha*, quæ fuit uxor Willielmi Douglas super deliberatione in manum nostrum del *Hermitage*," which she held, since her husband was slain. She was again called *Elizaleth*, when Edward III. married her to his *valette* Hugh Dacres, and gave her the castle of Hermitage, and the valley of Lidsdale for life. Ib. 818. Here, then, is the third fact, which demonstrates, that William Douglas of *Polbothy*, the husband of *Elizabeth*, was the true Knight of Lidisdale, and not William Douglas of Laudonia, who married *Margaret* Graham. (4) The Knight of Lidisdale was Douglas of Polbothy, in Moffatdale, (not Polerte:) Edward III., when he set the Knight at liberty, and ordered his estates to be restored, also restored to him *Polbothy*, in Moffatdale, (not Polerte,) as we see in Rymer, v. 740: Now, Robert I. granted to Sir James Douglas, the putative father of the Knight in question, the lands of Polbothy, in Annandale. Robertson's Index, 10. Here, then, is the fourth coincidence, which points clearly to the true Knight of Lidisdale. Neither Crawford, nor Douglas, nor Lord Hailes, seems to have ever looked into Rymer, for those decisive documents, which answer completely this perplexing question, concerning the *two Sosias* of Lidisdale. It thus appears, then, that the bastard Sir William Douglas, of Polbothy, was the real Knight of Lidisdale,

"Who hast with knightless guile, and treacherous train,
"Fair knighthood foully shamed."

hardy

hardy assassin; and he was invested with the important charges of sheriff of Teviotdale, and keeper of Roxburgh castle (*a*). The Knight of Lidisdale, going into the field of Durham, was taken prisoner with David II., on the 20th of October 1346. The ample rewards, which were bestowed by Edward III., on John Copland, for the capture of David, and on Robert Bertram, for the capture of Douglas, evinced the importance, that was annexed to both those prisoners. The English, entering the Scottish borders, in January 1346-7, took the castles of Roxburgh, and Hermitage. At this disastrous crisis, came upon the stage, William Douglas, the son of Archibald Douglas, called *Tyneman*, the regent of Scotland, who had been overpowered, and slain, at the battle of Halidon-hill, in 1333. Returning from his education in France, soon after his father's fall, he became heir of his uncle Hugh, and of his uncle the good Sir James, in 1342 (*b*). And placing himself at the head of the people, thus committed to his guidance, young Douglas expelled the English from Douglasdale, and seized Etterick Forest; Copeland, the English governor of Roxburgh castle, coming out to oppose Douglas's entrance into Roxburghshire, was defeated; and the men of Teviotdale, gathering round their chief, enabled the young warrior to expel their adversaries. David II. and the Knight of Lidisdale, were still prisoners, since the battle of Durham. And Edward III. being engaged in enterprizes beyond his strength, the thraldom of Scotland, and the conquest of France, began, in 1351, to treat with his opponents, and prisoners. With David, and the Knight of Lidisdale, he entered into mysterious negociations, for the liberation of the one, and the freedom of the other (*c*). But, he then failed in both his objects. Edward III., at length, began a still more singular intrigue with the Knight of Lidisdale. The King agreed to give the Knight his freedom, with Lidisdale, and Hermitage castle, and other lands: The Knight agreed to hold the

(*a*) Lord Haile's An. ii. 310. It is an important fact, which ought not to be forgotten, that young Sir William Douglas, the chief of the Douglases, had been appointed *leader of the men of Teviotdale*, on the 28th of May 1342, when the bastard Douglas thus pretended to be the sheriff of Teviotdale. It is a fact still more important, that this chief of the Douglases, in the same year 1342, obtained a grant of *Lyddal*, which had remained in the crown, from the death of the bastard Robert Bruce, in the battle of Duplin. Robertson's Index, 39.

(*b*) On the 28th of May 1342, William Douglas obtained a charter from David II. giving him all the lands, and rights of his uncle Hugh, and his father, the regent, "una cum *ducatus hominum* "vice-comitatum de Roxburgh, et Selkirk." Hume's Hist. Douglas, 79: Crawford's Peerage, 95. William Douglas, who was thus made the leader of the men of Roxburgh, and Selkirk, was the first of the Douglases, who enjoyed a Peerage; being created Earl of Douglas, at Edinburgh, by David II., in 1357. Robertson's Index, 31.

(*c*) Rym. v. 737; Lord Haile's An. ii. 224.

whole

whole of the English King, whom he engaged to serve against all parties, with scarcely an exception of his own sovereign, and country; and the knight, moreover, promised, that the English should always have free entrance, through his lands, into Scotland (*d*) This scandalous contract was immediately fulfilled, by the freedom of the knight, who gave hostages for his fidelity, and by the delivery to him of Lidisdale, and other lands, with Hermitage castle. But, he did not long enjoy the price of his dishonour. Hunting within Etterick-forest, in August 1353, he was slain, by order of Sir William Douglas, his father's nephew, and his own god-son, on whatever motive (*e*). Douglas was too well acquainted with the intrigues of Edward III. not to know his disgraceful compact with the knight of Lidisdale. He was probably indignant, that his uncle's bastard should have presumed to make such a compact; that a bastard should dare to interfere with the pretensions of the house of Douglas, raised that indignation into wrath. This was the motive, on which the knight had assassinated Ramsay, by a cruel death. But, Douglas was the leader of the men of Teviotdale; he was the warden of the marches; he was the justiciary on the south of the Forth: And, in any one of those characters, he might have justified the putting to death of a known traitor, while the state was unsafe, according to the wretched logic of an immoral age. Douglas was above question: As of Henry VIII. it may be said of Douglas, the first Earl, that he never spared man in his anger, nor woman in his lust. The knight of Lidisdale left no son, either to revenge his fall, or to be tinged by his baseness (*f*). Edward III. immediately took the knight's widow into his special care, by giving her Hermitage, and Lidisdale, for life; and by marrying her, soon after, to his valette Hugh Dacres, the brother of

(*d*) Rym. v. 738. "Indentura super liberatione Willielmi Douglas et retentione in servicio regis." But, the *castle* of *Lidale*, with the seigniory thereof, were reserved to the earl of Kent, as heir of lord Wake. This remarkable indenture is dated the 17th July 1552. On the 24th of the same month, Edward III. issued a precept, commanding the delivery of the castle of Hermitage, with the manor of Hermitage, and its pertinents, to William Douglas, with Lidisdale, the half of the town of Moffat, and Corhend, Newton, and Granton, *Polbothy*, in the head of Moffatdale. Ib. 740. Such were the wages of corruption, whereby Edward III. gained, and David II. lost, the dubious services of *the knight of Lidisdale*.

(*e*) Godscroft, the historian of the Douglases, quotes an *old song*, to prove the adulterous passion of Sir William Douglas's wife, for the knight of Lidisdale. Hist. 77 It is more than probable, that lady had never seen the knight of Lidisdale; and, a virtuous wife might warn such a person of her husband's wrath. It is, however, certain, that Douglas repudiated his first wife.

(*f*) The peerage makers have gone out of their way, indeed, to trace the Earl of Morton's genealogy through *the knight of Lidsdale*; but, as I have shewn, they confounded William Douglas of Lothian, with William Douglas of Lidisdale, though they were warned of the right road, by the pointed finger of Godscroft.

Lord

Lord Dacres. He did this upon his late policy, of retaining, by his own creatures, the possession of that country, and castle (*g*). Yet the English king lost his insidious aim. During the protracted negotiation for the freedom of David II., Douglas hovered over Hermitage castle; and seeing a truce expire, he pounced upon his prey (*h*). Earl Douglas, who closed a long, and splendid career, in 1384, transmitted Hermitage castle, and Lidsdale to his heir. His seal remains; but I do not perceive that it bears, as Nisbet intimates, one particle of the arms of Sulis (*i*). It was probably *the knight of Lidisdale*, who assumed the armorial bearings of the Sulis's, as the feudal arms of Lidisdale; being a bastard he could not, by the transmission, derive any arms, from any family. Lidsdale came by descent from the first Earl, who snatched it from the grasp of Edward III. to Sir James Douglas, his gallant heir, who closed his short, but glorious life, in the sharp conflict of Otterburn. In 1398, the lordship of Lidsdale was transferred, from the Earl of Douglas, to George Douglas, the Earl of Angus, the youngest son of the first Earl of Douglas, and husband of Mary, the daughter of Robert III. (*k*). In this family of Angus, Lidsdale continued long the scene of its turbulence. In 1492, the Earl of Angus was obliged by the king, to exchange Lidsdale, with Patrick Hepburn, for Bothwell (*l*). The adherence of the Earl of Bothwell to the Douglases, brought on the forfeiture of Lidsdale in the subsequeut reign.

(*g*) Rym. v. 760-816. In 1358, Edward III. issued another protection for *Margaret* de Dacres, and her tenants in Lidsdale. Ayloff's Cal. 222.

(*h*) The following dates, it may be well to attend to: On the 3d of October 1357, the peace was concluded, at Berwick, whereby David II. obtained his freedom, at the end of eleven years captivity. Lord Hailes' An. ii. 244. On the 4th of February 1357-8, Sir William Douglas of Douglas, was created an Earl. Robertson's Index, p. 31. On the 6th of June 1358, Edward III. issued a commission, "De *altercatione* super captione castri del *L'ermitage*." Rym. vi. 85. William Douglas took the castle of Hermitage, *during a truce*, said Edward: Douglas said *not*; and it was left to arbitrators to settle the fact. But we hear no more of this *altercation*. Edward III. had a greater object in view: Finding it impossible to obtain Scotland by force, he at length tried to get it by fraud; he made David II. his tool; and he endeavoured to gain Douglas, the most powerful man of his country, in his age. The English estate of Douglas was restored by the treaty. We see Margaret, the Countess of Douglas, making a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket, in 1359, with twenty horsemen. Ib. 133. The Earl himself also travelled into England, during the year 1366. Ib. 534. And they were followed by Sir James Douglas, the antagonist of Hotspur, who travelled through England, in 1372, with a retinue of a dozen horsemen. Ib. 746. The knight of Lidsdale was even now, by studious silence, covered with "sweet oblivious antidote." In 1371, we may perceive, in the Chartulary of Coldingham, 16, that Earl Douglas calls himself *Lord of Lydal*. His eldest son, Sir James, was also called *Lord of Lydesdaile*. Hay's Vindication of Elizabeth More, p. 54; Robertson's Index, p. 122.

(*i*) Astle's Scotish Seals, pl. iv.

(*k*) Roberts. Index, 139.

(*l*) Godscroft, 237: The king confirmed this exchange in 1492. Id. Dougl. Peerage, 85. Parl. Rec. 658.

It was, however, restored, as we learn from Knox. It was at Hermitage castle, where Mary Stewart visited Bothwell, in October 1566, when he was wounded, in discharging his duty, as warden of the marches; and when she returned to her bed of sickness, at Jedburgh. Lidsdale was again forfeited, by the notorious Bothwell. And Lidsdale, after other grants, and other forfeitures, finally came into the possesson of the gallant predecessors of the Duke of Buccleugh.

Within Lidsdale, there existed, in early ages, three principal castles, the several seats of very powerful barons. At the point, where the Lid joins the Esk, says Camden, stood formerly Lid-dal castle. It was obviously built on a commanding peninsula, which was once the site of a Roman strength; and is even now known, by the name of *the mote*. From Malcolm IV., *the barony of Lidal*, but not Lidsdale, passed to Henry II. In 1173, William, the lion, during his incursion into the north-west borders of England, took the castle of Liddal (*a*). In 1346, David II., in marching forward to his defeat, and captivity, sacked the castle of Liddal; and executed Selby, the castleward, on whatever pretence of retaliation, or enmity (*b*). When Edward III. gave Lidsdale, and Hermitage, to William Douglas, in 1352, there were reserved, as we have seen, the castle of *Lidal*, with the seigniory thereof, to the Earl of Kent, as the heir of Lord Wake (*c*). It has since become the mere object of antiquarian curiosity, as a Roman remain, and a baronial *mote* (*d*). The castle, which was built higher up, on the east bank of the Lid, at Clintwood, near the site of Castleton, is of more recent construction. As it was founded by Ranulph Sulis, it continued long the impregnable residence of that potent family. It was, in this castle, that Ranulph Sulis, the younger, was assassinated, by his own domestics, in 1206, as we have already seen. From this sad epoch, the Sulises, giving up their polluted mansion to "wasting years," founded a new residence, on the northern side of Lidsdale, near an ancient hermitage, about the year 1243, to the discontent of Henry III., a querulous neighbour (*e*). It thus continued, from that age till the distractions of the succession war, when

(*a*) Chron. Mailros, 173; Border Hist. 96.

(*b*) Scala Chronica; Lord Hailes' An. ii. 213. (*c*) Rym. v. 738—40.

(*d*) Roy's Rom. Antiq. pl. xxiii.; Hist. of Cumberland, ii. 528-9: See Gilpin's Picturesque Tour, i. 35: It commands, says he, a very extensive view, which presents, if not a picture, at least a map, well adapted to military speculation.

(*e*) Ford. l. ix. c. 60. Lord Hailes mistakingly supposes this castle to have been then built by Walter Comyn, the Earl of Monteith. An. i. 159. Yet, the property of Lidsdale was not in the Comyns's, but the Sulises; and this very castle was claimed, by William Sulis, in 1306, as his property, by descent. Ryley's Placita, 373.

Edward I. granted Lidsdale, and Hermitage castle, to John Wake, who died, seized of both, in 1300 (*f*). The demise of Edward, and the accession of Bruce, restored William Sulis to his right, which he forfeited, by his treason, in 1320. Such is the history of the castle of Hermitage, the name whereof is still to be searched for amid the obscurities of ancient times (*g*). The castle, with the country, now came by grant to the bastard son of Robert Bruce. After his fall, the knight of Lidsdale took possession of it, by whatever title. The first Earl of Douglas acquired a right to the country; and his son, the celebrated James, probably resided in old Hermitage castle, which was far less formidable than the new (*h*). The more modern pile, which is still distinguishable from the old, was probably constructed by the Earls of Angus, when it was the shelter of their adherents, and the terror of their adversaries (*i*). There were, throughout Roxburghshire, in those times, as we have seen, many other towers, which were at once the residence, and the refuge, of the border chiefs,

(*f*) Out of this transactisn, arose a *plea*, in parliament, during the year 1306, [35 Ed. I.] Joan, the widow of John Wake, complained to that prince, in his council, that her husband having died seized of the castle of Hermitage, she had been intrusted, with one third thereof, as her dower; but, had been expelled by William Sulis. He pleaded that, under the ordinance, for settling the affairs of Scotland, heirs, under age, were not to be disseised; that thereupon the Sheriff of Roxburgh had, in due form of law, put him in possession of his heritage, as son, and heir of Nicolas Sulis. She was, however, restored to her dower. See Ryley's Placita, 373—76; and Hist. of Cumberland, ii. 528—30.

(*g*) The chapel, castle, and river, derive their names, from the cell of a hermit, who had retired to this secluded spot upon the waste. He could not have chosen a more solitary residence. Walter de Bolebroke confirmed to the monks of Kelso, "et fratri Willielmi de Merchleye et quoddam "*heremitorum*, quod vocatur Merchinglye," which was founded on his waste, near Merchinglye burn, with the church of St. Mary, to the same belonging. Chart. Kelso, No. 263. This grant was confirmed by his son Walter. Ib. 264. Hugh de Baliol granted to the church of St. Mary, and to Roger the monk of Merchinglye, twenty-six acres of land, near Halychesters, which Eustachius, the father of Hugh, had given to the monk. Ib. 266. The name of *Hermitage* so completely superseded *Merchinglye*, that it cannot be found, in any map. And this name supplies the title of Viscount Hermitage to the eldest son of the Delorane family. Stat. Acco. xvi. 82.

(*h*) Ib. 81.

(*i*) George, Earl of Angus, on the 24th of May 1452, took a course for keeping good order, in his country of Lidsdale; and to keep his castle of the Hermitage for him; that his folks should do no hurt to others, nor receive any of his enemies. Godscroft, p. 213. The Earl of Angus, whose atrocity gave him the name of *Bell the Cat*, after he had killed Spense, the king's servant, said, with the colloquial audacity of that age, "Go tell my gossip the king, I will get me into "Lidsdale, and remain in *the Hermitage*, till his anger be over." The king, however, obliged him to exchange Lidsdale, for the lands of Bothwell; saying, there was no order to be had with the Earls of Angus, so long as they kept Lidsdale. Godscroft, p. 236.

during predatory times (*k*). The remains of those fortalices show only, at present, the wretchedness of the people, who possessed them; and although those baronial towers were once the alternate scenes of warfare, and festivity, they are now the sad monuments of the manners, and the miseries, of the days, that are passed.

From those scenes, we may turn, for a while, to the northern projection of Roxburghshire, beyond the Tweed, lying between the Gala and the Leader, which forms chiefly the modern parish of Melros, where we may see similar manners, though somewhat diversified. This extensive country, which formed a part of the vast appanage of Earl David, became, upon his accession, a considerable portion of the royal demesnes. When David refounded the monastery of Mailros, he gave the monks, throughout his forest, all his own enjoyments; common of pasture, wood, materials, as freely, as he enjoyed those useful accommodations, in a rude age (*l*). From such indefinite privileges, during such times, disputes naturally arose, which it fell to the lot of William, the lion, to settle. To understand the nature of the disputes, and the equity of their settlements, we must recollect, that the pretensions of the monks of Melros lay on the south of that forest, along the Tweed; that the bishop of St. Andrews possessed *Wedale*, comprehending the present parish of *Stow*, on the west; that the lands of the Morvilles lay in Lauderdale, on the north, and north-east; and that the ancient domains of the Earls of March, lay on the east of this wild object of frequent contest. These were all powerful proprietors, as well as pertinacious disputants. In 1180, William settled, by his charter, according to the mode of his age, the controversy between the monks of Melros, and Richard de Morvill, the constable (*m*). In 1184, William, who had many such disputes to settle, decided the controversy, between the monks of Melros, and the bishop of St. Andrews' men of Wedale, about their several rights, within this extensive forest. The king again caused a perambulation to be made, by his

(*k*) Stat. Acco. xvi. 82; Stobie's map of this shire; Grose's Antiquities, and Cardonel's Picturesque Antiquities.

(*l*) Chart. Melros, No. 54. This grant was confirmed by Earl Henry, and enlarged by William, the lion. The rights of the monks, as we may learn from the charter of William, extended all along the Gala, to the end of *Wedale*; and his augmentation consisted of *Galtonside*, as the Leader falls into the Tweed, and from the Leader to the *burn* of Fauchope.

(*m*) Chron. Mailros, 174. The king now laid down many regulations, for their several rights, in the forest, not forgetting his own right of *venery*. He says, with great simplicity, that *he*, with the bishop of Glasgow, with his brother, with his earls, and his honest men, perambulated their several boundaries: And he recites the whole, in his charter. Chart. Mel. No. 146.

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honest men, upon their oaths: And he again decided their respective pretensions, by his charter; reserving his own, and his successors rights, to the beasts, the birds, and the game of his forest (*n*). The king, once more, had to decide the disputes of the monks of Melros, with Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, about their several rights, and wrongs, within this disputable forest. When the several parties came into his court, at Selkirk, in his own presence, they settled their own pretensions: And, the king confirmed their agreement, by his charter (*o*). Such were the juridical disputes of the age of William. Nothing could prevent, however, the contests of herdsmen, when supported by pertinacious masters. We shall see, in our progress, the stream of the Gala stained with the kindred blood of the men of Wedale, who fought, for their flocks, with the fiercer monks of Melros.

From the demise of Alexander III., to the accession of James VI., Roxburghshire, as a border county, has furnished appropriate fields, for many a conflict. After all resistance was vain, the castle of Roxburgh was surrendered, in 1296, to Edward I, by James, the stewart of Scotland (*p*). In 1297, the Scots tried, without success, to regain the castle of Roxburgh, which was the key, that opened, and shut their country, in those disastrous times (*q*). Edward assembled, in 1298, at Roxburgh, the army, with which he was to penetrate Scotland (*r*). Every year supplied a new chief, for the brave men, who fought, and fell, for their country. Bruce, assumed the crown, in 1306; and Edward I. expired, in 1307; directing conquest, and threatening vengeance, with his last breath. Edward II., entering the eastern marches, in 1310, came to Roxburgh, with a powerful army, on the 10th of September (*s*). Roxburgh castle wss surprized, and taken, by the vigilant ennterprize of Sir James Douglas (*t*): And all Teviotdale, except Jedburgh, submitted to the sovereignty of Bruce. The fortune, and valour of that great prince, universally prevailed over the imbecillity, and favouritism, of Edward II. And, the treaty of Northampton, during the minority of Edward III., fixed the throne of Bruce, and acknowledged the independence of his kingdom (*u*).

(*n*) Chron. Mailros, 176; Chart. Melros, No. 89; Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl.

(*o*) Chart. Melros, No. 140: He therein recites their agreement to have been made, "apud "*Seleschirche*, in presentia mea, et in plena curia mea."

(*p*) Rym. i. 714. The castle of Jedburgh followed this example. Id. After a few days residence, at Roxburgh, Edward I. appointed his own officers to retain both those castles, to act as sheriff of Roxburghshire. Id.

(*q*) Border Hist. 209. (*r*) Ib. 210. (*s*) Rym. iii. 225.

(*t*) Border Hist. 237. (*u*) Parl. Rec. 85—8.

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The wars of Edward III., against Scotland, were not more overbearing, than they were unprincipled (*x*). These conflicts left a very sharp edge upon the spirits of the two kingdoms, notwithstanding the progress of civility, and the intercourse of marriage. The successors of Edward III. continued their claims of sovereignty, and occasionally pursued their projects of conquest. The pretensions of England, unfounded as they were, and her attempts at conquest, attended as they were, by the most dire disappointments, threw Scotland into the arms of France. The hostilities of Henry VIII., and his children, were not more absurd, in their principle, than they were wasteful, in their progress. Teviotdale had an ample share, both of waste, and woe (*y*). Roxburghshire was

(*x*) In 1332, Edward Baliol obtained possession of Roxburgh castle. Border Hist. 269. In 1333, when Edward III. entered Scotland, the people, who would not be subservient to the English interest, retired into the fastnesses of their country, whereof the forest of Jedburgh was the most impervious. Ib. 304. Sir William Douglas, in 1338, attacked an English convoy of provisions, for the castle of Hermitage, and afterwards reduced that noted strength. Ib. 328. In 1342, David II., with his army, retired to the forest of Jedburgh, where they were followed, by the English, who did not obtain much advantage, from some sharp skirmishes. Ib. 333. After the battle of Durham, in 1346, the English regained the castles of Roxburgh, and Hermitage, with the country of Teviotdale. Ib. 339. During several years, from 1371 to 1377, there were continual frays, between the English, and Scots, at the fairs of Roxburgh, which was burnt, in the latter year, by the Scots. Ib. 347—349. The Earl of Douglas expelled the English from Teviotdale, except the castle of Roxburgh, in 1384. Ib. 354. In the subsequent year, the English, under Richard II., burnt Melros abbey. Ib. 355. In 1402, the Earl of Northumberland, in vain, besieged the castle of Cocklaw, near the springs of Bowmont water, on the Cheviot. Ib. 372. The men of Teviotdale, in 1409, took the castle of Jedburgh, which they destroyed. In the subsequent year, the English wasted Teviotdale, and burnt the town of Jedburgh. Ib. 378—80. In 1419, the Duke of Albany defeated the English near Roxburgh. Ib. 385. The Earl of Douglas, in 1422, and James I., in 1436, besieged the castle of Roxburgh, without success. Ib. 388—401. In 1460, James II. lost his life before this strength, which Mary, his widow, by her persevering vigour, levelled to the ground. Ib. 422. The Earl of Warwick laid waste the ample extent of Roxburghshire, in 1464. Ib. 428. Such were some of the sad events, which afflicted this shire, during many years of grievous warfare.

(*y*) In July 1522, the English made a sudden irruption into Roxburghshire, when they plundered, and fired Kelso. The men of Teviotdale compelled them to retire, after a sharp conflict. Yet, did the English destroy eighteen towns, and eighty villages. Border Hist. 514. In the subsequent year, these destroyers returned into Teviotdale, where they spread devastation, and carried away their plunder. Ib. 515. The Earl of Surrey, in the same year, took Jedburgh, after a gallant resistance; and destroyed this ancient town, and elegant monastery. Id. Lord Dacres, at the same time, took the castle of Fernyhirst, which was obstinately defended, by its valorous knight, Sir Andrew Ker. Id. Hostilities of a similar nature, and still more disastrous, were renewed, at the end of twenty years. In 1542, Sir Robert Bowes, entering Teviotdale, on its eastern border, was defeated by the Earl of Huntly, at Hawdenrig. Ib. 532. This defeat did not prevent,

was not only wasted, during several ages, by foreign incursions, but was long the stage of domestic conflicts, and the odious scene of thievish devastation (*z*). The chequered reigns of James v., of Mary Stewart, and of James vi., were crowded with such feuds, between irascible chiefs, who too often stained this shire with congenerous gore (*a*).

The union of the two kingdoms, by the accession of James vi., gave repose to Teviotdale. The mind is thus naturally led to more peaceful considerations. It is far more pleasant to recollect the men, who have given distinction to this shire, by their genius, and action, and to the women, who have adorned it, by their virtues, and lyricks. We have seen how the gallant men of Teviotdale have fought, throughout many an age, for their country's rights: In happier times, the house of Stobbs, within the parish of Cavers, produced Lord Heath-

prevent, however, the Duke of Norfolk, from wasting Tweedside, and burning Kelso, with its monastery. Ib. 450. The same feats were performed, on the same scene, by Sir Ralph Eure, in 1544. Ib. 550. The result of all those incursions was lasting waste, without any useful purpose. After boasting of the subduction of Teviotdale, Eure, and Leiton, entering the county, in 1545, and plundering Melros, were attacked on Liliards-Edge, by the Earls of Arran, and Angus; and were defeated, and slain. Ib. 552-3. The Earl of Hartford soon after made a still more waseful inroad, when the abbeys of Dryburgh, Kelso, Melros, and Jedburgh, were involved in the destructions of the country. Ib. 554. The Protector Somerset, in 1547, and Lord Gray, in 1548, ravaged, and subdued, Teviotdale, and Lidsdale. Ib. 562—66. The ravages of the subsequent year were put an end to, by the peace of 1550. These wasteful incursions were renewed in 1557, in 1558, in 1570, and in 1572, which, though they were attended with sad devastation, were not performed, without the spirited opposition of a people of equal bravery. Ib. 558, 635, 643. If we may credit the chroniclers, we ought to believe, that the Earl of Sussex, during a short incursion into Roxburghshire, in April 1570, destroyed 50 castles, and piles, and above 300 towns, and villages. Ib. 635. That infinite waste was committed, during those border wars, there cannot be any reasonable doubt. See the State Papers of Haynes, and of Murden. "I need not multiply ex-"tracts from this horrid catalogue," says the moral Gilpin, "in which the pillage, ruin, and slaughter, "of thousands of individuals (contributing nothing to the sum of the war) are related, with as much "indifference, as the bringing in of a harvest." Pictur. Tour. i. 44.

(*z*) Of the *feuds*, which distracted, and wasted Scotland, in 1478, are recorded the bloody disputes, in Teviotdale, between the Rutherfords, and Turnbulls. Parl. Rec. 234.

(*a*) In 1519, a dispute having arisen about the bailliewick of Jedburgh-forest, between the Earl of Angus and Sir Andrew Home, was decided in a bloody conflict, in favour of Angus. Border Hist. 509. In 1526, the attempt of the Earl of Lenox, and Scot of Buccleugh, to free James v., while an infant, from the power of the Earl of Angus, produced a battle, at the bridge of Melros, which left the impatient king in the power of the intrepid Angus. Ib. 527. The severe examples, which had been made of the border chiefs, in 1529, did not prevent the men of Lidal from opposing the warden, when Earl Bothwell was wounded. Ib. 621. In 1572, the chiefs of Fernyhirst, and Buccleugh, attempting to surprize Jedburgh, which was held, for the infant king, were repulsed; and, retiring to Hawick, were susprized, and taken by Lord Ruthven. Ib. 643-4.

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field, the defender of Gibraltar. In other times, Waldef, the son of a queen of Scotland, and uncle of Malcolm IV., died abbot of Melros, in 1159. This shire has furnished its full portion of poets: In 1369, Peter Fenton, a monk of Melros, wrote *the Bruce*, in metre; Thomson was born at Ednham, in 1700; Armstrong on the Lidal, in 1709; and Jane Elliot, the elegant writer of *The Flowers of the Forest*, at Minto, in 1726. The localities of this shire have supplied various titles of nobility to eminent personages (*b*). Teviotdale gave the title of duke to Ernest Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland, in 1799. Roxburgh furnished the title of Duke to John Earl of Roxburgh, in 1709 (*c*). Jedburgh gave the title of baron to Sir Andrew Ker, in 1584 (*d*). Sir Gilbert Elliot derives the title of Lord Minto, from the ancient seat of his progenitors, who have been distinguished for talents, both useful, and elegant. The Morvilles, who, in succession, under David I., and his grandsons, were constables of Scotland, possessed large estates, in this shire, and great influence in Scotland: The Earls of March had here many lands: The Sulises were possessors of Lidsdale; and they were the *pincerna regis*: But, in those good old times, we see nothing of any great noble, whose power produced, here, any predominant effect, if we except the Douglases, amid the distractions of their country. This shire has also supplied several senators to the College of Justice (*e*). The Rutherfords, the Dawsons, the Elliots, the Rogerses, who, as improvers, were the first to make many a blade of grass grow, where none grew before, merit more lasting remembrance, as the benefactors of their country.

§ VII. *Of its Agriculture, Manufactures, and Trade.*] When the Romans entered this shire, during the first century, they found it in its natural state, with

(*b*) Teviot gave the title of Earl to General Rutherford. Crawford's Peer. 475. Robert, Lord Spencer, was created Viscount of Teviot, in 1686. Ib. 476. General Sir Thomas Livingston was created Viscount of Teviot, in 1698. Id.

(*c*) Crawford Peer. 430.

(*d*) There were two noted families, in this shire, of the name of Ker; the Kers of Fernyhirst, and the Kers of Cessford: From this last family, are descended the Dukes of Roxburgh; from the former, the Lords of Jedburgh, a title, which merged, in that of Marquis of Lothian. Ib. 229. To this last, Ancrum furnished an earldom. Ib. 8. Rutherford, as it is a local name, is in itself dignified; and became ennobled, in the person of General Rutherford. Ib. 433.

(*e*) In 1582, at the establishment of that college, Mr. Richard Bothwell, the rector of Askirk; in 1541, Mr. Andrew Durie, the abbot of Melros; in 1582, Mr. David Macgill of Nisbet; in 1705, Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto; and in 1726, Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, who held the high office of Lord-Justice Clerk, from 1762 to 1766. His son, Sir Gilbert, rose to eminence, as a statesman; and represented Roxburghshire, in several parliaments.

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the defences of hill-forts, and the communications of foot-paths; the people being clothed in skins, and feeding on the milk, and flesh of their cattle. In the cultivation of it, the Roman intruders did not make much change, though they settled their stations, made their roads, and planted their villas, within its area.

The Saxons, who came in upon the Romanized Britons, during the fifth century, though they had less knowledge, certainly had a more vigorous character, than the descendants of the Ottadini, and Gadeni. In the long progress of their intrusion, they commenced the progress of husbandry. They began to cut down the trees, and to labour the fields. Yet, at the recent beginning of the Scoto-Saxon period, in 1097, the whole extent of Roxburghshire was clothed with woods, sheltered by forests, and disfigured by wastes (*a*). By taking a nearer view of the several districts of Roxburghshire, at that epoch, we shall see the whole landscape more distinctly. Lidisdale, the south-western division, formerly contained much wood, some of which, consisting of oak, ash, birch, alder, still remains along the banks of the several streams, particularly, on the Hermitage water (*b*). The country lying along the Bowmont water, in Morbattle parish, on the south east, was anciently clothed with natural woods, which no longer exhilarate the prospect (*c*). The wood of Moll, [Mow,] on the same alpine stream, is mentioned in the charters of William, the lion, and Alexander II. (*d*). The river *Kail* derived its *British* name from its *woods*. The names of places, near its banks, mark the existence there of its wood, in ancient times (*e*). Natural woods once adorned the margins of the Oxnam

(*a*) In one of the first of the genuine charters, there is a grant, from Edgar, to Thor-Longus of Ednam, which was then a desert: He cultivated this unimproved spot with his *own money*, as he says; he here settled his own men; and he built them a church. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 69.

(*b*) Stat. Acco. xvi. 61—67: Some years ago, was discovered in the channel of the Lidal, a vast oak, measuring 26 feet long, and 10 feet in circumference. Ib. 79. Nothing like this ancient monarch of the woods is now to be seen near the course of the Lid. The names of many places, in this district, have been derived from its woods; as, Clint-*wood*, Foul-*wood*, Byegate-*wood*, Billet-*wood*, *Wood*-side, *Shaws*, Cop-shaws, Abbot-*shaw*, *Birk*-holm. Blaeau's Atlas, No. 10; Stobie's Roxburghshire.

(*c*) The maps of Blaeau, and of Stobie, are the records of notices, that woods once existed here: We, in them, still see *Wood*-side, *Wood*-end, Crooked-*shaws*, *Oak*-hope, Desert.

(*d*) Anselm of Moll granted to the monastery of Kelso, "totam terram illam, et pratum, et "*nemus*, in territorio de Moll, et totam *Houlets*-how, in *bosco* et plano." Chart. Kelso, No. 153. This grant was confirmed by William. Ib. No. 13. In 1236, Alexander II. granted to the monks of Melros, "ut terram suam de Moll habeant in *liberam forestam*." Chart. Bibl. Harl.

(*e*) There are *Fair*-wood, *Felter*-shaws, Towngate-shaw, Place-gate-*shaw*, Calf-*shaw*, *Aik*-ford, East-*wood*-en, West-*wood*-en, formerly Wood-holm. Blaeau's Atlas, No. 4, and Stobie's Map.

water. Henwood, on its western side, was, during the border wars, a *rendezvous*, for the inhabitants, when the cry of war was raised (*f*). In the southern part of this shire, lying between the border mountains, and the river Teviot, there was anciently a great extent of natural woods. Of these, *Jed* forest was the chief; and in it, during the long war for the succession, the neighbouring inhabitants found shelter, and defence. In the happier times of Thomson, the poet recollects with infantine gratification the "sylvan Jed." What of wood, the waste of war had spared, when inveteracy prompted destruction, more recent rapacity has felled (*g*). As well the charters of David I. as the maps of Blaeu, and Stobie, evince the sylvan qualities of Jed-side (*h*). During the middle of the seventeenth century, there was still a wood near the castle of Jedburgh, which was called the *Castle-wood* (*i*). The Rule water is said to vye, for its woody vestures, with the sylvan Jed (*k*). The Teviot, which receives the tribute of so many waters, was once as woody as either the Rule, or the Jed. On the regions of the tributary Slitrig, Allan, Borthwick, and other kindred rivulets, there anciently grew many natural woods (*l*). The larger woods rapacity and waste have concurred long since to fell; but the spontaneous shrubberies still shelter the sides of the hills, and adorn the banks of the streams (*m*). The Ale-water once had many woods wavering on its margin, and could anciently boast of a royal forest, which skirted its higher regions. Of all these, little remains, except the natural shrubberies on the Ale, and some ancient timber at Ancrum (*n*). The country, lying between the Ale,

(*f*) Stat. Acco. x. 333. (*g*) Ure's Agricult. View, 68; Stat. Acco. i. 4.

(*h*) The names of places near the Jed establish the fact: There are *Frith*, signifying, in ancient language, a *forest*; *shaw*, meaning a wood; and *Wood*-end, *Wood*-field; Wood-house, Thorter-wood, *Hazel*-haugh, *Birks*-burn, *Birken* suet, Bush, *Ashtrees*.

(*i*) Blaeu.

(*k*) Agricult. Survey, 13. The names of places on the Rule, are derived from the circumjacent woods, and from the wild beasts, which they sheltered, in less agricultural times: *Birch*-hill, *Hare*-wood, *Harts*-haugh, *Hind*-lee, *Hind*-haugh, *Wolf*-hope, shew the ancient stock of this woody district.

(*l*) The topographical names show satisfactorily the fact: *Wood*-head, *Wood*-burn, Back of the woods, Grin-*wood*, Birk-*wood*, *Ashie*-bank, *Hare*-wood, *Jed*-shaw, *Wolf*-cleugh, *Raes*-knows, [Roes-knolls], *Wood*-foot, Pit-shaw. See Blaeu, and Stobie.

(*m*) Agricult. Survey, 13; Stat. Acco. v. 8. p. 522; v. 10. p. 80.

(*n*) Agricult. Survey, 120; Stat. Acco. x. 290: The names of places also recal the remembrance of the ancient woods on the Ale: *Frith*, Frier-*shaw*, Head-*shaw*, Bell-*shaws*, which has been corrupted to Bel-shaes, Shiels-*wood*, Birk-*wood*, *Birk*-side, *Wood*-end, *Wood*-head, *Ashie*-burn. By a grant of William, the lion, between the years 1180, and 1189, he gave to the church of Glasgow, and to Orm of *Ash*-kirk, certain easements, in his extensive forest on the upper Alne; and he also conceded to them, the *Wainagia*, or cultivated land, which had been *gained* from the woodland. Chart. Glasgow.

and

and the Tweed, was anciently covered with woods; and, we know from record, that some of these had been cut down, before the improving age of David I. (*o*). On the southern side of the Tweed, near Melros, there remained, in modern times, a large oak wood, which was called Prior-wood; and which gave a name to Aikie-dean (*p*). The sides of the Eldon-hills were once clothed with wood (*q*). And *Shaw-burn*, in Bowden-parish, derived its instructive name, from an ancient wood, on its woody-brink (*r*). There was once, at Halydean, five hundred acres of wood, which were inclosed by a vast wall; and which are now cut down; and this singular inclosure is called, in old writings, the great deer park of Halydean (*s*). In the north-east divisions of Roxburghshire, lying on both sides of the Tweed, and on the lower parts of the Teviot, as well as the Eden water, the woods appear to have been early cut down, by the hand of cultivation. In the western moss of Eckford, there have been dug up nuts, roots, and trunks of large oaks, and other trees, with the vast horns of red deer, and the skull of a Bison (*t*). An extensive forest anciently occupied the whole country, lying northward of the Tweed, between the rivers Gala and Leeder (*u*). Within this district, the forest, which was bounded by the perambulation of William, occasioned many controversies, between various parties, about their several rights, either of pasturage, or of hunting (*x*). Alexander II. in 1235, confirmed to the monks of Melros the whole of that vast district, which he erected into a *free forest* (*y*).

(*o*) In the chartulary of Melros, No. 59, we may see an agreement, between the monks of Melros, and Kelso, which mentions a wood cut down, "nemus scissum."

(*p*) Miln's Melros, p. 7. (*q*) Ib. 47.

(*r*) In Bowden parish, many oaks, firs, and birches have been found in the mosses, from three to eight feet below the surface. There have also been dug up many horns, and bones, of different animals, which indicate a larger size, than there now exist. Stat. Acco. xvi. 241.

(*s*) Ib. 241.

(*t*) Stat. Acco. viii. 34; xix. 578. All those remains are frequently found below, where not a vestige can be seen above. Agric. Review, 11—68. David I. granted to the church of St. John, within the castle of Roxburgh, the *tithe* of his *copse-wood*, "*decimam virgulti*," in Teviotdale: Chart. Glasgow. This grant, which shows the abundance of *copse-wood*, in those times, was confirmed by Earl Henry, the son of David.

(*u*) David I. with his usual bounty, granted to the monks of Melros, in the forest, lying between the Gala [Galche], and the Leeder, a variety of easements; such as common of pasture, wood, and materials for building, with the same freedom, as he himself enjoyed this useful privilege. Chart. Melros. No. 54.

(*x*) Ib. 146, 174, 89;—In that contested district, there appear many names of places, which evince how much it had been covered with woods. There are Lang-*shaw*, Allan-*shaw*, Hare-*shaw*, Threap-*wood*, Broad-*wood*-hill, *Wood*-head, Weeplaw-*wood*. See Blaeu, and Stobie.

(*y*) Chart. Mailros, No. 62.

The recesses of those vast forests harboured various beasts of prey, which have disappeared with the destruction of their shelter. The tradition, and the topography of this shire, intimate pretty plainly, that the boar, the wolf, and the cat, were once the ferocious tenants of those woodlands, in every district of Roxburghshire (*z*). Actuated by very different passions, the monks destroyed the wild beasts, for their profit, and the barons defended them, for their sport (*a*). The progress of cultivation, and the interests of man, have finally decided, in favour of the policy of the monks, that beasts of prey ought not to exist among innoxious animals.

During pastoral ages, before husbandmen had advanced to more appropriate cultivation, those numerous woods, and extensive forests, were objects of great desire, and of frequent grant, for their shelter, their mast, and their herbage. The warmth of the woods was not only congenial to the feelings of the animal, but produced also abundance of pasturage for food. In the woods, which consisted chiefly of oak, the swine found plenty of mast: Hence, *pannage* became a frequent object of grant, by the successive kings to the several monasteries (*b*). And while the woods remained, the opulence, and the ornament of the country, the swine formed a considerable part of the living stock. In those woods, and forests, were raised very numerous herds of cattle. Not only the monks, but the barons, and the kings, bred a very hardy race of horses, in their woodlands, and in the "timber-shades." (*c*).

It is, perhaps, a more pleasing task, to trace the introduction of real cultivation, which converted the wastes into the haunts of men. The earliest notice of efficient settlement, which has come down to us, is the foundation of Jedworth, before the middle of the ninth century. On the west bank of the Jed,

(*z*) There are *Boar*-hope in Hownam parish, *Wolf*-cleugh, in Roberton parish, on Berthwick water, *Wolf*-cleugh on Rule water, *Wolf*-hope on *Cat*-lee-burn, in Southdean, and *Cat*-heugh in Lidisdale. During the reign of William, the monks of Melros set snares for the wolves. Chart. No. 91. As extensive husbandmen, the monks had vast herds to protect.

(*a*) The monks, however, continued to make the barons, and the kings, pay them tribute, for their sport: The pious David I. granted to the monastery of Jedworth, "decimam totius *venationis regis*, in Tevedale." Monast. Scotiæ, p. 28; and this grant was repeated, and confirmed by his son, Earl Henry, and his grandson, William. See the Engraved Charter of Jedburgh. Similar grants were made by other kings, and other barons, to other monasteries, as we may see in the Chartularies.

(*b*) See the Chartularies of Kelso, Melros, and Dryburgh.

(*c*) See the Chartularies: In the "Summa animalium de monast. de Melros temporibus antiquis," there are, "Summa equorum dominicorum 104; summa equarum dominicarum 54; summa "*silvestrium* 325." Chart. Newbotle, No. 284,

in

in the midst of a vast forest, Ecgred, the bishop of Lidisfarn, who died in 845, A. D. built a village, which he named Jed-*worth*, and a church for his village (*d*). Even before the age of the beneficent David I. another village of the same name, with a church, and a castle, a few miles lower down on the Jed, had arisen, and had eclipsed the ancient hamlet; and, at New-Jedburgh, David founded a house, for the monks of St. Augustine (*e*). The next intimation to the notice of Jedworth, which appears in record, of actual settlement, is that of Edenham. Thor-Longus, a follower of Edgar, received from the king, a grant of Ednam, a *desert*. Here, Thor sat down; and with the help of his own men, and at the expence of his own money, converted a waste into *Waynage*, and built a church, to the honour of Cuthbert, the saint of Tweedside (*f*). He afterwards transferred the church, with a carcucate of land, to the monks of Durham, with the assent of Earl David, his lord, who confirmed his grant (*g*). Here, then, is the model of almost every similar settlement, in those rude times: A chief obtained a grant of lands from the king; he fixed his followers upon them; and he built upon his manor a church, a myln, a malt-kyln, and a brewhouse. The many manors, which we see existing within this shire, during the age of David I., in the earliest part of the twelfth century, with manorial rights, evince the truth of that representation (*h*). The earliest notice of a *dairy*, whereof we have any record, was that, which was settled at Cumbesley, by the monks of Melros, under the authority of Malcolm IV. upon Allan-water, within the forest, between the Gala and the Leader (*i*). It is curious to remark, that the

(*d*) Anglia Sacra, i. 698. See Somner in vo. *worth*, an *entry*, a *porch*, a *hall*, a *court yard*, *worthig*, *vicus*, a *village*: So, Jed-*worth* was the same, as if the good bishop had called his *villa* Jed-*court*. This hamlet is now distinguished by the name of *Old* Jedburgh; and there are near it the *remains* of a chapel; and also two other hamlets, which are named *Old* Jedburgh town head, *Old* Jedburgh town foot; and they are all situated about four miles and a half *above* Jedburgh, the county-town. Blaeu, No. 4; Stobie's Map.

(*e*). David, and his son, Earl Henry, granted to the monks here, "decimis villarum totius "parochiæ, scilicet duarum Jedworth."—They also granted to the same monks the right of pasturing their beasts, every where, that the king's cattle pastured; and to take wood from the forest, for all necessary uses, with the *multure* of the miln, beside the castle, from all the men of Jedworth. They also conveyed to the monks here, the "capellam quoque qua fundata est in "*saltu remoris* contra Rering-winglan." MS. Monast. Scotiæ.

(*f*) Diplomata Scotiæ, pl. 69. (*g*) Smith's Bede, 763-4.

(*h*) See the Chartularies of that period: *Baronies*, with baronial rights, were scarcely known, a hundred and fifty years afterward; and only came into use, after the recent accession of Robert Bruce.

(*i*) Malcolm IV. granted to those monks a place at *Cumbesley* "ad edificandum unam *vaccariam*, centum

the *Blainsleys*, which have long been famous among farmers, for the production of *oats*, and have been even celebrated in song, were settled, within this forest, as granges, in the prior age, by the foresters of David I. (*k*). As early, indeed, as the twelfth century, a number of farms had been gained from this forest, under the king's charters; and agricultural settlements were made on its "outmost "skirts," along the rivers Leeder, Gala, and Tweed.

The British aborigines, and the Romanized Britons, as well as their Scoto-Irish successors, delighted to live separately, in their forests, without towns, or castles, protected only by hill-forts, for individual safety, during unusual danger: And they subsisted sometimes by hunting, and often by pasturage. The Saxons, when they settled, within this shire, assumed a firmer tone, and a more compact residence: To hunting, and pasturage, as modes of subsistence, they added agriculture. Partly from original habit, perhaps more from frequent experience, the Saxon settlers here adopted the policy of living in agricultural hamlets, rather than in separate farms. This practice was not so much adopted, from individual choice, as from the dictates of their chiefs, when they obtained their grants, and formed their settlements. When we first view their georgick polity, in the chartularies, we see the settlers of this shire in manorial villages. The *waynage*, or cultivable lands, and meadows of each district or manor, were possessed, and laboured, in separate portions, by the individuals of the manor, under its lord; but the pastures, the woodlands, the peataries, or mosses, were enjoyed, in common, by the manorial tenants; each person having a right of common, in proportion to what he tilled of the manor (*l*). Under this polity, the

"centum *vaccarum* et unam *falldam*." Chart. Melros, No. 56. Richard Moreville, the constable, granted to the monks of Melros, "libertatem et licentiam habendi, apud Buckholm, unam *vac-*"*cariam*, &c." Ib No. 138. Buckholm lyes in the same country, between the Leader and the Gala.

(*k*) William, the lion, confirmed to the monks of Melros, "illam partem terræ de *Blainsley*, "quam Rex David olim concesserit *forestarii suis*." Chart. Bibl. Har. Chart. Mel. No. 18.

(*l*) Robert de Berkeley, about the year 1189, granted to the monastery of Melros, a carucate of land, in the district of Mackuston, with common of pasture for 100 sheep, 12 oxen, 6 cows, 3 horses, "et unam *suam* cum nutrimentis suis; et communia *focalia* ejusdem ville, tam in *turbaria*, "quam in *brueria*." Chart. Melros, No. 27. Hugh Normanville, during the reign of Alexander II. granted to the same monastery, in his manor of Mackuston, common of pasture for 200 sheep, 12 cows, 40 oxen in winter, and 30 in summer, six horses, and two *sues cum nutrimentis suis* duorum annorum, and a common privilege, "tam in *turbaria*, quam in *petaria*." Ib. No. 30. In each of those charters, there is a reference to similar rights of common, which were enjoyed by the tenants of the manors. Patrick de Ridale granted to the monks of Melros lands, in his district of Lilliesclive, with pasture for 12 oxen, 10 cows, 5 horses, and 100 sheep, "ubicunque *averia mea*, et averia hominum

the most common divisions of tillable lands, were carucates, or plough lands, and bovates, or oxgangs: The husband lands, and afterwards the acres, a more definite measure of lands. Those villages were considerably augmented, by cottagers, who each occupied a dwelling, with a small portion of land, and with the privilege of feeding a few beasts on the manorial commons, and in the woodlands (*m*).

The reign of David I. forms an epoch, in the agricultural annals of Roxburghshire. Though much had been already done, much still remained to be done. There had now been a considerable progress, from pasturage to tillage. The number of milns, which every where existed, within the shire, during that age, shews the quantity of corn, that was then grown. There appears to have been a miln in every manor, to which the tenants of the same manor were already astricted (*n*). The quantity of malt which was then ground, evinces the

"hominum meorum, ejusdem villæ pascunt." Ib. No. 66. This grant was confirmed by Alexander II. Gaufrid de Perci granted to the monks of Jedburgh the church of Oxenham, with two carucates, and two bovates of land, which were adjacent to the same, "et communam pasturam et "communam focaliam ejusdem Oxenham, et Newbiggінge et communam pasturam et "communem focalium cum exteris hominib. ejusdem villæ." This grant was confirmed by William, the lion. The chartularies are full of such grants of *common rights*, as enjoyed by manorial tenants. About the year 1225, a canon was made by the Scotican church, that every parish priest should be entitled to pasture his cattle over the whole of his parish. Sir D. Dalrymple's Scots Councils, 12.

(*m*) At the end of the thirteenth century, the monks of Kelso had in the village of Moll, fourteen cottages, each of which used to rent, for two shillings, and six days labour yearly: These cottagers had the common easements of the manor; and might go with their cattle, wherever the men of their lord went with their cattle. Chart. Kelso, No. 7. In the village of Sprouston, they had six cottages, one whereof had annexed to it six acres of land, with a *braccina*, or brewhouse, which rented for *six shillings* a year; the other five cottages had one acre and a half of land belonging to each, which rented for three shillings, and six days labour, every year. Ib. 4—5.

(*n*) Earl David granted to the monks of Selkirk, the seventh part of the multure of *his miln*, at Roxburgh. Chart. Kelso, No. 4. David, when he removed the same monks to Kelso, in 1128, granted to them 20 chalders, "inter farinam et frumentum," from the milns of Roxburgh yearly; he also gave them thirty acres of land in Lilliesclif, "et *decimam* molendini ejusdem." Chart. Kelso, No. 1. The milns of Roxburgh appear to have been afterwards let to farm; as we learn from Ayloff's Calendar, 337, wherein we see a roll, "de *firmis molendinorum* unde compota reddantur apud Rokesburgh." William granted to the same monastery three carucates of land, in Edenham, in exchange, for the above grants out of the milns of Roxburgh, with the miln of Edenham. Ib. No. 14. David I. granted to the monks of Jedburgh the multure of the miln of Jedburgh, from all the men of Jedburgh. MS. Monast. Scotiæ. David Olifard granted to the same monks the *tenths* of the miln of Crailing. Berengerius de Engein granted the same monks a mark of silver from the miln of Crailing. Both these grants were confirmed by David I. Ib. No. 29. At the close

the progress in the manufacture of barley (*o*). The vast number of brewhouses shows clearly, that the manufacture of barley into malt was converted into ale, the common beverage of every family, when the art of distilling spirits was unknown, or at least unpractised: Every hamlet had its *braccina*, and every village had two, or three, or four brewhouses, according to their populousness (*p*). Exclusive of all those *braccinas*, which furnished the villages with a wholesome beverage, and a handsome profit to the kings, the abbots, and the barons, every monastery had its own brewhouse, and its own bakehouse (*q*).

We perceive very early, in the Scoto-Saxon period, from 1097 to 1306, the whole Shire separated into lands cultivated, and lands uncultivated. The woodlands, and forests, the wastes, and the commons, have been already

close of the thirteenth century, the monks of Kelso had five milns in this shire, from which they drew considerable rent, besides the grinding of their own corn, without paying multure. For the miln of Easter Kelso, they had yearly 22 l. For their miln at Reveden they had nine marks yearly. Their miln at Bolden rented yearly for eight marks. They had a miln at Middelham, which rented at 21 marks. Upon their grange of Colpinhopes, they obtained the privilege of erecting a mill, for grinding their own corn, upon paying half a mark yearly to the miln of Scot-town, to which their grange had been restricted. Chart. of Kelso. The same monks made an agreement with Anselm of Moll, whereby they renounced their right to the tithes of the miln of Moll; and in consideration thereof, Anselm gave them liberty to grind their corn, growing in Moll, where they pleased. Ib. 154. This agreement was made before 1189; A. D. Eustace de Vesci, and his wife, Margaret, granted to the monks of Kelso 20 shillings yearly, from their miln of Sprouston, to be received from the person holding the miln: and this grant was in composition, for the tithes of the miln of Sprouston. Ib. 207-9. It is estimated, that the present milns of Roxburghshire, exclusive of what is consumed, in the county, grind yearly 20,000 quarters of corn.

(*o*) In 1128, David 1. granted to the monks of Kelso, *twelve chalders of malt* from his miln of Edenham, yearly. Chart. Kelso, No. 1. There were probably ground, yearly, at that mill, in those times, 1000 quarters of malt. In almost every village, there were malt-barns, and malt-kilns, wherein the barley was manufactured into malt, both for public, and private use.

(*p*) At Whitelaw, the monks of Kelso had a *braccina*, or brewhouse, which rented for five shillings. Chart. Kelso, 12. At Middelham, they had a *braccina*, which used to rent for *half a mark*, with the addition of some services. Ib. 117. At Reveden, [Redden], they had two *braccinas*, which rented yearly for two marks. Ib. 3. At Maccerston they had two *braccinas*, which, with an acre of land, rented for five shillings a year. Ib. 19. At Bolden they had four braccinas, which yielded yearly of rent ten shillings; and the brewers were, moreover, bound to sell the abbot one and a half *lagena* of ale, for a penny; the *lagen* and half *lagen*, were equal to about seven quarts, that the abbot had for his penny, which had, however, far more power than three of our pennies. In Selkirk-*abbatis*, the same monks had three *braccinas*, each of which rented for six shillings and eight-pence. Ib. 16. And they had also several *braccinas*, in Berwickshire.

(*q*) In Miln's Melros, 43, we may see the description of a magnificent oven, among the ruins of Melros abbey, in the *bakehouse yard*. This oven was taken down, in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

investigated.

investigated. We must now take a view of the cultivable lands. In this county, as well as in other districts, we may observe the appearances of cultivation on the hills, and the moors, where the plough does not now enter, and a blade of grass never grows. And on those hills, and moorlands, ridges, and furrows, which were generally straight, are still in many places very distinct (*r*). We know, however, that in the early age of Malcolm IV., who succeeded his grandfather, in 1153, the manurable lands were inclosed with hedges, and the meadows were surrounded by ditches (*s*). All those intimations evince a considerable progress, in systematic cultivation, though the apparent price of the land was but low, in that rude age (*t*).

The kings, as we learn from the chartularies, were the greatest farmers of those times. David I. was not only the greatest husbandman himself, but the moving cause of husbandry in others (*a*) The kings had many manors, and granges, with milns, malt-kilns, breweries, cattle, and studs, in every shire (*b*).

(*r*) Stat. Acco. xvi. 67; of the parish of Castleton. It is probable, that those high and bare places, as they were early cleared of wood, were first manured, while the lower grounds, and vallies, were covered with trees, which could not be easily removed for the plough. At what epoch, such manurance began, cannot now be ascertained. It must have been in early times; when the most barren lands would no longer produce, the more fertile were cultivated.

(*s*) Malcolm IV. granted a considerable tract of land, on the edge of the forest, on the upper borders of the Alne, for improvement; William confirmed this grant of his brother, before the year 1189; and he added, "Concedo etiam eis ut ubique infra *sepem, que facta fuit* circa eorum "*weynagia* licet eis *arare* et *seminare* et *weynagia* facere." Chart. Glasgow, 217. Cowel knows not well how to explain *weynagia*; but it plainly means here manurable land; and in Kelham, the old French word, *wainable*, means what may be ploughed, or manured. The abbot of Melros caused a *ditch* to be made round eight acres of meadow, which had cost him five-and-thirty marks, within the manor of Farningdun. Chart. Melros, No. 52. William de Lindsay confirmed to the monks of Melros the lands of Fawhope, on the Leeder, as they were inclosed by a *hedge*, "sicut *sepis* includit." Ib. 143.

(*t*) Richard Burnard, the lord of Farningdun, sold eight acres of meadow to the abbot of Melros, for five and-thirty marks. Chart. Mel. No. 54. This conveyance was confirmed by Alexander II. Ib. No. 53. The monks of Paisley granted to Robert Maleverer, and his heirs, a carucate of land, in Moll, he paying for the same yearly, half a mark of silver, at Paisley. Chart. Paisley, No. 33.

(*a*) David I., early in the twelfth century, founded, in this Shire, the monasteries of Kelso, Melros, and Jedburgh; and the monks were most extensive farmers.

(*b*) We have already seen how much *victual* he granted to the monks out of the milns of Roxburgh, and Jedburgh. He granted to the monks of Kelso, "medietatem coquinæ meæ et de "omnibus occisionibus meis omniumque successorum, ita ut ubicunque unum corium habuero "habeant monachi et alium: Et similiter de unctis et sepiis sicut de coreis: Et omnes pelles "arietum et agnorum: Hos autem redditus coquinæ meæ et occisionem mearum dedi eis per illam "terram tantum quam vivente rege Alexandro habui." Chart. Kelso, No. 1. He granted to the church of St. John, within the castle of Roxburgh, "totam decimam partem de sepo occisionis meæ "quæ fit, in *Tevietdal*." Chart. Glasgow, 265. Earl Henry, his son, confirmed this grant. Ib. 267.

The followers of David, who had supported his pretensions, even during the reign of his brother, Alexander, all followed his example, and the fashion of the age, as husbandmen. They had all granges, on their manors, where they raised cattle, and corn; where they had milns, malt-houses, and breweries; and where they had their sheep-walks, and studs (*c*): And, their granges, they manured, by means of their various bondmen, and by *the services* of their tenants (*d*). But, it was the several monks of the religious houses, who were the greatest, perhaps, the most intelligent cultivators of those times. Before the middle of the twelfth century, those monasteries possessed vast estates, in all that constitutes opulence, during rude times: In lands, in villeyns, and cattle, and sheep, and in every article, which can be produced, by a well-managed husbandry (*e*). The same monks had other possessions, in those times, of great

(*c*) See the Chartularies throughout. The extensive country, on the Gala, was possessed, during the age of William, by the monks of Melros, on the south, towards the Tweed; by the bishop of St. Andrews, on the west, by the name of Wedale [Stow]; the country, on the north and north-east upon the Leeder, was enjoyed by the Morvilles, who had *equinas*, or studs, on the Leeder haughs; and the property of the Earls of March lay on the east of the forest of the Gala, where they too had their granges, and their studs.

(*d*) David Olifard, the lord of the manors of Crailing, and Smalhome, granted to the hospital of Soltre, from every carucate, in his domain, one thrave of corn, in Autumn; "quare volo, he adds, "quod homines mei, de me tenentes, de singulis carucis suis unam thravam de blado donent dictis "fratribus." Chart. Soltre, No. 16. In 1271, an inquest of lawful men, from the neighbouring manors, found, that the hospital had been long in use to receive those thraves of corn. Ib. No. 17. Nicolas de Sticcanel [Stitchel] granted to the same hospital, "duas *scippas* farinæ avenæ, annuatim, "percipiendas, &c. de grannario suo apud Lyda." Ib. No. 46.

(*e*) Summa animalium monast. de Melros, temp. antiquis. Cart. Newbotle, No. 284. At the end of the thirteenth century, the monks of Melros possessed many granges, which they cultivated, by means of their own men, and where they bred vast herds of cattle, horses, sheep, swine, and other beasts, as we learn from their Chartulary: On their grange of Newton, which they laboured, with seven ploughs, the monks had 80 oxen, 60 cows in winter, 1000 ewes, 60 porkers, with sufficient horses, for their ploughs. On their grange, at Reveden, which they laboured, with five ploughs, they had 14 score ewes, with cattle in proportion. On their grange of Stapelaw, which they laboured, with two ploughs, they had 20 oxen, 20 cows, 250 ewes, 200 wedders. On their grange of Colpinhopes, which they laboured, with two ploughs, "pro tempore hyemali," they had 20 oxen, 20 cows, the produce whereof they yearly disposed of, 500 ewes, and 200 two-year-olds. In Sprouston, they had a grange, which they manured, with two ploughs, and where they had common of pasture for 12 oxen, four young horses, and 300 hogs [young sheep]. They had a grange, at Whitelaw, in Bouden, which they cultivated, with three ploughs, and had pasture, for two flocks of wedders, and five score young beasts. In the same parish, they had the grange of Halyden, which they cultivated, with three ploughs, and pastured with four-and-twenty cows, 40 wedders, and 20 ewes.

value

value (*f*). They had also, in various other districts of this shire, lands, and tenements, which, as they were rented to cottagers, brought them considerable revenues (*g*). I have now laid open to the view of judicious eyes the whole practice

(*f*) At Whitemere, [Whitemuir], which they used to labour, with two ploughs, they rented at ten marks. They had, in the same manor, ten husband lands, which paid six shillings each, and yielded the same services, that the husband lands of Bolden paid. In the manor of Bolden, they had 28 husband lands, which let for six shillings and eight-pence each a-year, with various services: Such as, to reap, in autumn, for four days, each husbandman, with his whole family, and his wife: Each husbandman performed similar services, in autumn, with two men, for five following days: Every husbandman was obliged to carry, with one *plaustrum*, or wain, which was a common carriage, in that age, with oxen yoked in them, peats, from Gordon, towards *le pullis*, for one day: And every husbandman was obliged to carry one cart load of peats *del pullis* [stable yard] to the abbey, in summer, and not more: Every husbandman was obliged to make a carriage, with one horse to Berwick, once a year: The husbandmen used to have their victuals of the monastery, while they were performing those services: Every husbandman was in use to cultivate an acre and a half, at the grange of Newton, every year, and to harrow with one horse, for a day: Every husbandman was bound to find a man, to wash the sheep, and another man to shear them, without victuals. The husbandmen used *to do suit and service to the abbot's court*; and to carry corn in autumn, for one day: They were obliged to carry the wool of this grange to the abbey; and they were bound to find carriages, beyond the moor, towards Lesmahago. At Reveden, [Redden in Spronston parish], where the monks had 8 husband lands, and one bovate, the husbandmen owed similar services: In summer, every husbandman was obliged, weekly, to go with one horse cart to Berwick, *the port* of this shire and to bring either three bolls of corn, or two bolls of salt, or one boll and a half of *coals*: And, in the winter, with the same horse and cart, to carry two bolls of corn, one and a half of salt, one boll and a firlot of coals. We may suppose, that in the intercourse with Berwick, the men of the monks carried corn to the port, and brought salt, and coals, from thence: The roads must have been very wretched. The husbandmen, who did not perform their carriages to Berwick, were obliged to work three days. Every husbandman was in use to take in lease, with his land, two oxen, one horse, three chalders of oats, six bolls of barley, and three bolls of meal. In this practice, we trace the origin of *steelbow*; and see the commencement of the husbandman's *stock*, or *capital*, wherewith to labour his land. Abbot Richard, who ruled, in 1297, had the merit of converting those services into money; as we learn from the chartulary: This, then, was another step, in the progress of improvement.

(*g*) The monks had the grange of Faudon, in Bolden parish, with twenty-one cottages, which rented for £10 yearly. At Whitelaw, in the same district, they had one carrucate of land, which was rented at 40 shillings. At Bolden, they had 36 cottages, with 12½ acres of land, which used to rent for 55 shillings and eight-pence yearly: And every cottager did, in autumn, nine days work, by one man, and always found one man, for the washing, and shearing of the sheep. The abbot took of every house, before Christmas, a cock, for a penny. The monks had, moreover, at Bolden, 28 husband lands, which let for 6s. 8d a-piece; they had four brewhouses, and a miln: So that upon the whole, the abbot had under him, at Bolden, about seventy families. At Whitemere, they had 10 husband lands, which were let to different persons, and six cottages, with an acre of land to each, which rented for four, or five shillings each; the cottagers doing the same services,

practice of agriculture, as it was carried on under David I., and his grandsons, by those most intelligent cultivators, the monks. The labour on their granges was undoubtedly performed, by their villeyns, who were astricted to the glebe, with the help of the cottagers services (*b*). Yet, were the abbots, and other ecclesiastics, the most indulgent masters, as well to their cottagers, as to their villeyns, who, yielding their services, lived very comfortably under their shelter. They were the first to convert those services into payments in money. And they were studious to reward them, for their well-doing (*i*). During the whole Scoto-Saxon period, indeed, the granges of the kings, and barons, as well as those of the bishops, and abbots, were chiefly laboured by bondmen, who were attached to the soil, as *nativi*. While many of those bondmen were employed, as tillers of the soil, as servants, others of them were intrusted with the cultivation of some husbandlands, under their superiors; paying rents, and yielding services, for their cottages, and lands. These last only differed from the bondmen, in being

as those of Bolden: One cottage, being without land, let for six pennies, a year. At Whitelaw, they had 18 cottages; four whereof rented for two shillings, and others of them, for eighteen pennies, doing six days services. At Clarilaw, in Bolden, they had twenty-one cottages, every one whereof had three acres of land; or, if the cottager chose, to yield for the same yearly two bolls of meal, and *to weed* the corn on the abbot's grange; but every cottager had, in the pasture, belonging to the grange, two cows, and might, at the year's end, remove the produce of this stock. At Malcarveston, [Mackerston], the monks had twelve cottages; and every cottager had a toft, with half an acre of land; and also had, on the common, pasture for two cows; four of which cottagers rendered yearly for the same four shillings, and nine days work; and the other cottagers rendered yearly eighteen pennies, and nine days work. At their grange of Redden, in Sprouston, the monks had eight husband lands, and half a carrucate of land, which were all let to different tenants, and also nineteen cottages; eighteen whereof let for twelve pence yearly, and six days labour, in autumn, receiving their victuals; and those cottagers also assisted, at the washing, and shearing the sheep of the grange, for their victuals. The nineteenth cottage rented for eighteen pennies, and nine days labour. See the Chartulary of Kelso, for this curious detail of ancient husbandry. The cottages of those days were made of very slight materials: In 1177, Richard, the bishop of St. Andrews, settled a dispute, about a toft, between the monks, and a poor man, in favour of the monks; who, however, from charity, gave him a tenement in Roxburgh, with *twenty shillings*, to build him a house. Chart. Kelso, No. 445.

(*b*) In 1222, Alexander II. granted to the monks of Kelso a confirmation of their privileges: And added, for the safeguard of their villeyns, "Et ubicunque extra dominia mea in tota terra "mea *nativos et fugitivos homines suos* invenerint illos juste et sine dilacione habeant." Chart. Kelso, No. 7.

(*i*) John, who became abbot of Kelso, in 1160 A. D., granted to Osbern, *his man*, half a carrucate of land, in Midelham; he becoming *legitimus*, or freeman, and paying yearly for the same, eight shillings. Chart Kelso, No. 116. This example shows how many of those cottagers became *lawful men*.

attached

attached to the soil. Such was the condition of the men of Roxburghshire, during those times (*k*).

There are a few other circumstances, relating to the domestic husbandry of this shire, which merit some notice. A ready supply of fuel is a great object. The woods furnished the earliest fuel, before mosses were known, or coal was discovered. The numerous woodlands of Roxburghshire supplied a large quantity of firewood, as early as the reign of David I. (*l*). The mosses succeeded the woods, as fuel, in natural succession. Peats, and turves, came into use, as woods became more valuable, from exhaustion. And, hence, *peatarics*, and *turbaries*, became objects of desire, and of concession, by the kings, and manor-lords, who possessed them (*m*). Pit-coal seems not to have been soon discovered, in Roxburghshire, though it appears to have been early dug up in Lothian. The monks, on the Tweed, were too well informed of what was for their own interest, not to know, that *burning stone* abounded, at Newcastle. And, when they sent their skins, and wool, and corn, to Berwick, it was easy to bring coals, by their cottager's carts, in return; as we have seen, in the performance of

(*k*) William, the lion, granted to the monks of Kelso a carrucate of land in Hawdene, with a toft, in the manor thereof, "Et hominem eorum qui super toftum illam sedebit." Chart. Kelso, No. 405. Richard Germyn, the lord of Limpetlaw, conveyed to the hospital of Soltre, "Alanum "filium Tock, et homagium suum, et totam sequelam suam." Chart. Soltre, No. 51. Berenger of Engaine granted to the monks of Jedworth, a mark of silver, from the mill of Crailing, two bovates of land, "*cum uno villano.*" This was confirmed by King William, in 1169. Wallevus, comes, granted to the monks of Kelso, "Halden, et Willielmum fratrem ejus, et omnes liberos, "eorum, et omnes sequeles." Chart. Kelso, No. 127.

(*l*) The monks of Melros, Kelso, Dryburgh, and Jedburgh, had grants from David I., and his grandsons, of *wood* from their forests, both for burning, and building. See their Chartularies, and the MS. Monasticon Scotiæ. We have already noticed grants of David I. of his *brushwood*, within Teviotdale.

(*m*) In 1128, David I. granted to the monks of Kelso, "mora de Edenham ad *fodiend. cespitis* "ad *faciend. ignem.*" Chart. Kelso, No. 1. The lord of the manor of Farningdun, Roger Burnard, granted to the monks of Melross, "quondam partem *Petariæ* meæ, in territorio de Fermingdun, "quam ego cum multis aliis probis hominibus per easdem divisas et easdem terminos, scilicet per "*lapides grandes* quas tunc perambulando posui per circuitum." Chart. Melros, No. 50. This grant was confirmed by Alexander II. Ib. No. 51. Robert de Berkeley, lord of the manor of Makiston, granted to the monks of Melros, "communia *focalia* ejusdem villæ tam in *turbaria*, quam "in *brueria*. Ib. 27. John Normanvilla, the lord of this manor, confirmed the former charter, which was granted, between the years 1189, and 1199; and substituted *petaria* for *brueria*." Ib. 30. David I. granted, among other property, to the monks of Kelso, within Revedene, "*moram* ad "*fodiend. turvas* communes hominibus de Revedene sicut hominibus de Sprouston. Chart. Kelso, No. 13.

services

services. During a period of melioration, when territorial rights were strictly construed, *quarries* became also objects of desire, and of grant (*n*). Thus progressively prosperous were the domestic affairs of Roxburghshire, from the accession of Edgar, to the demise of Alexander III.; a long period of justice, and of melioration, its best effect.

But, with the demise of Alexander III., without issue, commenced warfare, and anarchy, which lasted, with little interruption, during three hundred years. In that odious period of wretchedness, we hear the monks incessantly cry out, *Diram guerram!* Oppressive war! It became the very object of those hostilities, not to improve, but to waste; not to save, but to destroy. Agriculture was ruined: And the very necessaries of life were lost, when the principal lords had scarcely a bed to lye on (*o*). From the accession of King James to the Union, what was there, in Scotland, but an enfeebling fanaticism, civil wars, factious ebullitions, and debasing indolence, with the consequential penury (*p*). The Union is supposed, by intelligent men, not to have shed the happiest influences on this county. The people of Scotland were not prepared, either with skill, or spirit, or stock, to benefit from the Union. It required forty years, to acquire habits, and knowledge, and capital, to enable them to profit from the quiet, the security, and the advantages, which at length resulted from *the Union*, the happiest event in their annals.

It is now time to trace, within this shire, the resuscitation of agriculture, the progress of improvement, and the effects of industry. In vain were treatises

(*n*) Towards the end of the 12th century, Robert de Berkeley, the lord of the manor of Mackiston, granted to the monks of Melros, "*petram quadraturæ* meæ de Alverdene ad sufficien-"tiam ad ædificia domus de Melros ædificanda." Chart. Melros, No. 27. John de Normanvilla repeated the same grant, during the reign of Alexander II., of "petram *quadrariæ* nostre Alver-"dene ad œdificia domus de Melros sufficienter œdificanda." Ib. No. 30.

(*o*) Sir Ralph Sadler gave his master, Henry VIII., during the year 1543, a genuine picture of the wretchedness of Scotland, when he wrote Lord Suffolk that, "In my Lord Angus's house, "where he is, I cannot be, being the same (as I am credibly informed) is in such ruin, as he hath "there scant one chamber for himself, and my lady his wife. And likewise my Lords of Glen-"cairn, and of Cassils, which devell twenty miles asunder, and almost thirty miles, from my Lord "of Angus, be not so well housed, as they can spare me any lodging." Sadler's Letters, 442. We may observe, that the lords, who had scarcely beds to lye on, were the pensioners of Henry VIII., and the friends of his agent Sadler. The farmers of Roxburghshire, with their wives, are, at present, better fed, and better lodged, than those great lords were, in 1543.

(*p*) Yes; the laird of Makerston issued an advertisement, on the 23d of October 1598, "that "he would undertake to make the land more profitable, by sowing salt on it." Birrel's Diary.

published,

published, to teach the husbandmen their duties, in their proper business (*q*). In vain were societies formed, for instructing, and animating the farmers. The husbandmen had derived no stock, from their fathers; they had no permanent leases, from the land-owners; and they were dispirited, by insecurity, and degraded, by want. Those various means were, however, attended with some beneficial effects: Before the year 1743, "the practice of draining, inclosing, "summer-fallowing, sowing flax, hemp, rape, turnip, and grass seeds, planting "cabbages after, and potatoes with the plough, in fields of great extent, "was generally introduced (*r*). Almost one half of the eighteenth century had elapsed, before the vigorous practice of improved husbandry was introduced into Roxburghshire (*s*). Doctor John Rutherford was the first, who adopted, in 1747, the sowing of turnips: Yet, a regular system of cropping was not generally adopted here, till 1753, when Mr. Dawson, a farmer, to whom Roxburghshire owes much, for showing several useful examples, began the practice of the turnip-husbandry, which has long been universal, in this shire (*t*). Doctor Rutherford had also the merit of introducing, soon after, the sowing of grass. Potatoes were about the same time introduced. Drill-ploughing was adopted. From such beginnings, was the old plan of husbandry relinquished, and the new begun, which, in this county, is supposed to be carried to its height (*u*). Sir Gilbert Elliot, and Mr. Dawson, introduced marle, as a manure, in 1755; and in 1772, marle was first exposed to public sale: About the year 1755, lime was first laid upon the land, as a manure. In 1737, Mr. Rogers, at Cavers, introduced *fans*, for winnowing corn. When Wight made his agricultural survey of this shire, about the year 1773, by the direction of the board of trustees for fisheries, he found the farmers busy, in the practice of the improved husbandry (*x*). When he took a second survey of this shire, about the year 1780, "he was amazed at the advances all had made, since his former survey; "as every field had assumed a better aspect, from an improving hand (*y*)." In consequence of all those meliorations, the rents of lands, in this shire, doubled, in the twenty years, which elapsed, with 1794 (*z*)."

(*q*) See Lord Belhaven's *Advice to the Farmers of East-Lothian*, 1705-6. A Treatise on fallowing, raising grasses, hemp, flax, &c. published by the Society of Improvers, Edinburgh, 1724. An Essay on the ways and means, for inclosing, fallowing, and planting Scotland, 1729. The Interest of Scotland considered, 1733.

(*r*) Maxwel's Transactions of the Society of Improvers.

(*s*) Agricult. View, 34. (*t*) Id.

(*u*) Agricult. View, 37; Survey, 90-1—6; Stat. Acco. xxi. 30.

(*x*) Wight's Reports. (*y*) Ib. vi.; Survey, x. (*z*) Agricult. View, 13.

During

During the good old times of David I., and his grandsons, we have seen, that every hamlet had its *common*, without which the cottagers could have scarcely existed. The parliament which, during the middle ages, had made some inefficient laws, in favour of agriculture, enacted a statute, for a general inclosure, in 1695. Yet, it was not till 1739, that this law began to be executed, in this shire. Smailholm parish had the honour to begin the dividing of commons, and appropriating the parts. And such has been the effect of this example, that there are now no commons, in Roxburghshire, which once had commons every where, as we have seen (*x*).

Of horticulture, David I. also shewed an introductive example, at his castles of Roxburgh, and of Jedburgh. The monks, at their several abbeys, had their gardens, and orchards, as early as the twelfth century. Melros is still famous for its gardens, and Jedburgh for its fruit (*y*). One of the largest nurseries, for shrubs, and trees, within this kingdom, was established, in 1729, at Hassendean, in Minto parish, by Mr. Dickson, who left his establishment to his children: They have extended it to Hawick, to Leith, to Perth; and they supply plants, not only for domestic improvement, but for foreign export (*z*).

Much as the cultivation of corn has been extended, yet Roxburghshire continues to be a county of very extensive pasturage. Every year, six thousand stall-fed beeves are sent to the Shambles (*a*). Its extensive sheep-walks breed very numerous flocks of sheep. The year 1760 is the epoch of the melioration of the sheep, by foreign mixtures, by more attention, and better pasturage. Nearly a hundred thousand sheep, and lambs, are annually sold, of the value of £55,000 (*b*). The breeding of swine is doubled, during the last thirty years; and furnishes a small export of their flesh, from Berwick to London (*c*). Poultry, pidgeons, and bees, yield considerable profit, and some export (*d*).

(*x*) The manor of Hawden, in Sprouston parish, bounds with the manor of Carham, in Northumberland. There were frequent contentions, about their boundaries. And there still remains a common undivided, on the border, between those two manors. Border Hist. 188.

(*y*) Miln, in his history of Melros, 42, says that, with other accommodations, there were gardens, inclosed within a high wall, about a mile in circuit. Stat. Acco. i. 11; Ib. ix. 80.; Agricult. View, 44; Survey, 117. At Galtonside, where the monks of Melros had a grange, there still remains an orchard of five acres. Miln, 61. There are orchards, in other places of this shire. Agricult. Survey, 117.

(*z*) Stat. Acco. xix. 572; Ib. viii. 530.

(*a*) Agricult. Survey, 144.

(*b*) Survey, 153, 211.

(*c*) Ib. 182.

(*d*) Ib. 182—85.

The

The extent of the superficies of the whole shire, with its application, and profit, may be stated thus:

	Eng. Acres.
Cultivated lands	174,500
Gardens, nurseries, and pleasure grounds	2,740
Planted woods	5,000
Natural woods	800
Pastures, moors, and mosses, with roads, sites of houses, and towns, channels of rivers, and lakes	272,000
	455,040
The yearly value whereof, exclusive of the rents of houses, may be estimated at	£ 182,250

The rivers, and the streams, of Roxburgh, are full of salmon, and trout; and the lakes of perch, and pike. The fishings have, from early times, been objects of desire, and of concession: Earl David, when he founded the monastery at Selkirk, gave the monks the *waters*, as well as the *lands*, with the seventh part of the royal fishings, at Roxburgh (*e*). When David removed the whole establishment, from Selkirk to Melros, he confirmed his donation of the waters, and of the fishings (*f*). He afterward gave them the whole fishing in the Tweed, from Old Roxburgh to Brokestrem. David II. gave the same monks a fishing at Berwick. When the religious establishments, on "the sweet wind-"ing Tweed," had performed their functions, and other proprietors came in their places, the fishings became their property, and equally the objects of their protection. The greater part of the salmon, that are taken in the Tweed, which is the great scene of the fishery, is carried to Berwick, and is thence transported to London. The annual rent of the whole fishings, in this shire, is under £100 (*g*).

Connected with all those objects of domestic economy are roads, and bridges. We see nothing of the Roman roads, through this shire, in the chartularies: In those curious documents, however, we have seen the carts, and wains, of the monks, and their cotters, drawn sometimes by horses, and often by oxen, trudging along founderous roads to, and from Berwick. During ages of rude-

(*e*) Chart. Melros, No. 4.

(*f*) Ib. No. 1. We may learn from Miln's Melros, p. 58, that there was a good salmon fishing there, in his time.

(*g*) Agricult. Survey, 19.

ness, and of warfare, policy did not allow of easy communications. Soon after the Union, all former acts of the Scotish parliament, with regard to ways, were confirmed by one general road-act (*b*). Yet, the roads of Roxburghshire continued in a wretched state till 1764, which, in this shire, is the epoch of road-making. For that great improvement of agriculture, of manufacture, and of traffic, successive acts of parliament were obtained. And, in the thirty years, which elapsed after 1764, a hundred and fifty three miles of road, in every commodious direction, throughout Roxburghshire, were made on the principle of turnpike (*i*). The bridges on the Tweed, which, for so many ages, formed the boundary between hostile nations, were long the objects of conflict. At Old Roxburgh, there was, in early times, a bridge, which, as it was probably constructed with wood, was often destroyed, during contests for the town (*k*). This was supplied by a bridge, which was built at Kelso, in 1754. At Bridge-end, two miles above Melros, there was anciently a bridge over the Tweed, three pillars whereof were still standing, in 1746 (*l*). Lower down, at Darnick, a very useful substitute for the former bridge has been built. Below Melros, a mile, there was formerly a bridge over the Tweed, opposite to Newstead (*m*). Still lower, at Drygrange, there has lately been erected over the same river a bridge of equal elegance, and use (*n*). Since 1764, there have been no fewer than twenty-four stone bridges built within this shire, at an expence of forty-seven thousand pounds (*o*). Those roads, and bridges, as they facilitate the introduction of fuel, and manure, and the export of the products of husbandry, are of the greatest importance to agriculture, as well as to traffic.

The earliest manufactures, in this shire, arose from providing food, and raiment, for a rude people. We have seen, in the chartularies, as early as the reign of David I., a very large manufacture of corn into meal, and malt, and ale (*p*). We have perceived the sheep washed, and shorn; and we may easily suppose,

(*b*) 5 Geo. I. ch. 30. (*i*) Agricult. Survey, 198.

(*k*) In 1370, Ed. III. ordered forty marks to be paid to the burgesses of Roxburgh, "pro "reparatione pontis ultra aquam de Twede." Aylsffe's Calendar, 234. In 1398, Sir Philip Stanley, captain of Roxburgh, for the English king, claimed a bill of £2,000 against the E. of Douglas's son, and others, for having broken the bridge of Roxburgh, fired, and plundered the town, and destroyed their hay, and fuel. Border Hist. 365. In 1410, Gavin, the son of the E. of March, with others, broke down the bridge of Roxburgh, and plundered, and fired the town. Ib. 380.

(*l*) Miln's Melros, 55. (*m*) Ib. 7. (*n*) Agricult. Survey, 200. (*o*) Id.

(*p*) Those articles are still manufactured, in this shire, to a great extent. Ib. 216. When the town of *Jedworth* swore fealty to Edward I., as we see the transaction in *Ragman-roll*, there were, among the townsmen, Robert le Mareschal, and Steven le Mareschal, [*stiblers*, I presume, according to the

suppose, that their wool was, by the women of every house, converted into clothing. This is the natural manufacture of a country, which abounds with sheep. The fabrics of wool have begun, and have made some progress. The great seat of the woolen manufacture is Hawick, which works up more wool into carpets, blankets, narrow cloths, flannels, stockings, rugs, table covers, and sadle covers, than all the rest of the county (*q*). This is an increasing manufacture, at Kelso, Jedburgh, and other towns, in this shire. The linen manufacture of Roxburgh was formerly greater than it is now (*r*). There is, however, a manufacture of incle at Hawick, which seems to prosper, and works up yearly ten tons of linen yarn. And at Kelso, there is a fabric of coloured threads, which also does well, under skillful management. Both tanned, and white leather, is manufactured, in this shire, to a larger amount, than the hides, and skins, which are produced in the county (*s*). Candles, too, are made in great abundance, and with sufficient skill; yet, do not supply the consumption of the shire (*t*). The Glasgow manufacturers employ many hands, in this district. It is apparent that, when several manufactures are contending, for superiority, the weakest must sink. The whole excise, which was collected on the manufactures of this shire, in 1795, amounted to £2,824 (*u*). From the amount of the excise, which was collected, in those two years, we may rationally infer, that Roxburgh was thrice as industrious, and opulent, in 1795, as it was in 1656.

As an internal shire, Roxburgh could never boast of much foreign trade. Berwick-upon-Tweed, from the epoch of its settlement, by a congenial people, formed the mart of this remote county (*a*): It received, for export, all the rude produce of the shire; and it imported, for the solace of a coarse people, the artificial products of foreign lands. This intercourse was so commodious to both parties, that the men of Teviotdale acquired some special privileges,

the phrase at Edinburgh], Rauf le Spicer, [a grocer], Thomas le Tayllur, and Simon le Tayllur. When the aldermen, and burgesses of Roxburgh swore fealty at the same time, there submitted with them Walter le *Orfevre*, [goldsmith], Richard le *Forblaur*, [cutler perhaps], Michael le *Saeler*, [sadler perhaps], Austyn le *Mercer*. See Prynne, iii. p. 633.

(*q*) Agricult. Survey, 213; Stat. Acco. viii. 528.

(*r*) Miln's Melros, p. 60: Of Linen cloth there was stamped for sale, according to an average of the 3 years, ending with 1789, - - 36,144 yards, - valued at £2,875 12 10.
Ditto with 1800, - - 28,507 yards, - valued at £2,667 1 3.

(*s*) Agricult. Survey, 215-16. (*t*) Id.

(*u*) Ib. 217: The whole excise collected, in this shire, during the year 1656, was £99. 11s. MS. Advocates' Library.

(*a*) The charter of Malcolm IV. to the monks of Jedburgh, speaks of the *merchants* of *Berwick*.

within Berwick-upon-Tweed (*b*). During the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the exports of this shire consisted of its wool, its skins, and its hides (*c*). During the same period, its imports were made up of apparel, of groceries, and of wine (*d*). The principal seats of traffic are the towns. Besides Jedburgh, and Roxburgh, there are, in this shire, as we have seen, the market towns of Kelso, Melros, Hawick, and Yetholm (*e*). The fairs, which all these enjoyed, in ancient times, continue in the present. What was wanted, from foreign parts, was found in those fairs, in the days, that are passed: In the present times, the fairs are very commodious scenes of buying, and selling, what domestic life demands. All these were appropriated by grants from the king; and without grants from him, none in those times, could establish a fair (*f*). The fairs of Roxburgh, as they were in that age, and in less happy times, were places of great resort, for mutual intercourse, and were converted into less peaceful scenes of national conflicts, between the Scots, and English, while the one contended, for superiority, and the other, for independence. The fairs of the past have come down to the present times, though perhaps with some modifications. Few

(*b*) In Rym. v. 854, there is a writ of Edward III., dated the 8th June 1356, "pro *hominibus* "de *Tevydale*." It recites their fidelity, since they had been, within the king's allegiance: And, it therefore, grants them all the liberties, and customs, which their ancestors had enjoyed, in the time of Alexander; and particularly, all the liberties, and privileges, *within the town of Berwick*, and every part of Scotland, as *they had formerly enjoyed.*

(*c*) Rolls Parl. iv. 471—3. In 1389, Richard II. granted to the monks of Melros two shillings for every sack of Scotish wool, which they should bring to Berwick. Ayloff, 25. David II. granted to the monks of Melros the custom of 50 sacks of *wool*. Robertson's Index, 154.

(*d*) Malcolm IV. conferred on the monks of Jedburgh an exemption, at Berwick, on the importation of their wine. Engraved Charter of Jedburgh.

(*e*) The intelligent reader may judge of the value of tenements, within those towns, during the middle ages, from the following notices: In 1464, Alan, the abbot of Kelso, granted a lease, "de duas *terras* nostras infra burgum de Gedworth, in vico de Castlegate;" paying yearly *one mark*. Chart. Kelso, No. 488. In 1475, Robert, the abbot of Kelso, granted, in fee, those two lands, or tenements, to John Rutherford, for the yearly payment of one mark. Ib. No. 496.

(*f*) There is a curious charter from William, the lion, to the monks of Kelso, which illustrates the nature of the fairs, in that age. The king granted to the men of the monks, living in Kelso, that they might, any day of the week, except the day of the statute market of the king, sell fuel, building materials, and provisions; that they might expose to sale, in their own windows, bread, and ale, and flesh: If they should carry fish to Roxburgh, either a horseback, or in carts, which remained unsold, it should be lawful for them to sell such fish, in their own windows: But, carts bringing goods from any other place, shall not there be discharged, but shall sell the commodity, at the king's fair. On the day of the king's statute fair, at Roxburgh, it was declared to be unlawful, to buy any thing, at Kelso; but should go to the statute fair, and buy there, in common with the burgesses of Roxburgh. Chart. Kelso, No. 13.

counties

counties can boast of a greater number of commodious fairs, and weekly markets, than Roxburghshire; every town seems to have its appropriate mart: But, the greatest fair, in the south of Scotland, is held upon St. Boswell's Green, on the 18th of July, when the products of the shire are exchanged, for foreign wares (*g*). In 1482, the whole commercial intercourse between Scotland and England, was confined to the eastern road, through Berwick, and to the western road, through Carlisle (*h*). The enmity of those hostile ages did not admit of the commodious roads of the present times, through the middle mountains, which are so mutually useful to the border people. The smacks of Berwick carry weekly to London much of the smaller products of Roxburghshire, which are transmitted by egglers, higlers, and hucksters. The balance of trade, estimated, according to the mercantile system, in favour of the shire, after paying the rents, feeding the inhabitants, and fostering the cattle, is calculated, at more than a hundred thousand pounds (*i*), which the skill, and spirit of a people, animated by interest, and protected by law, must soon carry up to much greater profits.

The measures, the weights, *the fiers* of Roxburghshire, partake of the dissimilarities of other counties of Scotland (*k*). The *fiers*, in this shire, are not of very ancient practice; nor are they ascertained, by any appropriate practice, though they answer all the usual purposes of domestic dealings.

§ VIII. *Of its Ecclesiastical History.*] From the epoch of the bishoprick of Lindisfarn, this shire, as a part of the Northumbrian kingdom, whose inhabitants were a congenerous race, formed a considerable district of that ancient diocese (*l*).

(*g*) Agricult. Survey, 206—8. The establishment of a branch of the bank of Scotland, at Kelso, in 1774, must have greatly promoted the various dealings of this shire, by its several facilities.

(*h*) By Stat. 22 Ed. IV. ch. 8. (*i*) Agricult. Survey, p. 209—12.

(*k*) In Roxburghshire, the wheat, the pease, the rye, are sold, by the boll, containing ten pecks, or within a fraction of five Winchester bushels; oats, and barley, are sold, by the boll, containing fifteen pecks, or within a fraction of seven and a half Winchester bushels; oatmeal is sold, by the boll, containing sixteen stones, or two hundred and fifty-six pounds Scots troy, or two hundred and eighty pounds averdupois. There is nothing to be found, in the old jurisprudence of Scotland, of the georgical practice, which is commonly called *the sheriff's fiers*, by which the average prices of victual are ascertained, in every shire. This practice did not any where begin earlier than the year 1627. When it began, in the county of Roxburgh, is uncertain. The *fiers* are, in this shire, settled, by ascertaining the average prices of the several sorts of grain, at the two terms of Lammas, and Candlemas, for the crop of the preceding year. According to a seven years average of *the fiers* of Roxburghshire, ending with 1795, the price of wheat was 1l. 11s. 10½d. per boll.

(*l*) Anglia Sacra, ii. 698. Hoveden, 418—24; Simeon of Durham; Leland's Collectanea.

The

The people, and their pastors, submitted to the jurisdiction, and were edified by the piety of the bishops of Lindisfarn. With the decline of the Northumbrian kingdom, and the translation of the seat of the bishoprick, in 995 A.D. the authority of both, over this shire, gradually disappeared. Yet, is there some reason to believe that, during the episcopate of Ralph Flambard, the bishop of Durham, Teviotdale, as well as Carlisle, were still considered, as dependencies of the see of Durham (*m*). The death of Flambard, and the ascendency of David I. who annexed Teviotdale to the bishoprick of Glasgow, may, perhaps, be considered as common epochs, of an event, which is very obscure.

The renovated bishoprick of Glasgow rose upon the ruins of the fallen episcopate of Lindisfarn. At the twilight of record, we perceive many of the churches, in this county, to have belonged, of old, to the bishop of Glasgow (*n*). Upon the restoration of this diocese, by the pious David, the whole of Roxburghshire, except a small part of it, which lyes on the northern side of the Tweed, along the Eden water, was placed under the jurisdiction of this ancient church (*o*). John, the first bishop, after the restoration of this see, is supposed to have divided his diocese into two archdeaconries: But, we know from record, that this division did not happen till the decease of Hugh de Potter, the archdeacon of Glasgow, in 1238, when Teviotdale was erected into a distinct archdeaconry; owing to his dispute with William de Bondington, the bishop, who had experienced the archdeacon's pertinacity. From this epoch, Teviotdale enjoyed its own archdeacon, who regulated its clergy, under the superintendance of the bishop of Glasgow (*p*).

The

(*m*) Sim. Dun. Col. 61; Anglia Sacra, i. 708: Ralph Flambard died, in 1128. Chron. Mail. 105. And, in 1123, Pope Calixtus compelled John, the bishop of Glasgow, to return to his diocese. Ib. 164.

(*n*) *Inquisitio*, 1116, A.D.

(*o*) Ib.; Chart. Glasgow; and the Taxatio of the churches under Alexander II. in the Chart. of Arbroath. The district along the Eden, comprehending the parishes of Stitchill, Edenham, Smallham, Mackerston, and a part of Kelso, was included in the deanry of the Merse, and the bishoprick of St. Andrews: The river Tweed formed the boundary, between the two ample episcopates of St. Andrews, and Glasgow; from the influx of Carham-burn to the confluence of the Leeder with the Tweed.

(*p*) "An. 1238, obiit master Hugh de Potter, archidiaconus Glasguensis: Post cujus obitum "divisus est archidiaconatus: Magister Mathus de Aberden dictus est archidiaconus de Glasgu; "et magister Petrus de Alingtun, vocatus est archidiaconus de Thevidal." Chron. Mailros, 203. Peter de Alintun died, in 1242, and was succeeded, as archdeacon of Teviotdale, by Reginald de Irewin. Ib. 206. Reginald de Yrewyn, the archdeacon of Teviotdale, was a witness to a charter of Alexander II., in 1244. Chart. Glasgow, 225. Nicholas Moffat, the archdeacon of Teviotdale, was

The dean of Glasgow, with the chapter, sat in the cathedral of Glasgow, and performed their usual functions: But there was also a dean of Teviotdale, who exercised a more limited power, in subordination to his bishop, with the occsional assistance of the rural deans (*q*). All those officers continued to exercise their several functions, as they were similarly exercised, in England, till the reformation; when they were superseded by superintendants, synods, and presbyteries. The origin of parishes is undiscoverable among the obscurities of the seventh century, when the truths of Christianity, and the polity of an ecclesiastical establishment, were introduced among the Northumbrian Saxons. Parishes we see, in fact, established, when the sun of record arose, to illuminate a darksome age.

Within sixteen years, after the erecting of the episcopate of Lindisfarn, in 635, A. D. a religious house was established, in a peninsula, on the southern bank of the Tweed (*r*). This site acquired its well known name, from its peninsular location, which is formed, by a reduplication of the Tweed (*s*). And, the Celtic Maol-ros signifies, in that descriptive language, the naked promontory (*t*). On the death of Aidan, in 601, A. D. the celebrated Cuthbert entered the monastery of Melros, as a monk under Boisil. This house was, for many ages, the seat of piety, and the source of usefulness to the people, during those

was postulated bishop of Glasgow, in 1260; but he was rejected by the Pope, who promoted to this see John de Sheyam. Keith, 142. In the Chartulary of Soltre, No. 42, we may see John de Muskelburg, the official of Teviotdale, as a witness to a charter of Fluria, "relicta quondam domine "Ade Quintin;" giving to that hospital the lands of Wellflat, in the district of Limpetlaw: The official was a church lawyer, whom the archdeacon appointed, as his substitute.

(*q*) During the administration of bishop Jocelin, from 1174 to 1180, Teviotdale was then a *deanry*, under his jurisdiction. Chart. Glasgow, 53. Bagimont's Roll recognizes the *deanry* of Teviotdale.

(*r*) Bede, l. iv. c. 27; ib. l. v. c. 12.

(*s*) Bede describes very accurately the site of old Melros; "Quod Tuidi fluminis circumflexu "maxima ex parte clauditur." Smith's Bede, p. 195.

(*t*) *Moel*, in the British, and *Maol*, in the Irish, signify bald, naked, bare. Davis, Owen, O'Brien, Shaw. *Rhos*, in the British, and *Ross*, in the Irish, mean any projection; and, hence it is applied to a promontory: So *Ross* derived its Celtic name, from the remarkable projection of the land into the Moray-frith; and *Ross*, in Herefordshire, probably derived its name, in the same manner, from a promontory, which is there formed by the winding of the Wye. This ancient word, both in the British, and Irish, may be found in the names of several places both in North, and South Britain. This famous name may, indeed, be a remnant of the speech of the original settlers, which was continued by the Irish monks, who first inhabited this house, from its sameness to their own congenial language. *Mell-rhos*, in the British, signify the *projection of the meadow*: *Mell*, in the British, signifying any projection, and *Rhos*, a meadow. Davis, and Owen.

benighted

benighted times. But, at length the lamp of piety burnt dimly; and the efforts of usefulness gradually languished. The house became ruinous, and its establishments seem to have been granted to the monks of Coldingham, during those religious times, when the monks had much to ask, and the kings, and barons, much to give. A hamlet, which is now called Old Melros, still marks the site of the ancient house.

David I., in 1136, refounded this monastery for Cistertians, on a different site, about two miles westward, on the same bank of the Tweed (*u*). That munificent prince conferred on the objects of his favour, a church, extensive lands, and numerous privileges (*x*). In 1192, Jocelin, the bishop of Glasgow, granted to the monks of Melros, the church of Hassindean, with its lands, tithes, and other emoluments, for establishing here a house of hospitality: They now settled a cell at Hassindean, wherein several of the monks resided, for executing the sacred trust, of receiving the pilgrim, and relieving the stranger (*y*). The monks of Melros thus became, in those times, large proprietors, with numerous tenants; great husbandmen, with many granges, and numerous herds (*z*). Pope Lucius,

(*u*) The church, which stood at Melros, before the year 1136, appears to have belonged to the monks of Coldingham. When David resolved to refound the monastery of Melros, he obtained from those monks the ancient church, and gave them, in exchange, the church of the Virgin Mary, in Berwick. Chart. Coldingham, 2.

(*x*) David granted to this monastery, the lands of Melros, of Eldun, and of Dernwic, the lands, and wood, of Galtonside, with the fishings of the Tweed, along the whole extent of those lands; with the right of pasturage, and pannage, in his forests of Selkirk, and Traquair, and in the forest, lying between the Gala, and the Leeder, and also the privilege of taking wood for building, and burning, from the same forests. Chart. Melros, No. 54. This charter was confirmed by Earl Henry. Ib. No. 515. These charters are published in Hutchinson's Northumberland, 1 Apx. 3-12. David, and his successors, and his subjects, bestowed on the monks of Melros, other lands, and privileges, and churches: So that, in the course of the 12th and 13th centuries, they had accumulated vast possessions, and various immunities. They had much other property in Ayrshire, Dumfriesshire, Selkirkshire, and Berwickshire. Chart. Melros.

(*y*) The pious Jocelin granted Hassindean to those monks, "ad susceptionem pauperum et "peregrinorum ad domum de Melros venientum." Owing to that grant, the old tower of Hassindean was called "Monks Tower," and the farm adjoining the church is still called "Monks "Croft." Chart. Mail. No. 76; Milne's Mel. 34; Stat. Acco. xix. 572. The fact is, that the monastery of Melros was a sort of *inn* to some of the greatest men of that age. In 1177, died Walter, the son of Alan, dapifer regis, *familiaris noster*. Chron. Mail. 174. In 1185, died Robert Avenel *familiaris noster*. In 1189, died Richard de Morvil, constabularius regis, *familiaris noster*. Chron. Mail.

(*z*) At the reformation, when the monks were obliged to give in their rentals, the monastery of Melros enjoyed 1758*l.* in money, besides a large quantity of victual, poultry, salt, butter, peats, and

Lucius, who governed the universal church, from 1181 to 1185, by his bull, prohibited all persons from exacting tithes, from the monks of Melros (*a*). In 1184, was settled by William, the lion, assisted by his bishops, and barons, a pertinacious controversy, which had long existed between the monks of Melros, and the men of Wedale, upon the Gala water, with regard to two objects of great importance, in that age, *pannage*, and *pasturage*, under the several proprietors (*b*). This settlement was emphatically called, in those times, *the peace of Wedale*. Yet, during such times, it was almost impossible to prevent disputes, among cattle drivers, and swine herds. Their superiors interested themselves: And contest was sometimes carried up to tumult, when lives were lost. John of Ederham, the abbot, and many of his conventual brethren, were excommunicated, by a provincial council, which sat, at Perth, in 1269 (*c*). In 1215, the Yorkshire barons, who were confederated against King John, swore fealty to Alexander II. in the Chapter-house of Melros Abbey (*d*). As Melros stood near the hostile border, it was usually involved in the rancorous conflicts of ancient times (*e*). While Edward I. remained at Berwick, in August 1296, after all in Scotland had submitted to his sovereignty, he issued a writ of restitution of the property of the abbots of Melros, Kelso, and Jedworth, of the masters of the hospitals of Rutherford, and of Hatun, or Highton, and of several persons, in Roxburghshire (*f*). As those writs of restitution were addressed to the sheriffs of seven shires, in Scotland, and to the sheriffs of Northumberland, and Cumberland, we may easily suppose what extensive estates belonged to them, in that age. After the treaty of Northampton, in 1328, Edward III. issued similar writs of restitution to those abbots of the pensions, and the lands, which they held in

and carriages. Milne's Melros, 30. The whole was transferred from the monks, who had done some good, and were beneficent masters, to the courtiers, who, with much selfishness, never did any good, with the property, which they acquired, from the plunder of ancient establishments.

(*a*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 168. (*b*) Chron. Mailros, 176.

(*c*) They, it seemeth, had violated *the peace of Wedale*; had attacked some houses of the bishop of St. Andrews, there, and had murdered one ecclesiastic, and wounded many others. Fordun. l. x. c. 25; Chron. Mailros, 241.

(*d*) Border Hist. 123.

(*e*) In 1295, Edward I. granted the monks of Melros a protection. Ayloff's Cal. 3. In 1322, it was burnt, and several of the monks, with William de Peeblis, their abbot, were slain, by Ed. II. Milne's Mel. 19; Bord. Hist. 271. Robert I., in 1326, made a most munificent grant, for rebuilding this abbey; he gave them 2000 l. sterling, from his revenue of wards, reliefs, marriages, escheats, and fines, within Roxburghshire. This grant was confirmed by David II., in 1369. MS. Monast. Scotiæ. The royal grants evince, that Robert Bruce was a very generous patron of this abbey. Robertson's Index.

(*f*) Prynne, iii. 665; Rym. ii. 723.

England; and which the king's father had seized, during the late war (*g*). Edward III. came from Newcastle, in 1341, to keep his Christmas festival, in Melros abbey (*h*). In 1348, the same king issued a writ, "de terris liberandis "abbati de Meaurose," to deliver to the abbot his lands (*i*). Richard II., in 1378, followed the example of Edward, in granting a protection to the abbot and convent of Melros (*k*). Yet, in 1385, Richard, when he made his expedition into Scotland, burnt Melros, and other religious houses, in that vicinity (*l*). Waste was, during a rude age, and a rancorous warfare, so much the object of hostility, that nothing could restrain the contending parties. The indemnity for the past destruction, was followed, in 1390, by another protection from Richard to the abbot and convent (*m*). The history of this religious house may be divided into three periods: From its erection in the seventh century, till its translation, by David, in the twelfth century, during which period, it was probably built of very slight materials: From the twelfth century to the fourteenth, it was erected in the more massive style of the latter age: And, lastly, from the accession of Robert Bruce, who granted a revenue, for the purpose of its restoration, to the reformation, during which period, was erected that noble structure, the ruins whereof are admired by every judicious eye. During this last effluxion of time, it must have received many shocks: But, it was in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and Elizabeth, whose statesmen, and whose warriors were as egregious fanaticks, as John Knox, that this admirable edifice was completely ruined (*n*). The English commanders were studious to leave details of the destruction, that they committed, which only perpetuates their own disgrace (*o*).

In the midst of all those wars, the men of the abbot of Melros were exempted, from

(*g*) Prynne iii. 373. (*h*) Border Hist. 331.

(*i*) Ayloff's Cal. 200. In 1334, Edward III. granted a protection to the several abbeys on the borders, as Melros, Kelso, Jedburgh, and Dryburgh. Ib. 237.

(*k*) Ib. 241.

(*l*) Milne's Melros, 20; Bord. Hist. 355. For this destruction, however, the monks were indemnified, in 1389, by a grant of two shillings on a thousand sacks of wool, being the growth of Scotland, which they should send to be exported from Berwick; the duty of two shillings to be allowed out of the custom, due to the king, of two shillings on each sack of wool, and from the custom on hides, and woolfels, exported from Berwick. Rym. vii. 646.

(*m*) Ayloff's Cal. 257.

(*n*) In 1545, a great part of this monastery was destroyed by Sir Ralph Eure, and Sir Bryan Layton, who were pursued, and beat, on Ancrum Moor. Milne's Melros, 20; and Bord. Hist. 552-3. In the same year, Melros, with its monastery, were again wasted by the English army, under the Earl of Hertford. Ib. 554.

(*o*) See the State Papers of Haynes, and of Marden. In 1541, James V. solicited, and obtained, by a sacrifice of his public policy to his private feelings, from the Pope, the monastery of Melros, in

from serving the king: Yet, the abbot allowed them to fight under James, the stewart of Scotland, during the succession war; and again, he permitted them to fight for David Bruce, under Walter, the stewart, who strenuously supported that infant prince (*p*). From the foundation of the monastery, there seems to have existed, owing to mutual benefits, a very intimate connection, between the Stewarts of Scotland, and the abbots of Melros.

At the epoch of the reformation, the legal act, which forfeited the religious houses, invested the whole, with their lands, and rights, and privileges, in the crown (*q*). They were annexed to the crown by statute, with design, that they should never be disjoined: And, hence, so many acts of Parliament, for dissolving that annaxation, in order to enable the king, to reward merit, or to gratify favouritism. The lands, and tithes, which had belonged to Melros abbey, were granted by Queen Mary to James Earl of Bothwell, who lost them, by forfeiture, in 1568. James Douglas, the second son of William Douglas, of Lochleven, was now created commendator of Melros, by the influence of the well known Earl of Morton. Those great estates, though with some exceptions, were, at length, granted to some merit. They were erected into a temporal lordship, for Sir John Ramsay, who had powerfully protected James VI. from Gowry's rapier (*r*). The greatest part of those estates was given to Sir Thomas Hamilton

in addition to that of Kelso, to be held in *commendam*, by his natural son James. Bord. Hist. 542. What the frequent wars, and the dilapidations of improvidence, had left, was destroyed, in 1569, by the fanaticism of the reformers. Milne's Melros, 22.

(*p*) On the 18th of June 1332, Walter, the stewart of Scotland, declared that, whereas the men of the abbot of Melros were not bound to serve the king; yet, had served the king for two years, by the special grace of the abbot and convent; and that the leading of them belonged to one appointed by the abbot, yet had allowed them to serve under his command; this should not be drawn into a precedent. There had been a former declaration to the same effect, by James, the stewart, soon after the demise of Alexander III. And those declarations were confirmed, by the Duke of Albany, locum tenens, on the day of the feast of James the Apostle, 1403. Simpson's MS. Col. in the Brit. Museum. We thus see the address, by which the men of the monasteries were brought into action, though they were exempted by charters, and customs.

(*q*) The revenues of Melros abbey were variously stated, at that epoch. In the books of the Col. of *the thirds*, they are recorded as consisting of 1759l. money Scots; wheat, 19 chalders, 9 bolls; bear, 77 chalders, 3 bolls; oats, 47 chalders, 1 boll, 2 firlots; meal, 14 chalders; with 8 chalders of salt; 105 stones of butter; 10 dozen of capons; 26 dozen of poultry; 376 muir fowls; 340 loads of peats; 500 carriages. MS. Account of Religious Orders in Scotland. Lach. Shaw. Out of this large revenue, there were assigned 20 marks to each of eleven monks, and three portioners; also four bolls of wheat, one chalder of bear, two chalders of meal, Teviotdale measure, to the monks. Keith's Apx. 186.

(*r*) Milne's Melros, 32; Crawf. Peer. 181: On the 24th June 1609, an act passed, for erecting the abbey of Melros, and its possessions, into a temporal lordship. Unprinted Acts of that date.

Hamilton, who, from his eminence, as a lawyer, rose to high rank, and great opulence; and who was created Earl of Melros, in 1619 (*s*): This title, the Earl of Melros afterward exchanged for the earldom of Hadington (*t*). The abbey, and its domains, were acquired in more recent times, by the family of Buccleugh. Such, then, were the origin, progress, and the fate of the monastery of Melros, according to the successive passions of the people, during nine centuries of various change.

The monastery of Kelso was founded, in a much later age; yet, has undergone similar elevations, and depressions, during ages of rudeness, and warfare. This establishment, by the piety of Earl David, was originally settled, at Selkirk, for monks of the order of Tyrone, in honour of Mary, and John, the Evangelist. Neither the founder, nor the monks, however, were pleased with the original location of this house. And, in 1128, the zeal of David, by the advice of John, the bishop of Glasgow, removed this establishment, from its first site to Kelso, on the northern bank of the Tweed, nearly opposite to Roxburgh, a place of happier aspect, and nearer the royal residence, in Roxburgh castle (*u*). The position of the town of Kelso is a pretty large plain, on the Tweed; having, at some distance, a semicircular bank, both on the south, and north of the village. It seems to have derived its ancient name of *Calchow*, from a *calcarious eminence*,

Sir John Ramsay was created Viscount of Hadington, in 1606, and Earl of Holderness, in England. When he died, in 1625, without issue, those estates fell to the crown.

(*s*) Dougl. Peer. 318. On the 4th of August 1621, was passed an act of ratification to the Earl of Melros, of his infeftment of Melros, with a new dissolution of the annexation to the crown. Unprinted Act of that date.

(*t*) Spottiswoode, 453; and Keith, 255. The patronage, or advowson, of the parish church of Melros, seems to have followed those several grants. After the death of the Earl of Holderness, in 1625, when the property returned to the crown, the patronage of the church of Melros, with other rights, were granted to Walter the Earl of Buccleugh. For the ruins of this magnificent abbey, see Grose's Antiq. i. 120—31; and Cardonel's Antiq. pl. 20, 21, 22. There is a brief history, and a drawing of Melros abbey, in Hutchinson's Northumberland, i. 282—99. The appearance of this magnificent structure without struck Hutchinson with admiration, as its sordidness within, incited his indignation. A recollection of those splendid ruins, induced Hamilton of Bangour to exclaim, in his Ode to the Earl of Stair,

> "Or with the sacred sisters roam,
> "Near holy *Melros* ruin'd dome."

The Duke of Buccleugh, the munificent proprietor of those ruins, has directed a new church to be built, for the parish, and Melros abbey to be preserved, for the public admiration.

(*u*) An. 1128, fundata est ecclesia de Kelchehow. Chron. Mailros, 165.

which

which appears conspicuous in the middle of the town; and which is still called *the Chalk-heugh* (*x*).

The king confirmed, in 1128, the former grant of the earl: And he now gave the objects of his bounty more lands, many privileges, and much property (*a*). Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, within whose diocese the new monastery was placed, conceded to the king, in order to promote his purpose, the church of the Virgin Mary, on the bank of the Tweed, at Calcow (*b*). In 1144, David I., as if his munificence could have no bounds, granted to those monks many other privileges: He gave them the monastery of Lesmahago, with all its lands, and all its *men;* and also the privilege of sanctuary, which the monastery of Lesmahago already enjoyed (*c*). Malcolm IV., and William, confirmed those several grants of David I. The barons followed the pious, perhaps, the profuse example of the kings, in their donations to the monks of Kelso. Before the end of the thirteenth century, this monastery had amassed vast property, and extensive privileges (*d*). David II. granted to the monks of Kelso the whole forfeitures of all the rebels within Berwick (*e*). Owing to all those

(*x*) *Calch*, in the British, and *Calc*, in the Irish, signifying *chalk*, lime, or other calcareous matter. See Davis, and Owen; O'Brien, and Shaw: And hence, probably, the *Cealc*, in the Saxon of Somner, signifying the same matter; from which Johnson derives the English *chalk*. The Northumbrian Saxons, who settled here, continued, perhaps, the British name, with some slight change: So *Calch-how* would descriptively mean the *chalk-height*; the A. S. *Ho*, or *How*; signifying a hill, or height. See Lye, in vo. *How*, and Spelman, in vo. *Hoga*.

(*a*) David granted to the monks of *Calkow*, the manor of Calkow, according to its proper boundaries, all the churches, and schools of Roxburgh, with their pertinents, some burgages, within the same town, forty shillings, yearly, "de censu de Roxburgh," with the seventh part of the fishing, twenty chalders of victual, from the mills of Roxburgh, twelve chalders of malt, from the mill of Edenham, yearly, with liberty to dig turves from the moor, for firing, and also several manors, lands, pasturages, fishings, salt-works, churches, &c. Chart. Kelso, No. 1.

(*b*) In this grant, the bishop of St. Andrews granted to the abbot, and monks, the privilege, "a quocunque episcopo voluerint, in Scotia, vel in Cumbria, crisma suum, et oleum, et ordinacionem, ipsius abbatis et monachorum et cetera ecclesie sacramenta accipiant." *Cumbria*, here, means the bishoprick of Glasgow; as there was no bishoprick of Carlisle, till 1132 A. D.

(*c*) Chart. Kelso, No. 8.

(*d*) From a detail, at that epoch, it appears, that there then belonged to the monks of Kelso the monastery of Lesmahago, with its dependencies, thirty-four parish churches, several manors, many lands, granges, farms, milns, breweries, fishings, salt-works, and other possessions; all which were spread over the several shires of Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Lanerk, Dunfries, Ayr, Edinburgh, and Berwick, with the church of Culter, as far north as Aberdeenshire. See the Chartulary of Kelso.

(*e*) Robertson's Index.

grants,

grants, the abbot of Kelso was more opulent, than most of the bishops in Scotland.

In the abbey church of Kelso was buried, on the 12th of June 1152, Earl Henry, the son, and heir, of David I. A truce, between the contending nations, was made at Kelso, in 1401. In 1460, after James II. was slain, at the siege of Roxburgh castle, his infant son, the ill-fated James III., was crowned in the abbey church of Kelso, where his nobless wore all those oaths, which degenerated into perjury (*f*).

Not satisfied with wealth, the abbot aimed, and, not without success, at honours. In 1165, the pope gave him a mitre (*g*). In the rolls of the Scotish parliament, the abbot of Kelso stood the first, and the abbot of Melros the second (*h*). They both concurred, in offering the maiden of Norway, their *dear dame*, in marriage to the son of Edward I.; a transaction, which ended in many calamities to themselves, and their countrymen. On the 20th of August 1296, Richard, abbot of Kelso, with his convent, and Patrick abbot of Melros, with his convent, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick: John, abbot of Jedworth, with his convent, made their submissions, at the same time, and at the same place of degradation (*i*).

Whatever shocks this religious establishment may have sustained, during the wars of Edward I., and his feeble successor, Edward III. appears, seriously, to have wished to protect it (*k*).

Like the other places of note, lying so near the southern border, the monastery of Kelso suffered, from the ravages of the English commanders, during an age, when they avowed, that waste was the object of war (*l*). In after times, fanati-

(*f*) Chron. St. Crucis; Border Hist. 370; Ib. 422.

(*g*) An. 1165, Johannes abbas Calkoensis venit de Roma *mitratus*. Chron. Mailros, 170. In 1201, John of Solerno, the Pope's legate, in Scotland, issued a mandate to the bishops, requiring them to visit the churches, which the monks of Kelso enjoyed, "in proprios usus," according to the canon of the Lateran Council. Chart. Kelso, No. 444; Lord Hailes' Councils, 7.

(*h*) Rym. ii. 471.

(*i*) See Ragman-roll, in Prynne, iii. 653. Edward I. immediately issued a writ of restitution of all the lands, and other property, which belonged to those abbots. Ib. 665.

(*k*) In 1367, Edward issued a writ "de protectione pro abbate et conventu de *Kellesowe*, in "Scotia." Ayloff's Cal. 229. We here see, that the name had been already softened down, from *Calk-how* nearly to *Kelso*. He issued another writ, in 1369. Ib. 232. In 1374. he gave a third protection. Ib. 237.

(*l*) David II., whose weaknesses brought so many calamities on his kingdom, gave permission to the monks of Kelso, whose house had been burnt, by the English, to cut wood in Selkirk, and Jedworth forests, for its reparation. Robertson's Index, 63.

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cism came in aid of hostility. In 1542, Kelso, with its monastery, and also the neighbouring villages, were burnt by the Duke of Norfolk (*m*). In 1545. what the torch had left unconsumed, was spoiled by the Earl of Hertford (*n*). And we may thus perceive, that little remained of the monastery of Kelso, at the approaching burst of reform, for the tumults of Knox to destroy. Much, however, remained, for the crown to obtain, by forfeiture, and for the rapacity of the courtiers, to receive, by grant (*o*). Soon after that great epoch, the monastery of Kelso was given to Francis, Earl of Bothwell, whose ingratitude was quite equal to the king's facility. The forfeiture of the treasonous Bothwell, in 1594, left the property open, for the solicitation of Sir Robert Ker of Cessford, to whom it was granted, in 1605, with many churches, and manors (*p*). The great estates, which the Kers of Cessford thus acquired, came down, by various transmissions, to the Duke of Roxburgh, who also enjoys the title of Earl of Kelso (*q*).

Some religious establishments had remained, as we have seen, upon the Jed, from the ninth century, under the names of Old, and New Jedburgh. In 1147, David I., with his usual zeal, for ecclesiastical settlements, founded, at Jedworth, a monastery, for canons regular, who were brought from Beauvais, and planted near his royal castle on the Jed (*r*). The munificent founder gave to the objects of his bounty the tithes of the two Jedworths, of Langton, of Nisbet,

(*m*) Border Hist. 540.

(*n*) Ib. 554. For the state of the ruins of Kelso monastery, see Stat. Acco. x. 579—81; Hutchinson's Northumberland; Pennant's Tour; and Grose's Antiquities, i. 113—15.

(*o*) The revenues of the abbey of Kelso were variously stated in that age. The following state, from the book of the Col. of *the thirds*, may be probably near the truth: The incomes of Kelso, and Lesmahago, (a cell of Kelso), in Clydesdale, are valued at, £3,716 : 1 : 2. Scots money; 9 chalders of wheat; bear, 106 chalders, and 12 bolls; oats, 4 chalders, and 11 bolls; meal, 112 chalders, 12 bolls, and 3 firlots. MS. Account of Religious Orders in Scotland. Lach. Shaw. About the 22d of August 1566, the abbot of Kelso, of the name of Ker, was slain by the laird of Cessford, the younger, hes awen kinsman, and hes frendes, saith Birrel. Diary, 5.

(*p*) Crawford's Peerage, 432. In 1639, the Earl of Roxburgh surrendered to the king twenty churches, the tithes, and advowsons thereof, which had belonged to the abbots of Kelso.

(*q*) Douglas Peer. 596. In 1749, the Duke of Roxburgh received, as compensation, for the heritable office of baillie of the regality of Kelso, £1,300 Sterling. MS. Orig. Return. On the 8th of June 1594, a declaratory act was passed, concerning the annexation of Kelso, and Coldingham. Unprinted Act of that date. On the 11th of June 1607, an act passed, erecting Kelso into a temporal lordship, in favour of Lord Roxburgh. Unprinted Act of that date. A new act passed, on the 4th of August 1621, in favour of the Earl of Roxburgh, concerning Kelso, and Lesmahago, with a new dissolution of its annexation to the crown. Unprinted Acts of that date.

(*r*) Innes's MS. Chronology. An. 1174, Obiit Osbertus *primus* abbas de *Jeddewrtha*, cui successit Ricardus ejusdem *Cellarius*. Chron. Mailros, 173.

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of Crailing, the multure of the miln of Jedworth, a saltwork, at Strivelin. To those extensive grants, Malcolm IV. added the churches of Brandon, and Grendon, in Northamptonshire, some lands, and a fishing, on the Tweed, and an exemption, from custom on their wine, at Berwick (*s*). We may perceive, from those various charters, that the canons regular of Jedworth were very amply endowed, in those early times, when religion had a great effect on the morals, and manners of men.

Seventy years enjoyment, however, brought vexations in its train. The monastery of Jedburgh lay within the diocese of Glasgow. And the bishop was not likely to yield to the abbot, either a point of right, or the palm of perseverance. Many altercations, in respect to their dignities, liberties, customs, rents, churches, vicarages, lands, pastures, and other such desireable things, were at length brought to a quiet end, in 1220, by the arbitration of five discreet referees, within the chapel of Nesbit, before many auditors. The abbot, and his canons, were directed to obey the bishop, or his official, in all canonical matters, in a canonical manner, saving their mutual privileges. The chaplain of the parish church of Jedburgh was directed to yield appropriate obedience to the bishop, or his official, when they should come to perform episcopal offices, in that church. The abbot was directed, according to ancient custom, to attend by himself, or by his procurator, at the festival of the dedication of the church of Glasgow. When summoned, he was not to omit attendance at synods. The canons were ordained to provide fit accommodations, in their churches, where the bishop might conveniently perform his visitations, except where the vicarage was only worth ten marks. And some other points of less consequence, were, at the same time, settled; in order to leave nothing for future dispute (*t*).

Time, in its effluxion, brought with it more disastrous troubles. The ambition of Edward I. involved the abbot, and his canons, in ruin. The house became so unsafe, and their possessions so wasted, by the succession war, that

(*s*) This monastery had also the church of Dodington, near Barton, from the grant of Ranulph de Soulis, with the church in the valley of Lidal. It had many lands, and churches, from other barons. Before 1159, William confirmed all preceding grants; and gave some additions, from himself. MS. Monast. Scotia, 27; Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Col. No. 34; Robertson's Index, 22. Robert I. granted five charters to the canons of Jedburgh, with a confirmation of the charter of David I., Malcolm IV., William I., and Alexander. Robertson's Index, 22. In very early times, the canons had a religious house in Lidisdale: Turgot de Rossedal granted to the monastery of Jedburgh, "domum religionis de Lidal cum tota terra ei adjacente," which was confirmed, by William, before the year 1169. Chart. of William, in fac simile.

(*t*) This very curious document, which shows the pretensions of the parties, and the practice of the age, is in the Chartulary of Glasgow, p. 157. of my copy.

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they could no longer live in the one, nor enjoy the other. And the charity of Edward I., at the end of the year 1300, billeted those unhappy canons on several religious houses, in England (*u*). Robert I. tried to restore, by his generosity, what the hostility of his antagonist had ruined (*x*). To the monastery of Jedburgh belonged, during the best days of its prosperity, the priories of Restenet, in Forfarshire, and of Canoby, in Dumfries-shire, which were occupied, as cells, by the canons (*y*). At Rutherford, upon the south bank of the Tweed, in Maxton parish, there was of old a hospital, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. Robert I. granted to those canons of Jedburgh, the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, at Rutherford, which was confirmed by Robert III., in 1395 (*z*).

During the long succession of conflicts, between the sister kingdoms, which followed the peace of Northampton, in 1328, the canons of Jedburgh felt their full share of the sad effects. During that long period, this monastery underwent many a change. In 1523, the town of Jedburgh was burnt, and its monastery sacked, by the Earl of Surrey, when he made his second incursion into Teviotdale (*a*).

At length, came the Reformation, which relieved the canons of Jedburgh, from their miseries, by dissolution (*b*). The monastery became the property of the king, by annexation (*c*). As the Kers of Fernyhirst had long been the baillies of Jedburgh-forest, they after a while became baillies of the canons of Jedburgh. In March 1587, Sir Andrew Ker obtained from James VI. a grant

(*u*) See his Writ, dated the 16th November 1300, in the Antiquary Repertory, ii. 54-5, where there is a view of the ruins of Jedburgh abbey.

(*x*) Robertson's Index, 22, as above.

(*y*) During those unscrupulous times, it was the practice of the abbot of Jedburgh, to send to Restenet, the records, and other useful papers of the monastery, for preservation, from hostile hands.

(*z*) Robertson's Index, 166. A *burgagium*, in Berwick, which belonged to this hospital, is mentioned, in a charter, as early as 1276. Chart. Newbotle, No. 208. In 1336, Edward III. granted the custody of this hospital to Simon de Sandford. Ayloff's Cal. 157. Edward III., soon after, granted the same charge to John de Thorp. Ib. 179.

(*a*) Border History, 515.

(*b*) Andrew, the commendator of Jedburgh, sat, in the Reformation Convention. Keith, 146.

(*c*) At that epoch, the revenue of those canons was not precisely settled. It may be estimated, including Restenet, and Canoby, the two cells of Jedburgh, at £1,274. 10s. Scots money; wheat, 2 chalders, 2 bolls; bear, 23 chalders; meal, 36 chalders, 13 bolls, 1 firlot, 1 peck; besides *cains*, and customs. Keith's Hist. Apx. 185. *Cain* is a customary payment, in kind; as a *cain* fowl.

of the *bailliary* of the lands, and baronies, of the monastery of Jedburgh (*d*). In those times, little was the distance, from the bailliary, to the dominion over church property. In 1622, the estate of the canons of Jedburgh was converted, by a charter from James VI., to Sir Andrew Ker, into a lordship, by the title of Lord Jedburgh (*e*).

In those ages, Roxburghshire abounded in religious, and charitable foundations. In Jedburgh, which seems always to have enjoyed its share of such concerns, there was founded, in 1513, by the citizens, a convent of Carmelites (*f*). At ancient Roxburgh, there was founded of old a convent of Franciscans (*g*). There is now no other memorial of the old-fashioned piety, which planted the Franciscans there, but a hamlet called *Friars*, on the site of the convent (*h*). Near Newstead, the Knights Templars had a house, which was called *Red-abbey-stead*: The Templars were here succeeded by *Freemasons* (*i*). The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem seem, from tradition, and remains, to have had an establishment, at the village of Ancrum, which is now distinguished, by the name of *Malton* Walls (*k*). The hospital, at Nisbet, is said to have belonged, of old, to the same knights, who lived at Ancrum (*l*). There was anciently, near Old Roxburgh, on the Teviot above, a *Maison Dieu*, for the reception of pilgrims, the diseased, and the indigent. To this establishment, the charity of David I. granted a carrucate of land, in Ravendene (*m*). In 1296, Nicol de Chapeleyn, the guardian of this house, swore fealty to Edward I. (*n*). Where this charity stood, stands now a hamlet, which still bears the sad appellation of *Maison Dieu* (*o*). At Edenham, there was, anciently, a hospital dedicated to St. Leonard, which, whatever contests once existed about the property, or the patronage of it, is now noticed by the surveyer, Pont, under the name of

(*d*) Douglas Peerege, 419. On the 4th of August 1621, a ratification, and new dissolution of Jedburgh, and Canoby, was passed. Unprinted Act, 23 Ja. VI.

(*e*) Spottiswood, 423. (*f*) Keith, 277; Spottiswood, 503.

(*g*) They were allowed a church yard, which was consecrated by William, bishop of Glasgow, in 1235. Adam Blunt was their superior in 1296. Ib. 581.

(*h*) Stobie's map of this shire; Stat. Acco. 10. 581.

(*i*) Gough's Camden, iii. 297. (*k*) Stat. Acco. x. 294.

(*l*) Ib. ii. 322. At Mount Teviot, there were once a hospital, a chapel, and a cemetery: Pont's map of Teviotdale preserved a faint recollection of this ancient charity, by the significant name of *Spital*. This hospital, however, escaped the researches of Spottiswood, and Keith.

(*m*) Chart. Kelso, No. 369.

(*n*) Ragman-roll, in Prynne. For subsequent notices about this *Maison Dieu*, see Robertson's Index.

(*o*) Stobie's map of this shire; Stat. Acco. 10. 581.

Ednam.

Ednam Spital (*p*). Smailholm had, of old, a hospital, which is now only recollected by the name of *Smailholm Spital* on the maps. Cavers parish had also, in ancient times, a hospital, which is now only marked, on the maps, by the name of *Spital*. Such are the notices, which seem to evince, that the men of Teviotdale, in the times, that are flown, practised charity, as well as they could push the spear, when their houses, and their women, were to be secured.

Those ancient establishments, of whatever nature, were all reformed, about the year 1560 (*a*). The parishes of this shire were now placed under the regimen of a synod, and presbyteries: They were all comprehended under the synod of Teviotdale, and Merse, except Castleton, which, from its remote situation, was placed under the synod of Dumfries: Of the thirty-one parishes, within this shire, fourteen compose the presbytery of Jedburgh; one was placed in the presbytery of Langholm; one in that of Lauder; nine in that of Kelso; and six, within the presbytery of Selkirk; arrangements these, which were probably dictated, by a sense of convenience, from the position of the districts (*b*).

The two Jedworths are the oldest parishes, in Scotland, whereof we have any distinct notice (*c*). The name of Jed*worth*, which has been perverted into Jed*burgh*, was derived, as we have seen, from the British *Jed*, the appellation of the river, and the Saxon *weorth*, the term, for a hamlet, that is seen, in the termination of so many names of places in England (*d*). Amid the darkness, which preceded the dawn of record, a manor was laid out, lower down on the Jed, by one of the Earls of Northumberland, and here were built, a castle, a church, and a miln, which all appear distinctly, in the charters of David I. When this prince

(*p*) Map of Teviotdale; Stobie's map of Roxburghshire mentions the same site, by the same name.

(*a*) At that epoch, of the many parishes, in Roxburghshire, there were only the following parsonages, as appear, from the books of the collectors of the thirds, in Keith's Apx. 192. The *parsonages* were, Bedrule, Wilton, Askirk, Abbotrule, Ancrum, Southdean, Merbotle, Auld, Roxburgh, Yetham.

(*b*) In 1747, there were detached from Roxburghshire, five parishes, namely, Eskdalemuir, Ewis, Westerkirk, Langholm, and Canoby, which were all annexed to Dumfrieshire. This enumeration marks the districts, which had been torn from Dumfrieshire, and annexed to Roxburgh, to suit the convenience of the Duke of Monmouth and Buccleugh, in 1672.

(*c*) The *two* Jedworths are distinctly mentioned by Hoveden, 418, as early as 882, A. D. Eadulfus, a younger son of an Earl of Northumberland, is recorded both by Simeon, and Hoveden, to have been buried, in the church of Jedburgh, two centuries afterward. These notices show the connection of those powerful earls with the manor of Jedburgh.

(*d*) Somner in vo. *weorth*; Adams's Villare: So, Tam-worth is from the river *Tame*, exactly as Jed-worth was formed by the worthy Ecgred, the founder, from the situation of his *ham*, or *weorth*, on the river Jed.

founded the monastery of Jedburgh, he gave to the canons regular, who were then settled there, the churches of the two Jedburghs, with their tithes, and other dues. David also gave to those canons the chapel of Scarsburgh, lying in a recess of the forest, on the east of the Jed (*e*). Besides the town of Jedburgh, this parish comprehends a large district on the Jed (*f*). The parish is divided into three parts, by the intervention of the parishes of Abbot-rule and Oxnam. The lower division, lying on either side of the Jed, forms the great body of the parish: The second, which is the smallest division, is the district of Old Jedburgh. In this division, there was anciently a chapel on the west bank of the Jed, opposite to Dolphinstone mill: The third, or upper part of this parish, is the barony of Edgarstoun, which lyes on the east of the Jed, and reaches to the border mountains. The barony of Upper Crailing, which is now a part of this parish, had anciently a church, as it was a separate parish: And Gospatrick, the "vicecomes," in 1147, granted its tithes to the canons of the monastery of Jedburgh (*g*). From the epoch of the establishment of those canons here, the parish became involved in their various fortunes: After being so long merged, the parish of Jedburgh was again restored to life, and activity, by the reformation (*h*). Besides the established church, there are, at present, in the town of

(*e*) "Et de Scarisburgh capellam etiam, quod fundata est, in saltu memoris super aquam Jed." Sir Lewis Stuart's MS. Col. No. 34. On the 7th of July 1296, John Comyn of *Scarsburgh*, with other Comyns of greater consequence, swore fealty to Edward I. at Monros. Ragman Roll.

(*f*) Jeddewurth, cum pertinentiis suis, were settled, by Alexander II. on his queen Johanna, in 1221. Rymer, i. 252.

(*g*) Stuart's MS. Col. No. 34: and MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 27: Orom, the son of Eilav, granted to the same monastery a carucate of land, in Upper Crailing.

(*h*) On the 13th of September 1568, the lord Regent rode to the fair, at Jedburgh, to apprehend the thieves; but, they being advertised of his coming, came not to the fair. Birrel's Diary, 17. On the 7th of July 1575, happened a skirmish, at the Red-swyre, within this parish, where it touches the Cheviot limit, which was followed by consequences, though it was only the hasty squabble of irascible men, at a border *tryst*. The Scotsmen resenting one of their countrymen slain, without provocation, by the English, made a vengeful attack on the offenders; and were driven from the field: But, being met, by the men of Jedburgh, they renewed the conflict; repulsed their *old adversaries*; slew Sir George Heron, an eminent Northumbrian, and carried prisoners to Dalkeith, Sir John Forster, the warden, and other considerable persons, his attendants. Elizabeth resented this outrage. She sent the Earl of Huntington, as her envoy, to meet the regent Morton, at Fouldean, near Berwick bounds; where they settled this hasty dispute. The swyre, in old English, means *the neck*; and, in the Scotish topography, is applied to the *neck* of a hill. Glos. to Lyndsay's Poetry. This skirmish has supplied the Border minstrels with a subject for song; entitled, *The Raid of the Reidswire*. Border Minstrelsy, i. 97.

Jedburgh,

Jedburgh, three other places of worship, as discordant in the principles of the sects, as they are various in their denominations (*i*).

Oxnam is a popular abbreviation of *Oxenham*, which is the name of this parish, and village, in the chartularies: So Oxford was abbreviated from Oxenford, and Oxney, in Kent, from Oxen-ey (*k*). Gaufrid de Percy, who enjoyed the manor of Oxenham, when the abbey of Jedburgh was founded, granted the abbot two carucates of land, and two bovates, lying adjacent to the church, with common of pasture, and common of fuel, to the village belonging (*l*). At the famous settlement of the disputes, between the bishop of Glasgow, and the abbot of Jedburgh, in 1220, it was agreed, that the taxation of the vicarage of Oxenham should remain, as the bishop's charter had ascertained it (*m*). The forfeiture of Sir Robert Colvill enabled David II. to grant the barony of Oxenham to Duncan Wallace (*n*). At Plenderlieth, in this parish, there were of old a chapel, the ruins whereof may still be traced, and the cemetery whereof continues still to be used (*o*). The parish of Oxnam became the property of the abbot of Jedburgh; and, from the reformation, it acquired its independence (*p*).

Hownam, the name of the next parish, is an abreviation of *Howen-ham*, as Oxnam is of Oxenham: It derived its name, from a person named *Howen*, or rather Owen, who settled here. There, indeed, appears to have been some considerable persons of this name, in this shire, during the twelfth century (*q*). The church of Hownam was conferred on the abbey of Jedburgh, at the end of the twelfth century. When the bishop of Glasgow, and the abbot settled their

(*i*) In 1790, the numbers of examinable persons were, in each of those religious societies; in the established church 800; in the relief congregation 1200; in the burger meeting 600; in the anti-burger meeting 150. Stat. Acco. i. 11. The more inquisitive reader may see a very intelligent state of Jedburgh parish, from the learned pen of Doctor Somerville, in the Stat. Acco. i. 1.

(*k*) For other such abreviations, in South Britain, see Adams's *Villare*.

(*l*) Henry de Percy, who succeeded his brother Gaufrid, confirmed the late grant, in the presence of Malcolm IV.; and gave the abbot, moreover, common of pasture, in the lands of Newbigging, which adjoined Oxenham, and now makes a part of this parish. The grants of the Percys were confirmed by Malcolm IV. and William, the lion.

(*m*) Chart. Glasgow.

(*n*) Robertson's Index, 50. Robert II. gave to Sir Duncan Wallace, and to Eleanor Bruys, the Countess of Carrick, his spouse, the barony of Oxenham, with other lands. Ib. 115.

(*o*) Stat. Acco. ii. 322.

(*p*) The inquisitive reader may see many particulars of this frontier parish, in the Stat. Acco. xi. 317.

(*q*) *Howen*, the son of Buth, was a witness to the charter of Richard Morville, the constable of Scotland, who died in 1189, A. D. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 75. Howen is merely the Saxon *aspirate* of the Cambro-British Owen.

disputes

disputes, in 1220, it was agreed, that the whole tithes of corn, within the parish of *Hunam* should be appropriated to the use of the canons; the vicar receiving ten pounds, or the alterages, in his option (*r*). The reformation restored the independance of the parish of Hownam (*s*).

The parish of *Eckford* derives its name from a passage of the river Teviot: *Eck-ford* being merely the *Oak*ford, from the Æc, *quercus*, of Somner: And the Æc is still pronounced *Aik*, or *Ec*, in the dialects of Scotland, and of England, in the names of many places, where the oak formerly flourished (*t*). The abbot of Jedburgh acquired a right to the church of Eckford, at the conclusion of the twelfth century. When the settlement was made, in 1220, between the bishop of Glasgow, and the abbot, it was declared, that the vicarage of *Heckford* should be taxed, as the bishop's charter had ascertained. In Bagimont's roll the *vicaria* de Eckfurd, in the deanry of Teviotdale, is rated at 2 l. 13 s. 4 d. At Caverton village, in this parish, there was anciently a chapel, the cemetery whereof continues to be used by the religious people (*u*). The fanatical invaders of this shire, from England, burnt the church of Eckford, in 1554 (*x*). The reformation restored this parish to its ancient independance (*y*).

The parish of *Crailing* consists of the old parish, and of Nisbet: The former lying on the south, and the latter on the north, of the Teviot. The origin of the name of *Crailing* cannot be easily traced. Both Lower, and Upper Crailing stand on Oxnam water, which flows rapidly over a freestone rock, with banks, steep, and craggy: Thus, *Crai-lyn*, in the Cambro-British speech, signifies the brisk pool (*z*). And, this name may have been given, by the British settlers, on the Oxnam, from the usual ebullitions of this mountain stream: *Craig-lyn*, in the same language, signifies the *rock-pool* (*a*). And *Crea-linn*, in the Gaelic,

(*r*) Chart. Glasgow: In this particular settlement, there was a reservation to the canons, which shows the practice of the age, that they should have, in this parish, an acre of land, "ad reponendum bladum suum in loco competenti." Id.

(*s*) Many particulars of the parish of Hounam may be seen in the Stat. Acco. i. 48.

(*t*) See Adams's *Villare*.

(*u*) Stat. Acco. viii. 34. Walter Ker, of Cessford, amortized to a chaplain, in the chapel of Caverton, a 10 l. yearly, from the lands of Caverton, with two cottages, near the orchard, being two acres of land, with Crums meadow, and four *soums*, in Caverton, with the manse, and yard. This grant was confirmed in 1500, by James IV. MS. Donations. The forfeiture of Roger Mowbray enabled Robert I. to grant the manor of Eckford to Walter, the stewart of Scotland. Robertson's Index, 21. And the crimes of William Soulis induced the same prince to be grateful to the same personage, for his strenuous support. Id.

(*x*) Border Hist. 550.

(*y*) A particular state of Eckford parish may be found in the Stat. Acco. viii. 20.

(*z*) Davis, and Owen, in vo. *Crai*, and *llynn*.

(*a*) Davis, and Owen, in vo. *Craig*.

signifies

signifies the *clay-pool* (*b*): But the Saxon speech does not furnish an intimation, which could lead us to suppose, that the Northumbrians gave a Saxon name to *Crailing*. In the days of David I. we may perceive, in record, two adjoining manors, two villages, two churches, and two parishes, which were distinguished, by the names of Crailing, and Upper Crailing. The abbot of Jedburgh acquired those churches, from Gospatrick, the sheriff, whose munificence was confirmed by David I., and his children (*c*). The old parish of Crailing is intersected, from south to north, by the river Oxnam, which here enters the Teviot, the common receptacle of so many mountain torrents. Immediately above, on the Oxnam, lyes the barony of Upper Crailing, which is now included in Jedburgh parish (*d*). The origin of the name of *Nisbet* parish is somewhat doubtful, though there cannot be much doubt, whether it was imposed by the Saxon settlers here. In the ancient documents, it is variously spelt, *Nesbet*, *Nasebet*, *Nesbyte*, and *Nisbet*: In this parish, there are two places of this name, Over, and Nether Nisbet: Several places, both in Scotland, and in England, bear the same name (*e*). This appellation seems generally to be connected with a *hill*: In Culter parish, there is a hill, called Nisbet *Nape*, and in Alva parish, there is Nisbet *hill*. The position of all those places, called *Nisbet*, seems to intimate, that we must look for its origin, in the Saxon (*f*). *Nes*, *Nese*, *Naese*, in this language, signifies a promontory, a projection, the nose; and *bit*, a piece, as we know from Somner: So, Nesebit would signify the *nose-piece*. The village of Upper Nisbet, in this parish, stands on a ridge of land, which projects from the base of a hill. From the foundation of the monastery of Jedburgh, the tithes of the manor, and parish,

(*b*) O'Brien, and Shaw.

(*c*) Berenger de Engain granted to the same abbot a mark of silver, from the miln of Crailing, and two bovates of land, "Cum uno villano," with other property, near the church, for sustentation of the chaplain of the chapel of Crailing. David Oliphard granted to the abbot the tithes of the miln of *Craaling*. Orom granted him a carucate of land, in the *other Crailing*.

(*d*) On the 23d October 1612, an act passed, declaring the kirk of Crailing to be a parish kirk. Unprinted Act of that date. The old church, which stood near Crailing-house, has been demolished, but the people continued to use its cemetery: A new church, for the united parishes of Crailing, and Nisbet, was built between the Teviot and Oxnam. Stat. Acco. ii. 329. Ruddiman conjectured, in his Index to the *Diplomata Scotiæ*, that *Traverlin*, which was granted by David I. to Kelso, was the same as *Crailing*, that was conveyed to the abbot of Jedburgh. Chart. Kel. No. 1: So record evinces, that two several places, which were given to different monasteries, cannot be the same.

(*e*) Adams's *Villare*.

(*f*) There are several places of this name, in Northumberland. Speed's Map.

of

of Nesbet formed part of the revenues of this well endowed house (*g*). There were of old a chapel, with an adjoining cemetery, at the *Spital*, in Nesbet; and hence, in the records of the presbytery, the united parish is sometimes called, "the "united parishes of Crailing, Nisbet, and Spital (*h*)." The united parishes emerged from their long continued dependance, at the epoch of the reformation (*i*).

The parish of *Ancrum* consists of the old parishes of Ancrum, and of Langnewton, which was annexed to it, at the end of the seventeenth century: The former lies along the south-west side of the river Ale; and the latter on the north-east side. *Ancrum* is obviously a mere abbreviation of *Aln-crum*, the ancient name, which the site of the village derived from its location, in a *bend* of the river *Aln*, that is now called *Ale*: For, Crum, and Crom, in the Cambro-British, and Scoto-Irish languages, signify a bending, or concave (*k*); And, hence, the British settlers, near the remarkable *bend* of the Aln, gave it the name of *Alncrum*. The *Inquisitio* of Earl David, in 1116 A. D. found, that *Alnecrum* belonged to the bisoprick of Glasgow (*l*). In Bagimont's Roll the "rectoria de "*Ankrum*" is valued at 61. 13s. 4d. In the ordinance of the bishop, and chapter, of Glasgow, during the year 1401, respecting the prebends of that episcopate, Alnecrum is rated at forty shillings (*m*). The bishops of Glasgow appear to have frequently resided at the bend of the Aln, as we see in the chartularies, that many of their charters are dated from Aln-crum. This village was sacked by the English,

(*g*) Charter of David 1. Ranulph de Sulis gave to the same house half a carucate of land, in Nasebith. By the forfeiture of William Soulis, and from the grant of Robert 1. Nesbet barony became the property of Walter, the stewart of Scotland. Robertson's Index, 10—21. During the reign of David II. Robert, the stewart of Scotland, and Earl of Strathern, who became Robert II. in 1371, granted to Sir Robert Erskine, and Christiane de Keth, his spouse, the baronies of Nesbet, and Ednham, "Cum eorum multuris, et sequelis, cum advocationibus ecclesiarum et hospitalium, si que "fuerunt cum tenandiis, et serviciis, libere tenencium, cum *bondis*, *bondagiis*, et *nativis* ac eorum "sequelis." Chart. Aberdon, 807.

(*h*) Stat. Acco. ii. 322. The old church of Nesbet was demolished, many years ago; but, its cemetery is still used, by the old families, who love to lye among their progenitors.

(*i*) Other particulars of those united parishes may be seen, in the Stat. Acco. ii. 323. On the 28th of June, 1633. there issued a commission to the commissioners of surrenders, concerning the kirks of Nesbet, and Crailing. Unprinted Acts of that year.

(*k*) Davis, and Owen; O'Brien, and Shaw.

(*l*) Chart. Glasgow, No. 1. The church of *Alnecrumb* was confirmed to this bishoprick, by the popes, Alexander, Lucius and Urban, all before the year 1186. Chart. Glasgow. In 1353, Edward III. issued a writ, "de presentatione ad ecclesiæ de Alnecrom." Ayloff's Cal. 211. John de Conveth, parson of the church of *Alnecrom*, swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick, on the 28th of August 1296. Prynne.

(*m*) Chart. Glas.

under

had thus obtained Hassendean, for the purpose of charity, they formed here a *cell*, which was to be a dependency on their monastery. From the date of this establishment, the old tower of Hastendene was called the *Monks* Tower; and the farm, adjoining to the church, continues to bear the name of the *Monks* Croft (*b*). After the reformation had swept away such charities, the church of Hassendean, with its pertinents, and the Monks Tower, were granted to Walter, the Earl of Buccleugh (*c*). The parish of Hassendean was now distributed, in several portions, to the parishes of Minto, of Wilton, and of Roberton: But, the greater part, with the church, and village, were annexed to Minto, while the stipend was given altogether to Roberton (*d*). The church of Hassendean now sunk into ruins, which, with a part of its cemetery, were heretofore swept away, by the Teviot: Yet, though the parishioners saw this sad scene of devastation, they continued to bury their dead, among their fathers, till the Teviot, in 1796, carried away nearly the whole (*e*).

The name of the parish of *Wilton* is plainly derived from the appellation of some former proprietor, called William, or Will. To his name was added the Saxon *tun*, to denote his dwelling, or *ham*: So in England, there is *Wilton*; and, in Scotland, there are Wilstown, in Kyle, Willscleugh, in Tweedale, Wilshaugh, in Perth, and several places, named Williamstown. Early in the twelfth century, the bishop of Glasgow acquired the church of Wilton: To him, it was confirmed by three bulls of the popes, Alexander, and Urban, before the year 1189 (*f*). In Bagimonts-roll, within the deanery of Tevedale, the "*rectoria* de Wilton" is valued at £5 : 6 : 8 (*g*). Robert I. granted to Henry

(*b*) Miln's Melros, 34; Stat. Acco. xix. 572. (*c*) Miln's Melros, 34.

(*d*) Stat. Acco. xix. 572.

(*e*) Id. Cardonell has happily preserved what the Teviot left undestroyed. He has given, in pl. 3. of his antiquities, a drawing of the ruins of Hassendean church; consisting chiefly of an *arch*, "which is the east end of the choir; that is of Saxon architecture; and is of no inelegant design." Much more of the united parish of Minto may be seen, by the curious eye, in the Stat. Acco. xix. 570.

(*f*) Chart. Glasgow. John, the younger, "dominus de Dirlton," granted to the church of Glasgow, and to Walter, the bishop, from 1208 to 1232, five marks of money, yearly, out of the fair of St. James, in Roxburgh, on behalf of the church of *Wilton*; according to the adjudication of Laurence, the archdeacon of St. Andrews, William de Bosco, archdeacon of Lothian, and Radulph, the dean of Lothian, who had been delegated, by the pope, to decide the right of patronage of the church of Wilton, between the grantor, and the said bishop: The five marks of money were, therefore, granted, in pursuance of that adjudication, which directed it to be punctually paid to the bishop, by the parson of Wilton church, for the time. Chart. Glasgow, 281.

(*g*) Robert de Dene, the parson of the church of Wilton, swore fealty to Edward I., on the 28th August 1296, at Berwick. Prynne.

de Wardlaw the half of the barony of Wilton, which had belonged to William de Charteris, and Walter de Pertchy (*c*). David II. gave to John, the son of Margaret, the barony of Wilton, which had been forfeited, by William Maxwell (*d*). The Reformation restored Wilton parish to its independence, with appropriate rights (*e*).

The parish of *Bedrule* lyes along the east side of the river *Rule*, an extent of four miles, upwards, from its junction with the Teviot, which receives so many kindred streams, from either declivity of his dale. The *Rule* is the parent of many names on his banks (*f*). *Bed*-rule is, merely, a corruption of *Bethoc*-rule; the adjunct being only the name of the river. During the early part of the twelfth century, this manor, with the adjoining manor of Rughe-chester, which now forms the barony of Rue-castle, was enjoyed by a lady, named *Bethoc*, who not only gave her name to this parish, but gave birth to a long line of heroes, and heroines, to Randolph, who supported the crown on the head of Bruce, and to Black Agnes, who defended the castle of Dunbar (*g*). The name of Rule-Bethoc was, by an easy transposition, converted into Bethoc-rule, Beth-rule, Both-rule, and lastly Bed-rule; as the various documents, wherein this name appears, evince (*h*). In Bagimonts-roll, among the churches in the deanry of Teviotdale, the "rectoria de *Bed-rowl*" was valued at £4. In 1482, James Rutherford of that *ilk* obtained a charter "de jure patronatus ecclesie de "*Beth-rule* (*i*). Without this history, which is founded on record, it would

(*c*) Robertson's Index. (*d*) Ib. 39.

(*e*) The more curious reader may see more recent notices of Wilton parish, in the Stat. Acco. ii. 394; xv. App. 641.

(*f*) See Stobie's map of this shire: Rule-Hervey, which was changed to Abbot-rule, Rule-halch, that is now Hall-rule, and Town-o'-rule. On the 28th of August 1296, Aleyn, the parson of the church of *Roule*, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick. Prynne.

(*g*) The Peerage writers are very diligent to trace the great Randolph up to Rudulph, the son of Dunegal: But, little did they know, that Rudulph married Bethoc, the heiress of several manors, who gave her name to the parish of Bed-Rule. Dunegal of Stra-nith is mentioned, as the possessor of a great country, in the charter of David I., granting Anandale to Robert Bruce. At the establishment of the monastery of Jedburgh, in 1147, Radulph, the son of Dunegal, and Bethoc, his wife, granted to the canons a carrucate of land in *Rughchester*, with common of pasture, in the same manor. William, and Alexander II., confirmed this grant. MS. Monast. Scotiæ.

(*h*) John Comyn, who flourished under Alexander III, "dominus de Rule-Bethoc," granted to the bishop of Glasgow the whole lands of Rule-halch: This was confirmed by Alexander III., in 1279. Chart. Glasgow. Robert I. granted to James Douglas "the lands of *Bethoc-rule*, in valle "de Teviot," which had belonged to John Comyn. Robertson's Index, 5.

(*i*) Douglas Peer. 598, which quotes a charter, in the public archives.

never.

under the conduct of the Earl of Rutland, at the fanatical epoch of 1549 (*n*). The parish of Langnewton was originally called Newtun, the meaning whereof, in the speech of the Saxon settlers, is obvious; the prefix *lang* was added by them to denote the elongation of their Newtun. The church of Langnewton anciently belonged to the monastery of Jedburgh, but to the episcopal superintendance of Glasgow (*o*). The church of Langnewton has been long ago demolished; but its cemetery continues to be used, by those parishioners, who regard the remains of their fathers (*p*).

The present parish of *Minto* was formed, from the old parish of *Minto*, and from a large part of the ancient parish of *Hassendean*. The origin of the name of *Minto* is obscure: In ancient charters, it is generally spelt *Mintow*, and *Mynthow*. The Gaelic etymologists are studious to explain the Celtic word *Minto* to mean the kids-hill; observing the craigs of *Minto* to be interspersed with shrubberies, and recollecting that, kids delight to sport among dangerous heights, and to browse on "steepy craggs." It may be allowed, then, that *Mynn*, in the Cambro-British, and *Meenn*, or *Min*, in the Scoto-Irish, do signify a kid: But, among the many names, in the Scoto-Irish, for a hill, or craig, *to*, *tow*, or *thow*, does not appear (*q*). The British speech is more likely to furnish the true etymon of *Minto*. In it, *Mynta* signifies an aggregate; and *Myntai* what is aggregated (*r*). Either of these words may have been applied, by the British settlers, here, to the congeries of rocks, which are even now known, by the name of Minto-*craigs*. In their language, *Min-tau* denotes the brink, or edge, which extends out; *Min-to* means the exterior brink, or border; and *Min-tua* signifies, *towards* the *brink* (*s*). Now, the village of *Minto* stands on a plain field, near the bank of a rivulet: At some distance, on the same side of the streamlet, stands the church on the top of a *steep bank*: The mansion-house of Minto is placed on the opposite bank, which extends out into an angular point, which is formed, by the junction of two rivulets, at the foot of the steep bank. Such are the localities, which each of the three etymons would fitly describe. Yet, may we reasonably suppose, that the attention of a rude people would

(*n*) Border Hist. 568.

(*o*) At the final settlement of the rights of the bishop, and abbot, in 1220, the vicarage of Longnewton, was fixed at *eight* marks, or the alterages, in the option of the vicar, who was, however, to make an acknowledgment to the canons.

(*p*) Stat. Acco. x. 292. Other particulars of this united parish may be seen, in the same account, x. 289.

(*q*) O'Brien, and Shaw: *Myn-tu*, in the Cambro-British, signifies, indeed, the kid's district. Davis, and Owen.

(*r*) Owen. (*s*) Davis, and Owen.

scarcely be drawn to the softer scenes of the country; but would rather be attracted by the *congeries of craigs*, which have solicited the eyes of every age. In Bagimont's Roll, among the churches of Tevedail, there is "rectoria de "*Dennato*," valued at 2 l. 13 s. 4 d. As there was no such church, in that age, as *Dennato*, nor indeed, in any other, we may easily suppose, that the scribe, by *Dennato*, meant *Minto*. In 1375, Edward III. issued a writ, for the exchange of Mynto for *Tetham* (*t*). The barony of Minto appears to have formerly comprehended some places, which lay beyond the limits of this parish (*u*). David II. granted a confirmation to Walter Turnbull, of the lands of Mintow (*x*). Minto came into the family of Elliot, at the recent period of the union (*y*). The family, and the place, have both been dignified, by being admitted into the British peerage, by the title of Lord Minto. In ancient charters, the name of Hassendean, which forms a part of Minto parish, was spelt Halstaneadene, Halstenden, Halstansdene, and Hastendene. This name, whatever may be its varieties, in ancient documents, was probably derived from some person called Halstan, or Hasten, of whom no other memorial remains: The termination is obviously the Saxon *Dene*, a small valley, as we may learn from Somner: And, in fact, there is a *Dene* here, through which glides a rivulet, near the village of Hassendean (*z*). While David I. granted the lands of Halstensden to Walter, the son of Allan, he gave the church to the bishop of Glasgow (*a*). When the monks of Melros

(*t*) Ayloff's Cal. 238.

(*u*) Robert I. granted to William Barbitonsoris two parts of the lands of Kirkborthwic, and three parts of the miln thereof, "infra baroniam de *Minthow*." Robertson's Index, 5. Kirkbothwick is about nine miles W. S. west from Minto. On the summit of *Minto Craigs* stood a square tower, the old baronial strength, whereof Grose has given a view, in his Scot's Antiq. i. 133.

(*x*) Ib. 33. In 1390, John Turnbull, of Myntow, granted the lands of Myntow to Sir William Stewart, of Jedworth, "nepoti suo." This donation was confirmed by Robert III. Ib. 127. Robert III. granted another charter to William Stewart of Jedworth, of a part of the town, and lands of Mintow, with the *advowson* of the kirk, by the resignation of George Abernethie. Ib. 157.

(*y*) On the 30th April, 1706, Sir Gilbert Elliot obtained a grant of the barony of Minto, in Roxburghshire, with the patronage of the church, the tithes, and with the Manse, and glebe of Minto; and also a grant of the barony of Headshaw, with the patronage of the church of Ashkirk, and the tithes thereof. Warrant book. (*z*) Stobie's Map of this shire.

(*a*) Before the year 1181, this church of Hassendean had been confirmed to the bishop, by two popes, Alexander, and Lucius. Chart. Glasgow. Joceline, the bishop of this see, who had been abbot of Melros, granted, in 1192, to the monks of Melros, the lands, and tithes of Hastenedene, for the reception, and relief of the poor, and helpless, who were journeying to Melros-abbey. Chart. Melros, No. 76. This pious grant was confirmed, by several charters, and bulls. While William, the lion, confirmed this donation, he restricted the monks right of pasturage to two hundred ewes, sixteen oxen, and four cows. Ib. 77.

had

or mansion: *Wic*, in the Saxon of Sommer, signifies a village, or perhaps more properly the curving reach of a river, where hamlets were formerly built: And here, the *wic* may have once alluded to the bend of the Slitrigg, where it falls into the Teviot: In fact, one half of the town of Hawick stands, in the bosom of this curve, while the other half stretches out along the southern margin of the Teviot (*y*). The church, and the parish, are probably as ancient, as the Saxon settlers here, whose chief built the mansion of his manor, in the curve of the Slit-rigg, which now derives a greater importance from its various milns. The church of Hawick was dedicated to Saint Mary, in 1214 (*z*). In Bagimonts-roll, among the churches of Tevidale, the "rectoria de *Havick*" was valued at £16 (*a*). The church of Hawick was long made use of, as a court-house, after the Scotican canons had prohibited this abuse of the sacred edifice. While it was thus made to serve temporal, as well as spiritual purposes, it was stained with one of the foulest of crimes. In this church, the sheriff of Roxburgh held his court, while the English possessed the castle, and town of Roxburgh. On the 20th of June 1342, while William Ramsay, one of the most gallant, and honest men of that age, was sitting on the judgment-seat, in this church, he was seized, by William Douglas, the knight of Lidisdale, carried off to Hermitage castle, where he was starved, in solitary confinement (*b*). During boisterous times, Hawick, and its church, underwent many changes. David II. granted to Maurice de Moravia, Earl of Strathern, the barony of Hawick (*c*). At the commencement of the fifteenth century, the barony of Hawick became the property of Douglas of Drumlanrig (*d*). In April 1570, the town of Hawick was burnt, by the English, who came in, under Lord Sussex, to support

(*y*) See Stobie's map of this shire.

(*z*) An. 1214. "Dedicata est ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ de Hawic a domino A. episcopo Cathe-"nensis iv. Kal. Junii." Chron. Mailros, 186.

(*a*) This valuation is so much higher than the rate of any other rectory, in this deanry, that we may infer, the scribe has added an x to the number. On the 29th of August 1296, "Richard de "Wytton, person del Eglise de Hawyk," swore fealty to Edward I. Prynne, iii. 656.

(*b*) Border Hist. 335; Lord Hailes' An. ii. 209.

(*c*) Robertson's Index, 5—27, 33. David II. also granted to the same Maurice Moray the wardship of Walter Comyn of Rowallan, in the barony of Hawick, with the land thereof.

(*d*) In the Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 56, there is a charter, written by James I., with his own hand, granting to William Douglas the lands of Drumlanrig, *Hawyke*, and Selkirk: This curious charter is dated the last day of November 1412, at *Croidoune*, in Surrey. On the 20th of March 1478-9, there was an action pursued, in parliament, by Alexander Murray, parsoun of Hawick, against David Scot of the Buccleugh, for the sum of xliiii marks, a part of the dues of his kirk: The lords ordained additional evidence to be brought, on the x of May next. Parl. Rec. 248.

a corrupt

a corrupt administration (*e*). This town has been raised, in happier times, by the fostering hand of a beneficent master, to industry, and wealth. Besides the established church, there are, in Hawick, two meeting-houses; the one of Burghers, and the other of Antiburghers; diversities these, which are the natural consequences of toleration, industry, and independence (*f*).

In the parish of *Cavers*, there are several hamlets of the same name, which are all the plural of Caver (*g*): In other parishes, there are a few places of the same name; as Cavers in Bowden, Cavertown in Eckford, and Caver-hill, in Maner (*h*). There is not the trace of such a word, in the Saxon: And we may, therefore, suppose, that these names were imposed by some prior people to the Saxons. In the *Inquisitio* of Earl David, among the places, which are found to have belonged, of old, to the church of Glasgow, there were *Kever*-onum, *Kever*-trold, and *Kever*-gylt. These places cannot now be easily traced, on the maps: *Keveronum*, indeed, stood between Ancrum, and Lillies-clive, and may probably have been *Cavertoun*, in Eckford parish: This was, perhaps, the same place, which was confirmed to the church of Glasgow, by the bulls of the popes, Alexander I., Lucius, and Urban, before the year 1186, under the several names of Travereum, Traverenim, and Traveranum (*i*). Yet, none of these seem to apply to Cavers, though they show the use of the British language. Now, Cae-ver, in the Cambro-British speech, signifies the short field, or inclosure (*k*). The extensive parish of Cavers consists of two divisions, which are separated, by the intervention of the parish of Hawick. The smallest division, wherein stands the church, with the hamlets of Cavers, lyes along the southern side of the Teviot, from the Rule, on the east, to Slitrig water, on the west. The largest division of this parish comprehends an extensive country, on the upper branches of the Teviot, and of the Slitrig, and Allan; being bounded, on the south, by the limits of this shire with Dumfries-shire. For the convenience of the inhabitants of that remote district, and of the higher divisions of Hawick parish, there was built a chapel

(*e*) Border Hist. 635.

(*f*) In the Stat. Acco. viii. 521. may be seen, by the more inquisitive eye, many more notices of the parish of Hawick.

(*g*) As Cavers, Easter-Cavers, Caver-knows, and Cavers-kirktown: There was of old a baronial castle of considerable strength, which stood at no great distance from the church of Cavers.

(*h*) In England, also, the same name may be traced: There are Caver-leigh, in Devonshire, Cavers-field, in Buckingham, and Cavers-ham, in Oxfordshire. Adams's *Villare*.

(*i*) Chart. Glasgow.

(*k*) See Davis, and Owen, in vo. *Cae*, and *ber*, which last, in composition, changes to *ver*.

at

never have been believed, that the appellation of Bed-rule parish was, originally, *Bethoc-rule*, from the appropriate name of the lady of the manor. On the 11th of June 1640, there passed a parliamentary confirmation of a lease of the *teinds* of the parish of Bedrule, in favour of James Lawson (*k*). For other notices of this parish, the Statistical Account may be consulted (*l*).

The united parish of *Southdean*, and *Abbot-rule*, was formed of the old parishes of Southdean, and Abbot-rule, which were annexed to each other. The name of Southdean is plainly the South-*dene* of Somner, or southern valley: And, in fact, the village of South-dean is situated, in a narrow vale, on the upper branches of the river Jed. In 1292, Edward I. issued a writ "de presentatione "ad ecclesiam de *Sudhden* (*m*)." In Bagimonts-roll, among the churches, in the deanry of Tevidale, the "*rectoria* de *Sowden*" is valued at £4: Sowden is plainly the vulgar abbreviation of South-dene (*n*). The old parish of Abbot-rule extends nearly four miles, along the east side of the river *Rule*, which has imparted its British name to so many places on its banks (*o*). With the manor of Rule Hervey, the abbot of Jedburgh, seems to have acquired the church of the villa. At the epoch of the settlement of the pertinacious controversy with the bishop of Glasgow, the canons were obliged to cede the whole dues to the vicar of the church, "de Rule-abbatis;" he giving annually to the canons five shillings, as an acknowledgment (*p*). In Bagimonts-roll, among the churches in the deanry of Tevidale, the "*rectoria* de abbat-rowl" is valued at £2: 13: 4. The patronage of this united parish belongs, alternately, to the king, who came in the place of the abbot, and Lord Douglas, who represents the ancient lord of the manor of Southdean (*q*).

(*k*) Unprinted Act of that date. (*l*) V. xv. 556. (*m*) Ayloff's Cal. 107.

(*n*) There was an old chapel dependent on the mother church of Southdean, distant about three miles: Scarcely a vestige of it now remains. Stat. Acco. xii. 1. The present church of Southdean, which was built in 1690, stands at the village of Chesters; and is pretty centrical, for the conjoined parishes. Id.

(*o*) Under David I., this ancient manor was distinguished by the name of Rule-Hervey, from a former lord of the manor, whose name was *Hervey*. When David founded the monastery of Jedburgh, he granted to it *Rulam Hervei*, according to its true boundaries. The old name was now dropt: And, the abbot, and his canons, naturally called their own manor, *Abbot*-rule, to distinguish their own *Rule*, from so many other Rules; and this manor was distinguished, in the Latin charters of that age, by the name of *Rule-abbatis*.

(*p*) Chart. Glasgow.

(*q*) Stat. Acco. xii. p. 69. Many more recent notices of this parish may be seen, in the Statistical Account, as above.

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Of *Hob-kirk* parish, tradition states, that this church was built, by a border chief of the name of Hob, the abbreviation of Robert, from whom it derived the name of Hob-kirk (*r*). But, this history, arising from modern tradition, is contradicted by ancient record. The real name of this church was *Hope*-kirk, of which Hob-kirk is a corruption (*s*). It obtained the name of Hopekirk, from the local situation of the church, in one of those small vales, to which the term *Hope* is generally applied, in the south of Scotland. The church, and Kirk-town, stand at the mouth of the little valley upon Rule water; and the manse is situated at the top of the same vale, or hope, three hundred yards distant (*t*). The church of Hopekirk parish was early acquired by the canons of Jedburgh: And, at the settlement of the famous contest, with the bishop of Glasgow, in 1220, it was so determined, that the vicar of *Hopechirhce* should receive, in name of vicarage, only ten marks, or in his option the whole alterages; yielding yearly half a stone of wax to the canons, as an acknowledgment (*u*).

To the north-west of Hobkirk, a little below, lyes on the Slitrig water the parish of *Kirktown*. This ecclesiastical district, consisting of a continued range of hills, plainly derived its name, like some of the shires, from the name of the village, which had arisen about the kirk: In this word, is more exactly preserved the Anglo-Saxon cyrc, or kyrc, than in the Anglo-Norman chyrch, or church. The silence of the chartularies, in respect to *Kirktown* parish, seems to evince that, in ancient times, it formed an object neither of desire, of grant, nor of dispute. The history of its inhabitants, saith their minister, may, for many ages past, be written, in the following emphatical words: "One generation "passeth, and another cometh (*x*)."

Lower down, on the same mountain stream, lyes the parish of *Hawick*, which can boast of a name purely Saxon: *Haw*, as we know, from Somner, signifies, in the Anglo-Saxon, *mansis*, mansus, a mansion-house: In the Scotish dialect, *Ha'*, the abbreviation of *Hall*, or *Haw*, is a common term, for a great house,

(*r*) Stat. Acco. iii. 311. (*s*) Chart. Glasgow, 158.

(*t*) There are Kirk-hope, in Etterick, Kirk-hope, in Yarrow, and Kirk-hope, in Crawford, which all derive their several names, from the valleys, wherein they stand: So, in England, we may see, in the *villare* a number of places, which equally derive their names, from the same situation in a little vale. The *Hope* is a short valley, without a thoroughfare; a hollow in the bosom of a height. In the old French, *Hope* signified "un petite vallee entre des montagnes." Bullet. *Hop*. A.-S. and *Hoep* Belg. *Circulus*. Somner, and Wachter: And so, the *hop* may have been applied figuratively to a semicircular hollow, in the bottom of a height.

(*u*) More recent notices of Hobkirk parish may be seen in the Stat. Acco. iii. 311.

(*x*) Stat. Acco. x. 78.

or

at Carlinrig, the chaplain whereof is partly supported by allowances, from the Duke of Buccleugh, and from the ministers of Cavers, and Hawick, and by a contribution, from the parishioners (*l*). The Cameronian Seceders have a meeting-house at the village of Denholm, in the lower district of Cavers parish (*m*). William, the first Earl of Douglas, granted the *advowson* of the *church of Cavers* to the monks of Melros, in whose church he was buried, in 1384 (*n*).

This much, with regard to the several parishes, in the presbytery of Jedburgh. The presbytery of Langholm only comprehends one of the parishes of Roxburghshire, lying in its south-western angle. *Castletown*, the name of this parish, is obviously derived from the village, where has long stood the church. The castle here may perhaps be traced back to the reign of David I., when it was founded, by Sir Ranulph de Sulis, who followed that prince from Northamptonshire. The men of Sulis built the village under the shelter of the castle, which rears its battlements on the summit of a precipice, a hundred feet of perpendicular height; forming the east bank of the Lid. The extensive parish of Castletown comprehends the whole country, that was anciently called Lid-dal, the valley of the Lid, the Lids-dale of the present day, which is merely a corruption of the pleonastic appellation of *Lid-dals-dale*. This frontier district, which has now only one church, had formerly three churches, with three chapels, and a monastery. These notices lead us to suppose, what history intimates, that this country, which is inhabited now by sheep, and shepherds, with their dogs, contained of old many inhabitants, with much religion, or at least zeal, before the succession war produced many a border incursion, and domestic feuds debased the character of a coarse people. The principal church, which was dedicated to St. Martin, bore the name of the dale of the Lid. On the foundation of the monastery of Jedburgh, Ranulph de Sulis granted to the

(*l*) Stat. Acco. viii. 531; xvii. 91. (*m*) Ib. xvii. 91.

(*n*) Miln's Melros, 10-30; Keith's Bishops, 254: For the barony of Cavers, see Robertson's Index, 61, 121-23, 139-147-8, which throws some light on the transmission. In the family of Douglas of Cavers, as we have seen, was invested the sheriffwick of Roxburgh. After the Reformation, the patronage of the church of Cavers, which, as we have perceived, belonged to the monks of Melros, was granted to Douglas of Cavers, with whose descendants it yet remains. On the 11th of June 1646, a parliamentary ratification passed, in favour of *the sheriff of Teviotdale*, [Douglas], of the kirklands of Cavers. Unprinted Act of that date. The town of Cavers was wasted, by the English, during their courtship of Mary Stewart. For other notices of this parish, see the Statistical Account, vii. 89.

canons "ecclesia de valle Lidel (*o*). When the pertinacious controversy, between the bishop of Glasgow, and the abbot of Jedburgh, was settled, in 1220, it was agreed, that the vicarage "de Lidel Sancti Martini" should remain, as the charter of the bishop had fixed it; and that the chaplain, officiating "in ecclesia de Lidel," as well as the prior residing there, should always yield canonical obedience to the bishop (*p*). The first notice, however, of the church of Castletown, is in Bagimonts-roll, wherein the "*vicaria* de Cassel-"toun" is valued at £4. There was, formerly, a church, with its accompanying cemetery, which is still used, at Etteltoun, upon the west side of Lidal, in the southern end of the dale (*q*). In Bagimonts-roll, among the churches, in the deanery of Tevidale, there is "*rectoria* cum vicaria de *Eddingtoun*," valued at £2 : 13 : 4. As this intimation follows immediately Castletoun, there can be no doubt, that the Eddington of Bagimont, and the Etteltoun of Blaeu, are the same. On the springs of the Lid stood of old the *Wheel Church*, which appears to have been of large dimensions, and of excellent masonry, with its accompanying cemetery, that still exhibits to the living many memorials of the dead: At present, when the sheep every supersede the people, there are only three farms, within many miles of this monument of ancient piety. This church, no doubt, derived its name from its position near the *Wheel* Causeway, the modern name of the Roman way, which leads down from Stanmore, and crosses the north-east corner of Lidsdale into Teviotdale: And this causeway obtained its designation, during the middle age, when wheels could only roll, in this dreary district, on the Roman road. At the Hermitage castle, there stood once the baronial chapel, which was involved in the ruin of its lord, and its appropriate cemetery, that still offers repose to the honest descendants of the border thieves (*r*). At Dinlabyre, on the eastern side of Lidal water, there was formerly a chapel, with its accompanying cemetery (*s*). There was also, on the south-west of Lidsdale, a chapel, with its burying-ground, at a place, which was named, from its location, *Chapel-know*. During many a year, the repression of disorders, in this frontier district, occupied the national councils. In

(*o*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 29. This grant was confirmed by William, by Alexander II., and by Robert I.

(*p*) Chart. Glasgow. In a bull of Pope Alexander, in 1178, confirming to the bishop of Glasgow the churches of Tevedale, Tuedale, Cludesdale, Eschedale, Ewisdale, there was the church of *Lideledale*. This bull was confirmed by Pope Lucius, in 1181, and Pope Urban, in 1186.

(*q*) The map of Lidal, in Blaeu.

(*r*) Stat. Acco. xvi. 71-82; Old Sir Richard Maitland, who, as a border commissioner of long experience, knew this country, has left us a poem on *the thieves of Liddale*.

(*s*) Id.

November

November 1524, the parliament issued an ordinance, "for stanching of thift, "through all the realme, and specially, in *Lidisdale*, and upon *the borders* (*t*)." In February 1524-5, the parliament ordained, "that letters be directit, to charge "all the headsmen, and clans of the *Merse*, *Teviotdale*, *Lidisdale*, Ewisdale, "Eskdale, and Annandale, to deliver pledges, in Edinburgh, to the Lords of "the Council, for good rule, and peaceable living (*u*)." In December 1540, the lands, and lordship of Jedburgh-forest, with the lands, and lordship of *Lidisdale*, were annexed to the crown, by act of parliament (*x*). The lands, and dominion of *Lidisdale*, appear to have been granted to Francis, Earl of Buccleugh, on the 2d of January 1648 (*y*). The more curious reader may see many other notices of the parish of Castletown, in the Statistical Account (*z*).

Of the parishes, forming this shire, six are contained, in the presbytery of Melros, or rather, Selkirk. The ancient name of the parish of Melros was *Fordel*. But, upon the re-establishment of the monastery of Melros, in 1136, the name of the old monastery was transferred to the new; and has, in the progress of change, entirely superseded the ancient appellation of Fordel, which, however, was confined rather to the village, than to the church, that stood near the prior establishment. After the refounding of the religious house, the annals of the abbey, and the history of the parish, were the same, till recent times. The present parish of Melros, besides a large district around the monastery, on the south of the Tweed, comprehends, on the northern side of it, the whole of Roxburghshire, which lyes between the Leeder, and the Gala. In this district of the parish, there were of old three chapels: One at the village of Galtonside, on the north bank of the Tweed; another at Colmslee, on Alan water, where the monks had their *dairy* of old, in the center; and the third, lying in the northern extremity of this parish, was called Chieldhelles chapel: The chapel at Galtonside must have been appurtenant to some manor, if we may determine, from its materials of free-stone, and its regularity of architecture (*a*): The chapel at Colmslee was dedicated to the far-famed founder of Iona abbey (*b*): The Chieldhelles chapel was a handsome structure of hewn stone: The place, where it stood, still bears its name (*c*).

(*t*) Parl. Rec. 545. (*u*) Ib. 548. (*x*) Ib. 624.
(*y*) Rec. Lib. 58, No. 320. (*z*) Vol. xvi. 60. (*a*) Miln's Melros, 60.
(*b*) Colms-lee derived its name, from the abbreviation of Columba, and the Anglo-Saxon *Leag*, signifying a field, pasture, or place, and is now called lee, or lea.: The ruins of this chapel may still be traced. Ib. 66.
(*c*) Stobie's map of this shire. More recent intimations, as to the parish of Melros, may be found in the Stat. Acco. ix. 77.

Saint Boswells, or *Lessenden* parish bears a double name. The former is the proper appellation of the church, and the latter is merely the name of the principal hamlet. The church is said to have derived its ancient name from St. Boisel, a monk of Melros, and the pious master of the celebrated Cuthbert: Boisil has been praised by Bede, and has been ensainted by the martyrologists. The charters of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, constantly spell the name of the village, Less-edwin, Less-adwyn, or Less-edewyn, the manor place of Edwin (*a*). During the reign of William, the lion, Robert de Loudonia, the lord of the manor, granted to the monks of Dryburgh, the church of Lessedwin, for the safety of the souls of his king, of his father, Richard de Loudonia, and of his mother, Matildis de Ferrers. This grant was confirmed by Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow (*b*). The confirmation, however, both of the king, and of the diocesan, did not prevent controversy: The monks of Dryburgh, and the canons of Jedburgh, contended about their several rights, in the church of Lessedwin, and two marks, which were payable out of the church to the canons of Jedburgh (*c*). In 1221, Less-edwin was settled, by Alexander II. on Johanna, his queen, as a part of her jointure (*d*). Robert I. granted to the monks of Melros the lands of Lessedwin (*e*). The English of the middle march, on the 5th of November, 1544, burnt Lessedwin, wherein were "sixteen strong "bastel houses;" slew several of the owners thereof, and destroyed much corn (*f*); out of pure love to Mary Steuart, whom Sir Ralph Sadler certified to be a goodly child (*g*).

Maxton, the name of the adjoining parish, is a mere abbreviation of the ancient name of Maccus-ton, in the same manner as Maxwell is an abbreviate

(*a*) There is reason to believe, that the name of this village was imposed by the British, rather than the Saxon settlers, here: For, the word is formed in the British, and not in the Saxon manner, by placing the adjunct to the person *before* and not *after* his name: *Leys*, in the British, *Les* and *Lis*, in the Armoric, and Cornish, and *Lios*, in the Irish, signify a court, a hall, a manor-house, a fortified place. See the several word books. Edwin, the celebrated sovereign of Northumberland, undoubtedly gave his name to Edwinsburgh, or Edinburgh; but, it was probably some prior Edwin, who, having formed a settlement here, had built himself a fortlet.

(*b*) Chart. Dryburgh, No. 39-40-41: Robert de Loudonia, the natural son of William, the lion, granted to the same monks, three shillings in money, and one pound of pepper out of his toft, within the village of Lessedwin. Ib. No. 42.

(*c*) Ib. 43.

(*d*) Rymer, i. 252: "Lessedwin, cum pertinentiis suis," were thus settled on Johanna, the sister of Henry III.

(*e*) Robertson's Index, 5. (*f*) Border Hist. 550.

(*g*) For more recent informations about the parish of Lessedwin, see the Stat. Acco. x. 204.

of

of Maccus-vill. Maccuston derived its name, from a considerable person, named Maccus, whose tun, habitation, or manor, it was, in the age of David I. (*b*). At the end of the twelfth century, Robert de Berkeley, and Cecilia, his spouse, granted to the monks of Melros, for the safety of many souls, a carucate of land, in the parish of *Mackiston*, with common of pasture, and fuel, as well in the *peataria*, as in the wood; saving the *tithes* of St. *Cuthbert's church* of *Mackiston* (*i*). Jocelin, the bishop of Glasgow, confirmed this grant, before the year 1199 (*k*). An agreement was made, in 1227, between the monks of Melros, and the church of Mackiston; whereby the monks obliged themselves, to pay to the parson of that church four marks of silver, yearly, as a composition, for the tithes of their lands in Mackiston (*l*). In Baginont's Roll, among the churches in the deanery of Tevidale, the "*vicaria* de *Maxton*" was valued at 2*l.* 13 s. 4 d. The barony of Mackiston, with other lands, which had been forfeited by William Soulis, were granted by Robert I. to Walter, the stewart of Scotland (*m*). Walter granted to the monks of Dryburg the advowson of the church of Mackiston, with four acres of arable land, in augmentation of their land-revenue (*n*). Robert II. granted the manor of Mackiston to Sir Duncan Wallace, and Eleanor de Brueys, the Countess of Carrick (*o*). There was, of old, a church, as well as a hospital, in the north-eastern quarter of Maxton parish. This district, formerly, comprehended the church of Rutherford: Before the year 1483, James Rutherford, of the same place, granted the patronage of the church of Rutherford, that had pertained to the Earl of Douglas (*p*). When

(*b*) *Maccus*, the son of Undewyn, was one of the witnesses to the *Inquisitio* of Earl David, in 1116, A. D. Maccus was also a witness to the foundation charter of Selkirk, by Earl David. And Maccus, the son of Unwein, was again called as a witness to a charter of David, before the year 1147. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xiv. Liolph, the son of Maccus, was one of the witnesses to a charter of Malcolm IV., in 1159 A. D. Ib. xxiv.

(*i*) Chart. Melros, No. 27.

(*k*) Ib. No. 28. Hugh de Normanville became lord of the manor of Mackistoun, by marrying Alice, the daughter of Robert de Berkeley. The Normanvilles continued lords of this manor, throughout the thirteenth century. Chart. Melros, from No. 27 to 47.

(*l*) Ib. No. 39. This was confirmed by a bull of pope Honorius. Ib. No. 40.

(*m*) Robertson's Index, 21.

(*n*) Chart. Dryburgh, No. 186. This was confirmed, in 1326, by John, the bishop of Glasgow, and by his dean and chapter. Id.

(*o*) Robertson's Index, 115. On the 12th of March 1478-9, an action was pursued, in parliament, by John Hume, of Over Crailing, against Laurence Rutherford, about the wrongful spoliation of the "*teind shafis*" of the kirk of Maxton. The lords found, that the said Laurence had done "wrang in the taking of the said teinde shavis." Pal. Rec. 2 39.

(*p*) Nisbet's Herald. Apx. 219.

the

the church of Rutherford sunk into ruins, the advowson of it fell into oblivion (*q*).

In the charters of the twelfth century, the name of the parish of *Bowden* is written variously *Bothendene*, *Botheldene*, and *Bouldene*. The village of Bowden is, in fact, situated upon a *dene*, through which runs a rivulet; the ancient church is said to have stood in this *dene*, or *vale*: And higher up, on this rivulet, stands Holy*dean*, a village, and seat, of the Duke of Roxburgh. The *dene*, undoubtedly, represents the valley, and the only difficulty arises, from the prefix *Bothen*, *Bothel*, *Bould*. Though a zealous etymologist might run into the Cambro-British speech, for a solution of this difficulty, the safest resource is in the Anglo-Saxon: And, herein, we find *Botl*, and *Botel*, a dwelling place, a village, a farm, a manor: So *Botel-dene* is obviously the manor-place in the *dene*, or valley; and Bothel-dene was abbreviated to *Bouldene*, which was itself corrupted to *Bowden*. This place is first mentioned, in the foundation charter of Selkirk, before the year 1124, when it was granted to the monks, by David I., under the name of *Bothenden*. When this excellent prince removed those monks to Kelso, in 1128, he again granted it to them, by the name of *Bouldene* (*r*). Malcolm IV. confirmed this parish to them, in 1159, by the name of Botheldene (*s*). Walter, the bishop of Glasgow, confirmed to the monks of Kelso, in 1232, the *church of Boulden* (*t*). At the commencement of the fourteenth century, the monks of Kelso held the church of Boulden "in "rectoria," which was usually worth 10l. 13s. 4d. a year. They enjoyed also the manor of Boulden, in which there were twenty-eight husband lands, whereof each used to rent for six shillings and eight-pence, with a variety of useful services, from the husbandmen. The monks had, also, in the village of Boulden, thirty-six cottages, with a dozen acres of land, which rented each for 2l. 15s. 4d. yearly, with the commodious addition of many services. In this village, they had four brewhouses, whereof each used to rent, yearly, for ten shillings: But, the abbot had a right, moreover, from each, to buy a lagena and a half of ale, for a penny. And the monks had also the miln of Boulden,

(*q*) The village, and barony of Rutherford still remain. On the border, between the parishes of Maxton, and Ancrum, stands the ridge, called *Lilliard Edge*, where the English under Ewer, and Laiton were defeated, in 1542, by the Earl of Angus. The Scots had the irresistible aid of the maid Lilliard, another maid of Orleans, whose tombstone, with an appropriate inscription, still remain. For some other particulars of Maxton parish, see the Stat Acco. iii. 276.

(*r*) Chart. Kelso, No. 4.—No. 1. In those charters was granted also the *vill* of *Middelham*, which has been abbreviated, colloquially, to *Midlem*, which still appears, as the name of a village, and estate, in Bowden parish.

(*s*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xxiv.

(*t*) Chart. Kelso, No. 278.

which

which used to rent, yearly, for eight marks (*u*). In Bagimont's Roll, among the churches, in the deanery of Tevedale, the "*vicaria* de Bowden" was valued at 2 l. 13 s. 4 d. There was of old, a chapel, with its appropriate cemetery, at *Holydean*, in the parish of Bowden (*x*). It stood on the brink of a *dene*, or valley, through which runs a rivulet; and from these circumstances the place derived the name of Holydene, or rather *Haly*-dene, according to the Scotish, and Saxon dialects, which is nearer the Anglo-Saxon *Haliz-dene*, than the English of the maps. Halyden was a grange of the monks of Kelso, who used to labour it with three ploughs, and pasture it with twenty-four cows, forty wedders, and two hundred ewes, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In 1569, Walter Ker of Cessford, obtained, for border services, a grant of the lands of Halydean (*y*).

The name of the parish of *Lilliesleaf* is plainly a corruption of Lilliesclif, which appears, from record, to have been the ancient appellation. Some of the cliffs, which form the rugged, and steep banks of Ale water, near the site of the village, received, no doubt, the name of *Lilliesclif*, from some person, who cannot now be traced (*z*). In the *Inquisitio* of Earl David, *Lillescliva* was found, to have belonged to the church of Glasgow, before the year 1116 A. D. This parish was confirmed to the bishoprick of Glasgow, by the bulls of several popes, before the year 1186, under the name of *Lillesclive* (*a*). In 1128, David I. granted to the monks of Kelso thirty acres of land, in the parish of *Lillesclif*, lying between the Aln, and the rivulet Middleham, and Lillesclif, and also the tithes of the miln of Lilliesclif (*b*). Herbert, the bishop of Glasgow, who died, in 1164, confirmed to the same monks, the tithes of those lands, which had been granted to them by David I. (*c*). The bishop of Glasgow is said to have built the church, here, in the ninth, or tenth century, when there was no bishop of

(*u*) Chart. Kelso. In 1327, there was an inquest held, at Boulden, concerning some carucates of land, in Biestfield, which were bound to find one armed man, who ought to be the leader of thirty of the principal tenants, belonging to the barony of Boulden, for the king's host. Chart. Kelso. No. 468.

(*x*) Stat. Acco. xvi. 241. (*y*) Douglas Peerage, 594.

(*y*) The Ang-Saxon *Clif* signified *littus*, *ripa*, as well as *rupes*, *cliva*, Somner, Lye. It was the practice of the Northumbrians to apply this term to many places, as we may see, in the maps of Northumberland, and Durham. In a charter of Robert de Berkeley to the monks of Melros, before the year 1199, *Lilies*-yhates is mentioned, as lying in the same parish of Lilliesclif. Chart. Mel. No. 27.

(*a*) Chart. Glasgow.

(*b*) Chart. Kelso, No. 1. This was confirmed by Malcolm IV. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xxiv.

(*c*) Chart. Kelso, No. 437.

Glasgow.

Glasgow (*c*). There was anciently a church at *Herdmanstun*, in this parish (*d*). There was of old, a chapel, near Riddel, with its appropriate cemetery, which was called *Chapel-park*, where human bones are still ploughed up: And a hamlet, at this place, of the name of Chapel, marks the ancient site (*e*). The family of Riddel are said to have fixed themselves here, in the seventh, or eighth century (*f*). It may be allowed to this ancient race, that Gervise Riddel came into Scotland with David I., and witnessed the *Inquisitio*, 1116: Gervise Riddel has the honour of being the first sheriff of Roxburghshire, who has yet been discovered. He died about the year 1140, after acquiring the manor of Lilliesclif, and other lands. He left a son, Walter, who succeeded to his estate; and Arketelle, who came into possession of the same property, upon the death of his brother Walter, without issue. Arketille entered into an agreement with Uchtred, the parson of Lilliesclif, about the tithes thereof, by the mediation of Malcolm IV., which was confirmed by the bull of Alexander III. Patrick Riddel, the great grandson of Gervise, the founder of the family of Lilliesclif, granted, for the safety of Alexander II.'s soul, to the monks of Melros, some lands in Lilliesclif, and pasture for 12 oxen, 10 cows, 5 horses, and 100 sheep, wheresoever his own cattle, or the cattle of his men, pastured, within the same district (*g*). The Riddels long flourished here, and gave their own name to the village of Riddel, and to the hamlet of Riddel-shiel, on the Ale water, within the parish of Lillieschif (*h*).

The name of the parish of *Ashkirk*, in the records of the twelfth century, is spelt *Aschechyrc*, and *Aschechirk* (*i*). In more recent times, this parish has been called *Askirche*, *Eschirche*, *Eskirk*, and *Askirk*. The original name is

(*c*) Stat. Acco. xvii. 178. The university of Glasgow receives, yearly, from this parish 5l. 7s. 6⅔d. Id. A new church was built here in 1771. When the old fabrick was taken down, on this occasion, there was found below one of the seats, a coffin, containing several human heads. Ib. 179. These were supposed to be the heads of some conventiclers, who, being pursued, when attending a field meeting, fled into a moss, where they perished. Id.

(*d*) In 1186, Pope Urban confirmed to the bishop of Glasgow the church of *Herdmanstun*, with the church of Lilliesclif. Chart. Glasgow, 103.

(*e*) Stobie's map of this shire.

(*f*) Stat. xvi p. 108. William de Rochford, the parson of the church of *Lillesclive*, swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick, on the 28th August 1296. Prynne.

(*g*) Chart. Melros, No. 67.

(*h*) Stobie's Map of this shire; Douglas's Baronage, 63—8. For more recent particulars of this parish of Lilliesclif, see the Stat. Acco. vii. 173.

(*i*) Chart. Glasgow.

plainly

plainly Anglo-Saxon (*k*). If Somner were silent, the topography both of England, and of Scotland, would evince, that the name of Ashkirk had been imposed here, by the Scoto Saxon settlers, during modern times. In the *Inquisitio* of Earl David, *Aschechyrc* was found to have belonged to the church of Glasgow, before 1116 A. D. It was confirmed to this episcopate, by various bulls of several popes, before the year 1186 (*l*). Ashkirk formed one of the prebends of the chapter of Glasgow: In the *taxatio* of the prebends, in 1401, it was rated at forty shillings (*m*). William, the bishop of Glasgow, being informed, that the emoluments of the prebendary of Ashkirk was scarcely sufficient, in time of peace, and altogether insufficient in time of war, with the assent of Simon de Dalgles, the prebendary, and vicar of Ashkirk, who then received the vicarious dues of sheep, wool, lambs, cheese, oblations, and tithes, united, in 1448, the vicarage to the prebend (*n*). In Bagimont's Roll, among the churches, which belonged to the chapter of Glasgow, the "rectoria de Eskirk" is valued at 5l. In 1674, there was a grant to Alexander, the archbishop of Glasgow, of the advowsons of Ancrum, and Ashkirk (*o*). In 1706, the patronage of the church of Ashkirk, with the whole tithes, were granted to Sir Gilbert Elliot (*p*). A small division of this parish is comprehended in Selkirkshire. During the reign of William, the lion, Orm, of Ashkirk, was lord of this manor (*q*). There was afterward an agreement, between Henry of *Eschirche*, and his brother, Alexander, whereby Henry resigned to Alexander one half "totius feodi de "Eschirche;" rendering homage for the same, and one half of the services, due for the fief of Eschirche (*r*). In 1534, and 1535, Richard Bothwell, the rector of Ashkirk, was often employed, as one of the commissioners, for continuing the parliament: In June 1535, he was present among the clergy, in the Estates, and was chosen one of the lords of articles (*s*). This instance, with other parliamentary notices, seem to evince, that such of the inferior clergy, as the king thought fit, were called, by writ, to attend in parliament. For more recent informations, with respect to this parish, the Statistical Account may be properly inspected (*t*).

Thus much, then, as to the several parishes, in the presbytery of Melros. Of the districts, in Roxburghshire, the only parish, which lyes in the presbytery of

(*k*) *Aese*, A. S. ash, the ashtree: And *Cyrc*, a church. Somner. There are many places in North Britain, which are also derived from the ash-tree, as Ashfield, Ashgrove, Ashiebank, Ashieholm; and still more, in England, as we may see in Adams's *Villare*.

(*l*) Chart. Glasgow. (*m*) Id. (*n*) Id.

(*o*) Warrant Book. (*p*) Id. (*q*) Chart. Glasgow, 217.

(*r*) Ib. 175. (*s*) Parl. Rec. 591—93. (*t*) Vol. iii. 216.

Lawder, is *Smalholm.* In ancient charters, this name is written *Smalham*, or *Smalhame.* Smalham obviously means the little ham, the small hamlet, or village: And Smalholm is plainly a modern corruption. David Olifard granted to the monks of Dryburgh a carucate of land, in the manor of *Smalham*, with common of pasture, for three hundred sheep, and the consideration of this grant was declared to be, for the remission of his own sins, and for the safety of the souls of those, who had given him the same lands (*u*). The piety of Olifard, who was one of the most respectable men of that age, was approved by Malcolm IV. (*x*). Walter de Moravia granted to those monks, that they should be free, from the payment of multure, for their lands of *Smalhame* (*y*). Walter Olifard, who died in 1242, gave the monks of Coldingham, the church of Smallhame (*z*). In the ancient *taxatio* of the churches, during the reign of Alexander II. the church of *Smalham*, in the deanery of the Merse, was rated at forty-five marks. On the 3d of June 1493, the lords auditors of parliament decreed, that Thomas Hoppringill does *wrang*, in the manuring of the kirkland of Smalhame; and therefore ordains him to desist therefrom, for the enjoyment of Thomas Dishington, during the term, in the lease made to him, by "Den "George Deware, vicar of the same kirk (*a*)." For more recent notices of this parish, the Statistical Account may be usefully consulted (*b*).

The presbytery of Kelso comprehends nine of the parishes of Roxburghshire. The parish of Kelso includes the old parish of the same name, on the northern bank of the Tweed, and the castle, and town of Roxburgh. The ancient parish of *Kelso* lay, in the bishoprick of St. Andrews, and the parishes of Roxburgh, and of Maxwell, in the episcopate of Glasgow; the Tweed being here the boundary of the two bishopricks. As early as the accession of David I. there was a church at *Kelso*, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In 1128, David, with the consent of the bishop of St. Andrews, removed the monks of Selkirk to this church, at Kelso. From this epoch, the history of Mary's church was mingled with the annals of the monastery of Kelso. It was now called the church of St. Mary and St. John (*c*); as the Tyronensian monks usually consecrated their monasteries to the Virgin, and the Evangelist. In the church of Kelso, there were, of old, several altars, which were dedicated to favourite Saints (*d*). When the Scoto-Saxon period began, Roxburgh had already two

(*u*) Chart. Dryburgh, No. 117. (*x*) Ib. No. 118. (*y*) Ib. No. 119.
(*z*) Chart. Colding, No. 18. (*a*) Parl. Rec. 376. (*b*) Vol. iii. 216.
(*c*) Chart. Kelso, No. 371.
(*d*) Walter Ker, of Cessford, amortized an annual rent of twenty marks yearly, out of his lands of Old Roxburgh, to a chaplain, for St. Catherine's altar, in Kelso. And this grant was confirmed by James IV. on the 20th Nov. 1488. MS. Donations.

churches:

churches: The church of the town was dedicated to St. James (*e*); the church of the castle was dedicated to St. John; the church of St. James was mentioned by David, in his charter to the monks of Kelso (*f*): He granted a very liberal endowment of the church of St. John, in the castle, which was confirmed by his son, and grandson (*g*). Malcolm IV. granted to Herbert, the bishop of Glasgow, the church of Old Roxburgh, with its appurtenances, as Asceline, the archdeacon, held the same, under David; and Malcolm also gave bishop Herbert the chapel of the castle of Roxburgh, with its appurtenances, as the same had been enjoyed by Adam, the chaplain, under David, his grandfather (*h*). The monks considered the church of Roxburgh, as a part of their estate, which yielded them yearly 13l. 6s. 8d. They thought more of their revenue, than of the *cure of souls*: And, in 1433, the abbot of Dryburgh, as delegate of the pope, issued a mandate, directing the abbot, and monks of Kelso, to find a chaplain, for the church of St. James, in Roxburgh (*i*). In 1241, Alexander II. granted for the sustentation of his two chaplains, within the castle of Roxburgh, ten pounds a year, to be received of the provost of Roxburgh, out of the firm of the Burgh (*k*). In Bagimont's Roll, among the churches belonging to the chapter of Glasgow, the "rectoria de *auld* Roxburgh" was valued at 12l. The church of St. James, in Roxburgh, seems to have enjoyed, at the commencement of the thirteenth century, a sort of exempt jurisdiction (*l*). St. James continues to

(*e*) An. 1134, Dedicatio ecclesia sancti Jacobi de Rokesburgh. Chron. Mailros.

(*f*) Chart. No. 1.

(*g*) Chart. Glasgow, 265-7 9. He thereby gave to this church a carucate of land, from his demesn of Roxburgh, a toft, and a measure of land, below the castle, the oblations of those, who lived in the castle, the oblations of his own family, when they resided there, like one of his own chaplains, and the tithes of his brushwood, and a tenth part of the blood of the beasts, which should be slaughtered, in Tevidale, for the king's use. Id. Such were the singular manners of that simple age!

(*h*) The worthy Hubert, who died, in 1164, restored to the churches of Roxburgh, that part of the parish, which lay, without the ditch of the town, between the Tweed, and Teviot, and which he held, under a composition with king Malcolm; and he conceded the same churches, without diminution, to the monks of Kelso. Chart. Glasgow, No. 412. In 1232, Walter, the bishop of Glasgow, confirmed to the monks of Kelso, the churches, and schools, of Roxburgh, as Jocelin, and Herbert, had granted them.

(*i*) Chart. Kelso, No. 485.

(*k*) Chart. Glasgow, 271. Adam, the parson of the church, within the castle of Rok*burk*, swore fealty to Edward I., on the 28th August 1296, at Berwick. Prynne. At the same place, and time, Nicol, the chaplain of the Maison dieu of *Rokburk*, also swore fealty to Edward. Id.

(*l*) Chart. Glasg. 59. During the wretched reign of David II. John Spottiswoody of Spottiswood founded an alterage, in the church of St. James, in Roxburgh. Dougl. Baron. 446. The

to be the present patron of the principal fair in Roxburghshire. Edward III., when he had acquired, by force, and fraud, the temporary dominion of this county, seems very studious to supply the prebendal stall of Old Roxburgh (*m*). Roger de Aulton endowed in the monastery of Kelso, a chauntry, for one priest, to perform mass for the soul of Edward I., which this great king confirmed, on the 1st of May 1300 (*n*). The old parish of Maxwell, or according to its ancient orthography, Maccuswel, and Maccuswill, derived its name from its proprietor, Maccus, whose vill it was: Maccus, the son of Unwein, witnessed many charters of David I., as Liolph, the son of Maccus, witnessed the charters of Malcolm IV (*o*). Herbert de Maccuswell gave the church of his *vill* to the monks of Kelso, to whom it was confirmed by Malcolm IV. (*p*). In 1232, Robert, the bishop of Glasgow, confirmed to the same monks the church of Mackeswell, which had been also confirmed by William, the lion, and the chapel of Harlaw, that stood at a farm, named *Chapel*, about a mile from Maxwell (*q*). The chapel of Harlaw appears to have been founded, in his court, by Herbert de Maccuswell, and by him dedicated to St. Thomas, the Martyr, according to the practice of the reign of William. Joceline, who ceased to be bishop of Glasgow, in 1179, confirmed to the church of St. Michael of Maccuswell, the new oratory, which Herbert had erected, in honour of St. Thomas, the Martyr,

Spottiswoodes of that ancient house still spell their respectable name with a final (e). The name was of old pronounced, by provincial tongues, as we see above, Spottiswoody; and so in the War cry of *Herwody*.

(*m*) In his 11th year, he issued a writ de prebenda de veteri Roxburgh, in eccles. Glasguen. in favour of Andrew of Ormiston. Ayloff's Cal. p. 179. In his 22d year he issued a similar presentation to Richard de Swynehope. Ib. 204. In his 26th year, he issued a presentation, for the same, to William de Emeldon. Ib. 210. In his 35th year, he granted the same to John de Baumburgh. Ib. 224. In his 43d year, he granted the same to Richard de Middelton. Ib. 234. Richard II. followed his example. In his 2d year, Richard granted the same prebendal stall to William de Shrewsbury. Ib. 243. Richard, in the 11th of his reign, granted to Bertine Karre, the rents, and issues of the church of Roxburgh. Ib. 255.

(*n*) Chart. Kelso, No. 502-3.

(*o*) *Inquisitio* David, 1116. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xlv. pl. xxiv. Maccus-*tun*, and Maccus-*vill*, are very nearly allied; the termination of the one being Saxon, and the other Norman. *Vill* was used by Hall, and is still used, by law writers, though Johnson saith, it is now out of use. By intendment of law, every parish is a *vill*, unless it be shewn to the contrary; and every vill must have a constable, otherwise, it is but a hamlet.

(*p*) Chart. Kelso, No 2. For the descendants of Herbert de Maccuswell, see Dalrymple's Col. p. 436; Douglas's Peerage, 514.

(*q*) Chart. Kelso, No. 12. Ib. No. 278; Pont's Map of Tevidale, and Stobie's Map of this shire.

with

with a toft, that Herbert annexed to his chapel (*r*). In 1362, Edward III. gave to Thomas du Middelton, the chapel of St. Thomas, the Martyr, near Roxburgh (*s*). In 1389, Richard II. granted to Allan Horsle, and his heirs, the vills of Maxwell, and Softlaw, in the land of Tevydale (*t*). The monks of Kelso held, of old, the church of Makeswel, "in rectoria," which was then valued at 11l. 16s. 8d. yearly (*u*). Robert I. granted to Hugh de la Vikers, the lands, and villages, of Roxburgh, Berton, and Maxwell, which had belonged to Ade Mindrom, and William Dalton (*x*). Robert II. granted to John de Maxwell, the lands of Softlaw, in the barony of Maxwell (*y*). In the parish of Kelso, which was so long occupied by monks, sectaries now abound: Here, are an episcopal chapel, a kirk of relief, and meetings of burghers, anti-burghers, cameronians, methodists, and quakers, who, as they are all tolerated, enjoy in peace their peculiarities, and their practices.

The name of the parish, as well as the shire, of Roxburgh, is derived, as we have seen, from the castle, or *burgh*. The new village of Roxburgh was perfectly known, as well as the old, in the early age of David I. (*z*). The present parish of Roxburgh lyes on both sides of the Teviot, and between this river and the Tweed; extending its limits to the walls of the ancient fortress: But, the site of the castle, and the precincts of Old Roxburgh, are now included in Kelso parish. In the vill of Farnington, within the parish of Roxburgh, there was formerly a chapel, which depended on the mother church of Old Roxburgh. Pope Urban, who died in 1186, confirmed to Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow, the church of Old Roxburgh, with *the chapel of Farningdun* (*a*).

The parish of *Ednam* derives its abbreviated name, from Edenham, the vill on the *Eden*, which itself has the honour to bear a Cambro-British appellation.

(*r*) Chart. Kelso, No. 420. (*s*) Ayloff's Cal. 225. (*t*) Ib. 257.
(*u*) Chart. Kelso. (*x*) Robertson's Index, 5. (*y*) Ib. 115.
(*z*) Chart. Kelso, No. 1.

(*a*) Chart. Glasgow, 104. The barony of *Farnydun*, in this shire, is mentioned in the charter of Robert II. Robertson's Index, 97. Roger Burnard, who was the lord of the manor of Farningdun, during the reigns of William, and of Alexander II., granted to the monks of Melros a part of his *peatary*, and thirteen acres of land, in the vill of Farningdun; and this grant was confirmed by two charters of Alexander II. Chart. Melros, No. 48-9-50-1. He was succeeded by Richard Burnard, lord of Farningdun, who sold to the monks of Melros, eight acres of meadow, which sale was confirmed by Alexander II. On the 6th of July 1476, appeared before the lords auditors, in parliament, James Sprot, who had been summoned, by Duncan of Dundas, as curate to William Mateland of Lethington, for the wrongful occupation, and manuring of *the chapel lands of Farintoun*, pertaining to the said Duncan, as curate to the said William, &c. Parl. Rec. 204. For other particulars of Roxburgh parish, see the Stat. Acco. xix. 114.

The

The waste here, as we have seen, was given by Edgar to Thor-longus, who improved the gift, built a church, in honour of Cuthbert, which he gave to the monks of Durham (*b*). David granted to the monks of Coldingham, a toft, with houses, in Edenham (*c*). The kings had at Edenham a large miln, from which David granted to the monks of Kelso, in 1128, twelve chalders of malt, with *turbary*, in the moor of Edenham (*d*). William gave to the same monks three carucates of land, in Edenham, as Erkenbald, the abbot of Dunfermlyn, had laid them out, in pursuance of the king's writ, in exchange, for twelve chalders of malt, which they enjoyed out of the king's miln of Edenham, twenty chalders of victual, which they had from his miln of Roxburgh, and three marks of money, that they were paid out of the firm of his town of Roxburgh (*e*). As early as the twelfth century, the mother church of Edenham had two dependent chapels; the one at Newton, which is now Newton Don, and the other at Nathanthorn, that has been contracted to Nanthorn. Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, who died, in 1158, confirmed the connection, between the mother church of Edenham, and the chapel of Newtun, which was so called, in contradistinction to the Old-tun of Edenham (*f*). Arnold, the bishop of St. Andrews, who died, in 1162, confirmed to the same monks, the church of Edenham, with the chapels of Newton, and Nathansthorn (*g*). In the taxatio of the church, during the reign of Alexander II., there is the church of Edenham, in the deanery of Merse, valued at fifty-five marks. Edenham was not without its hospital, as well as its church (*h*). Robert I. granted in marriage with his daughter Marjery, the lands of Edenham, with other baronies (*i*). Robert, the stewart, confirmed to Sir Robert Erskine, and Christian de Keth, his spouse, Nesbit, and Edenham, with the advowsons of the churches, and hospitals (*k*). In exchange, for those lands, the stewart, when Robert II. granted to Sir Robert Erskine, and his spouse, one hundred pounds, sterling, out of the firm of his burgh, at Aberdeen (*l*). In 1558, Edenham, with other villages, were burnt, by the Earl of Northumberland, who once claimed much of this country, under another destroyer, Edward III. (*m*).

(*b*) Smith's Bede, Apx. xx. (*c*) Chart. Coldingham, 3.
(*d*) Chart. Kelso, No. 1. (*e*) Ib. 14.
(*f*) Chart. Coldingham, p. 41. (*g*) Id.
(*h*) In 1348, Edward III. issued a writ, for restoring the hospitals of St. Mary of Berwick, and of Edenham to Robert de Burton. Ayloff's Cal. 201.
(*i*) Robertson's Index, 9. (*k*) Chart. Aberdon, 806. (*l*) Ib. 809.
(*m*) Border Hist. 590. The more curious reader may see more recent notices of Ednam parish, in the Stat. Acco. xi. 303. Ednam had the honour to produce Thomson, the poet, whose worthy father was minister here.

The

The parish of *Sprouston*, or as it appears, in ancient writings, Spreston, may have derived its singular name, from some person, called *Sprous*, who cannot now be traced, whose *tun*, or dwelling, it may have been. The same name, may, however, be derived from the qualities of the place. *Sprus*, in the Cornish speech, signifies a grain, and seems to be connected with the Saxon *sprote*: And hence, Sprus-tun, or Sprote-ton, may denote the place fruitful in grain. This name was very applicable to the fruitfulness of the soil, around the village of Sprouston. The earliest notice of this parish is, in the foundation charter of Selkirk, during the year 1114 (*n*). When the monks were removed to Kelso, in 1128, David I. granted them more fully, in Sprouston, a carucate, with ten acres of land, and the church of the same vill, with the lands to the same belonging; John, the bishop of Glasgow, consenting, and confirming the king's grant (*o*). Eustace de Vescy appears to have obtained the manor of Sprouston, from William, the lion, with his natural daughter Margaret, in marriage. In 1207, the monks agreed with Eustace, and his wife, that they might build a chapel, in their court at Sprouston; the chaplain of the mother church receiving all the oblations of de Vescy, and the other parishioners: In return, the lord of the manor confirmed all their possessions, in Sprouston (*p*); and he also granted the monks of Kelso, in *perpetual alms*, an annuity of 20s. out of the miln of Sprouston, to light their church, in lieu of the tithes of the same miln (*q*). In this parish, there were other chapels. The monks of Kelso permitted Bernard de Hawden to build a chapel, in his court, at Hawden: In return, he released to them his claims on the miln of Revedene, with the miln pond, and the lands belonging to it: He confirmed to them a carucate of land, at Hawden, and granted them ten acres of land, in the same vill, for the safety of William, the king (*r*). With much valuable property, the monks of Kelso possessed the church of Sprouston, "in rectoria," which was wont to be worth yearly 40l. (*s*). The church, and and parish of Lempit-law, were, in early times, annexed to Sprouston. Richard Germyne, the lord of the manor of Lempitlaw, granted to the hospital of Soltre, for the support of this house, and the paupers, and pilgrims, to the same resorting, the church of Lempitlaw, with the tithes to the same belonging (*t*). In Bagimont's Roll, the "rectoria de Lempitlaw," in the deanery of Tevedale, was valued at 4l. At the village of Lempitlaw, the ruins of its church may still be seen, and its appropriate cemetery continues to be accustomably used (*u*).

(*n*) Chart. Kelso, No. 1. (*o*) Ib. 379. (*p*) Ib. 206-8.
(*q*) Ib. No. 207. (*r*) Ib. No. 210-212-214. (*s*) Chart. Kelso.
(*t*) Chart. Soltre, No. 4. (*u*) Stat. Acco. xvi. 27.

Robert I.

Robert I. granted the barony of Sprouston to his son, Robert (*x*). After the decease of this natural son, the king granted the lands of Sprouston to William Francis (*y*). David II. granted to Thomas Murray the baronies of Hawick, and Sprouston (*z*). The same king conferred Sprouston on Maurice Murray (*a*).

The parish of *Linton* derives its name, from a small lake, which is commonly called Linton-loch; lying a little westward of the church, though it has been pretty much drained. *Llynn*, in the British, and *Linn*, in the Irish, signify a lake, a pool, or any standing water (*b*). The termination of the name is merely the Saxon *tun*, as we know from Somner, signifying a dwelling place: And was annexed to the *lyn*, to denote the dwelling, at the lake. In the twelfth century, and afterward, the name of the place was coupled with Roderick, the appellation of some proprietor, in order to distinguish it from other Lintons. The church of Linton Roderick was granted to the monks of Kelso, by Richard Cumin, whose son, John, had been buried among them, with half a carucate of land, in the manor of Linton Roderick (*c*). Hugh, the bishop of Glasgow, who died, in 1200, confirmed to the monks of Kelso, the church of Linton Roderick, which Dodin, in his presence, gave them, with the tithes, and other property (*d*). Walter, the bishop of Glasgow, confirmed, in 1232, to the monks of Kelso, the church of Linton Roderick, with other religious establishments (*e*). In Bagimont's Roll, there is "rectoria de Linton," in the deanery of Tevedale, valued at 4 l. The monks, among their possessions, of old, estimated the church of Linton Roderic, which they held, in *rectoria*, at twenty marks. Robert I. granted certain lands of Linton Rtherick, which extended to a *ten* pound land to John Logan (*f*). The same king confirmed to Sir James Douglas the lands of Linton Rotherick (*g*).

The name of the parish of *Yetholm* is plainly corrupted from Yet*ham*, which is doubtless the original appellation. *Yet*, and gate, are, indiscriminately, used in the Scoto-Saxon, both for a *gate*, and a *road*. The word is obviously the Anglo-Saxon *Zeat*, *Zete*, *Zate*, porta: So, Yet-ham may have been intended to denote the *dwelling* at the *gate*, or the dwelling on the road. In fact,

(*x*) Robertson's Index, 12. (*y*) Ib. 15. (*z*) Ib. 45.

(*a*) Ib. 54. For more recent notices of Sprouston parish, the Stat. Acco. i. 65, may be consulted.

(*b*) Davis, and Owen; O'Brien, and Shaw.

(*c*) Chart. Kelso, No. 273. This grant was confirmed by Malcolm IV. and William. Ib. No. 2-12. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 12.

(*d*) Chart. Kelso, No. 433. (*e*) Ib. No. 278. (*f*) Robertson's Index, 15.

(*g*) Ib. 27. For other notices of this parish, see the Stat. Acco. iii. 119.

this

this vill stands on the great road, which comes through Kelso to the south; and another way crosses the other road, at this village. Many places, which are situated by the way-sides, are called by the name of gate-side. The village, at which stands Yetham church, is generally distinguished, by the name of Kirk-Yetham, from another vill, on the opposite side of Bowmont-water, called Town-Yetham. William de Hawden, the lord of the manor of Kirk-Yetham, granted to the monks of Kelso the right of advowson of the church of Kirk-Yetham (*a*). Alexander II. confirmed to the same monks the donation, which Rudulph Næmus made of three acres of land, in the parish of Yetham, which lay opposite to the monks lands of Colpinhopes (*b*). In Bagimonts-roll, among the churches, in the deanery of Tevidale, the "rectoria de Yetham" is valued at £2 : 13 : 4. In 1304, Edward I. came to Yetham, on his return from his northern expedition (*c*). In 1375, Edward III. issued a writ of presentation to the church of Yetham (*d*). In the same year, he busied himself in exchanging the church of Mynto, for the church of Yetham (*e*). In 1379, Richard II. presented Robert Gifford to the church of Yetham (*f*). Robert II. granted to Fergus Mac-Dougal the manor of Yetham, which Margaret Fraser, his mother, had resigned to him (*g*). Robert III. granted to Archibald Mac-Dougal the barony of Yetham (*h*). Robert Duke of Albany granted to John de Hawden the lands of Yetham, and Hawden, which had been resigned by William Hawden, his father (*i*).

The parish of *Morbattle* comprehends the ancient parishes of *Merebatle*, and *Moll*. *Merebotle*, which is the old, and proper spelling of the name, signifies the dwelling-place, at the marsh, from the Anglo-Saxon *Mere*, palus, stagnum, and *Botl*, villa, domicilium (*k*). The modern orthography of the word would lead us to suppose, that the dwelling was originally on the *moor*. Either of these significations would appositely apply to the local qualities of the place, where there was once great abundance both of marsh, and moor. By the *Inquisitio* of Earl David, it was found, that the church of Glasgow had, before the year 1116, in *Merebotle*, one carrucate, and a church. The church of Merebotle was confirmed to the episcopate of Glasgow, by several bulls of successive popes, before the demise of Urban, in 1186 (*l*). But, confirmations strong did not

(*a*) Chart. Kelso, No. 481: This grant was made about the end of the fourteenth century.

(*b*) Ib. 389.

(*c*) Mestre Walram, the parson of *Yetholm*, swore fealty to Edward I., on the 28th of August 1296, at Berwick. Prynne.

(*d*) Ayloff's Cal. 297. (*e*) Ib. 238. (*f*) Ib. 244. (*g*) Robertson's Index, 115.

(*h*) Ib. 148. The descendant of this M'Dougal, softened to M'Dowal, still enjoys this property.

(*i*) Ib. 164. For other notices of Yetham, see the Stat. Acco. xix. 609. (*k*) Somner.

(*l*) Chart. Glasgow, p. 73, 81, 91, 104.

prevent pertinacious controversy. Hugh de Potton, the archdeacon of Glasgow, contended with Walter, the bishop of Glasgow, and Thomas, the rector of Merebotle, about their several rights. The bishop of Dunkeld, the Dean of Lothian, and the Prior of Coldingham, as the delegates of Gregory, settled the dispute, by declaring, in 1228, at Nesbith, that the church of Merebotle was a prebend of Glasgow, yielding yearly twenty marks; that in future, the archdeacon should receive thirty marks, annually, for a mansion, but should claim nothing of the rectory of Merebotle (*m*). In Bagimonts-roll, the "rectoria de "*Merbotil*," among the churches belonging to the chapter of Glasgow, was valued at £10 : 3 : 8. In an ordinance of the bishop, and chapter of Glasgow, rating the prebends, in 1401, Merebotle is valued at £5 (*n*). Of old, there were two chapels, in this parish, which were subordinate to the church of Merebotle; there was one at Cliftun, on the Bowmont-water; and the other chapel was at Whiftun, which is now Nether-Whitton. In 1186, Urban confirmed to Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow, the church of Merebotle, "cum "capella de Cliftun, et capella de Whittun (*o*)." Besides the established church, there is now, in Merebotle, a meeting-house of the Antiburghers (*p*).

The ancient district of *Moll* comprehended the country, on the upper branches of Bowmont-water, which lies under the eastern range of the border mountains. The church, and village, of *Moll*, stood upon the Bowmont; and there is even now, on the banks of that mountain stream, a hamlet, known, in vulgar language, by the corrupted name of *Mow*-haugh; and a little lower may be seen the ruins of *Mow*-kirk (*q*). *Moll*, in the British, signifies what surrounds, or includes: *Moel*, in the same language, signifies bare, bald, what is bare, bald, a heap, a naked hill, a conical hill (*r*). The village of *Moll* stood near the base of Hownam-law, a very high, and naked hill, of a conical shape; and it is more than probable, from all those coincidences, that the term *Moel* was applied by the British settlers here to that conical hill, and extended, by design, or accident, to the country, and village adjacent. The church of *Moll*, "cum "terra adjacente," were given to the monks of Kelso, by Uchtred of Moll, whose munificence was confirmed by Malcolm IV., in 1159 (*s*). In 1185,

(*m*) Chart. Glasgow, 177-8. (*n*) Ib. 490. (*o*) Ib. 104.

(*p*) Stat. Acco. xvi. 510; wherein more recent notices of *Merebotle* parish may be found.

(*q*) See Stobie's map of this shire; and Pont's map of Tevidale: So, the *Bow*-mont-water was anciently written, in records, *Bol*-bent: Such is the established pronunciation, at Edinburgh; boll is *bow*; poll is *pow*.

(*r*) Davis, and Owen.

(*s*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xxiv. This charter was confirmed also by William. Chart. Kelso, No. 12. The church of Moll was, moreover, confirmed to the monks of Kelso, by Herbert, the bishop of Glasgow, who died, in 1164. Ib. No. 413.

"Eschina

Eschina de Londoniis granted to the monks of Melros the church of Moll, with the adjacent lands, and common of pasture in her manor of Moll, as she then possessed the whole (*t*). Henry of Moll, who married Eschina, confirmed to the monks the munificence of his wife (*u*). Walter, the bishop of Glasgow, confirmed to the monks of Kelso the church of Moll, in 1232 (*x*). The monks of Melros, and the monks of Kelso, settled their disputes, about the tithes of Moll, in 1269 (*y*). When the monks of Kelso took an account of their whole estate, soon afterward, they estimated the yearly value of the church of Moll, which they had to *their proper use*, at £26: 6 : 8 (*z*).

The parish of *Stitchel*, or rather *Stichel*, in the ancient form, derived its name, from the Anglo-Saxon *Stichele*, arduus, acclivis (*a*): And the village, and church of Stichel, are situated, in fact, on the commanding brow of a steep hill (*b*). Thomas, the son of Ranulph and Jana, settled a chauntry, in the chapel of Stichele (*c*). The prior, and monks, of Coldingham, settled their disputes with the same Thomas, before the pope's delegates, about the lands, and the chapel of Stichele (*d*). Other disputes arose among parties, who were keenly attached to their rights (*e*). In the ancient Taxatio of the churches, during Alexander II.'s reign, there is the "ecclesia de *Stychill*," in the deanery of the Merse, rated at five and thirty marks. The parish of Hume, which lyes, in Berwickshire, has been annexed to Stichel, in order to augment the modern stipend (*f*).

The name of the parish of *Muckerstoun* was variously written, in ancient documents: Mackarvastun, Malkariston, Malcarstoun, and Macarstoun: The name was doubtless derived from some original settler here, called Malcar, or Mac-car, whose *tun*, or dwelling, was fixed on this site. Walter Corbet, who was lord of this manor, at the middle of the twelfth century, granted to the

(*t*) Ib. No. 145: Symon, the chaplain of Moll, is one of the witnesses to this grant, which was made "for the soul of her son," who was buried, at Kelso.

(*u*) Ib. 177. (*x*) Ib. 278.

(*y*) Ib. No. 178: By this composition, the monks of Kelso obtained yearly from the monks of Melros "pro *decimis* garbarum de Ugginges," £10. 8s.

(*z*) Chart. Kelso: In this, and in the Chartulary of Paisley, there are many deeds, about the manor of Moll.

(*a*) Somner. (*b*) There is also a place, in Lidalsdale, named Stichel-*hill*.

(*c*) Chart. Coldingham, 56.

(*d*) Ib. 72: The monks of Coldingham made an exchange with Sir Thomas of some lands, in the manor of Stichel.

(*e*) Ib. 48: There is, in 1457, "responsio ad appellationem vicarii de Stichel, cum appellatione ipsa."

(*f*) For more recent notices of those ancient parishes, see the Stat. Acco. iii. 290.

monks of Kelso the church of Malcaruastun, with a carrucate of land. After the confirmation of two kings, Malcolm, and William, this grant was confirmed by Roger, the bishop of St. Andrews, who died, in 1202 (*g*). Before the year 1220, the manor of Macarveston passed into the possession of William, the son Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, by marrying Christiana Corbet, who was probably the daughter of Robert Corbet, and the grand-daughter of Walter Corbet. The monks of Kelso tried to be liberal to the grandchild of Corbet, one of their earliest benefactors. They granted, out of their mere motion, permission to William, and Christiana Corbet, to celebrate divine worship, in their own chapel of the manor of Malcarveston. In return, William, with the assent of his son Nicolas, and for the safety of his wife, Christian, granted the monks a release of all claims, which he might have on their estates: And he swore before Gaufred, the bishop of Dunkeld, to perform faithfully his release (*h*). In the ancient *Taxatio* of Alexander III., the "ecclesia de Malcariston," in the deanery of Merse, was rated at twenty marks (*i*).

After all those notices, with regard to the *Ecclesiastical History* of this shire, the *Tabular State* subjoined will be found to be an *useful supplement* of practical information: It exhibits to the curious eye, and shows to the accurate judgment, the several *presbyteries*, and *parishes*, as every reformation has left them; the extent of each; the number of inhabitants, in each, as they were ascertained, at the successive epochs of 1755, 1791, and 1801; the ministers, in each, with the amount of their several stipends, in 1755, and 1798, with their various patrons: So that this *Tabular State* will, perhaps, appear much more comprehensive, as well as useful, than the *Liber Regis*, in the ecclesiastical economy of the neighbour kingdom.

(*g*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xxiv.; Chart Kelso, No. 12, 82, 402. The same Walter Corbet granted to the monks of Melros, not only the church of his manor, with its appropriate lands, but, for *the love of God*, gave them that piece of land, which was called, "Gret riges medow," for the safety of William, his king. We seem here to see a curious scrap of the real language of the munificent Walter Corbet. Ib. No. 234, and 235.

(*h*) Id. No. 238: In the ancient estimate of the monks of Kelso, they stated the church of Malkerveston to be, "in rectoria," and to be usually worth 20 marks; they had here two carrucates of land, with pasture for 300 lambs, which was worth forty shillings yearly; they had 12 cottages, each having a toft, and half an acre of land, with common of pasture, for two cows; four of which cottages rented each for four shillings yearly, and nine days labour; and the other four rented each for eighteen-pence, with nine days labour: And they had, at the same place, a brewhouse, with an acre of land, which rented, yearly, for five shillings. Chart. Kelso. Those ancient establishments raised, and maintained a more efficient population, than modern system; as we may learn, indeed, from the *Tabular State* of Roxburghshire.

(*i*) For more recent information, concerning the parish of *Makerston*, see the Stat. Acco. iii. 262.

The

The TABULAR STATE.

The Presbyteries.	The Names of the Parishes.	Their Extent. Length. Miles.	Their Extent. Length. Miles.	Their Inhabitants In 1755.	Their Inhabitants In 1791.	Their Inhabitants In 1801.	The Number of Ministers.	Their Stipends In 1755. £. s. d.	Their Stipends In 1798. £. s. d.	Their Patrons.
KELSO	Roxburgh	4	2	784	900	949	1	74 8 10	136 2 4	The Duke of Roxburgh.
	Kelso	4½	4½	2,781	4,322	4,196	1	98 1 5	213 10 3	The Duke of Roxburgh.
	Yetholm	2½	1	699	1,023	1,011	1	69 16 1	123 0 10	Wauchope of Niddry.
	Morbattle	9	4	789	787	785	1	95 1 8	149 1 3	The Duke of Roxburgh.
	Sprouston	6	4	1,089	1,100	1,105	1	89 11 7	172 0 3	The Duke of Roxburgh.
	Stitchel and Hume (a part of)	5½	3½	527	522	506	1	79 10 0	132 4 10	The King.
	Linton	9	3	413	383	403	1	84 8 4	136 6 4	Pringle of Clifton.
	Makerston	5½	4½	165	253	248	1	61 11 1	94 9 8	The Duke of Roxburgh.
	Ednam	3	3	387	596	598	1	75 17 2	110 1 4	The King.
JEDBURGH	Jedburgh	9	6	5,816	3,488	3,834	1	119 0 7	243 9 3	The King.
	Ancrum	5	4	1,066	1,146	1,222	1	105 11 5	166 6 0	Scott of Ancrum.
	Hawick	15	2	2,713	2,928	2,798	1	108 11 1	211 19 2	The Duke of Buccleugh.
	Wilton	5	3	936	1,215	1,307	1	72 7 4	181 11 0	The Duke of Buccleugh.
	Hounam	7	4½	632	365	372	1	98 3 4	180 14 3	The Duke of Buccleugh.
	Eckford	5	4	1,083	952	973	1	80 8 10	147 11 5	The King.
	Cavers	20	3½	993	1,300	1,382	1	88 16 7	132 9 8	Douglas of Cavers.
	Oxnam	9	4	760	690	688	1	86 10 0	187 7 5	The King, and the Marquis of Lothian.
	Kirktoun	6	0½	330	342	320	1	61 13 4	105 3 0	The King.
	Southdean	12	7	669	714	697	1	75 14 5	148 1 4	The King, and Lord Douglas.
	Hobkirk	12	2	530	700	760	1	82 15 6	146 11 9	The King.
	Minto	2½	2	395	513	477	1	51 8 10	133 6 0	Lord Minto.
	Bedrule	4	2	297	259	260	1	63 5 6	135 9 9	Hume of Nine-Wells.
	Crailing	3½	3½	387	672	669	1	93 11 11	215 3 9	The King.
SELKIRK	Bowden	4	3	672	860	829	1	63 6 8	160 10 3	The Duke of Buccleugh.
	Ashkirk (a part of)	7	3	428	367	348	1	116 2 2	196 11 11	Lord Minto.
	Lessuden	3	1	309	500	497	1	66 17 8	106 11 4	The Duke of Buccleugh.
	Lilliesleaf	5½	2	521	630	673	1	80 7 1	140 3 11	The Duke of Roxburgh.
	Melrose	7	6	2,322	2,446	2,625	1	87 0 0	155 19 5	The Duke of Buccleugh.
	Maxton	3½	2½	397	346	368	1	72 5 5	156 7 8	Don of Newton.
	Roberton (a part of)			401	388	381				
	Galashiels (a part of)			171	156	174				
LAUDER	Smallholm	3	3	551	430	446	1	68 7 10	144 4 0	Baillie of Jerviswood.
LANGHOLM	Castletown	17	10	1,507	1,418	1,781	1	72 7 2	155 5 0	The Duke of Buccleugh.
	The Total	- -	- -	31,520	32,713	33,682	31	2,542 18 6	4,818 4 3	

CHAP. III.

Of Berwickshire.

§ 1. *Of its Name.*] THE appellation of this shire is obviously derived from the designation of the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, the *Tued* of the Britons. From what circumstance, this town, the site of so much contest, and the scene of so many treaties, had its name, "is not certainly made known," saith Speed (*a*). Leland, and his followers, derive its etymon, though, perhaps, without much analogy, from the *Aber-wick* of the British speech (*b*). Baxter is less happy, than usual, in finding some ingenious conjecture, for the ancient name of Berwick-town. Camden is more felicitous, though his intimations are not quite founded: At the epoch of Domesday-book, *Berwica* signified a *village*, which was appurtenant to some manor, or town (*c*): And, as Tothill was called, the *Berewicke* of Westminster, in the donation of Edward, the confessor, the town, on the Tweed, was called the Berewick of Coldingham (*d*). Such is the intimation of Camden! But, he has not attempted to show, that there ever existed any connection, between Coldingham, and Berwick, which are not so near to each other, as Westminster, and Tothill (*e*). Berwick is never mentioned by Bede,

(*a*) Prospects, 1646, bk. i. ch. 45.

(*b*) Comment. in Cyg, in vo. *Tuesis*. Gwig, a river, which is said to fall into the Tweed, where the ancient Britons had a town, called Aberwick. MS. Celtic Remains, i. 516. There is, in fact, a place called *Abberwick*, in Northumberland, as we know from Wallis's Hist. Northumb. ii. 499. Yet, the common name, in Northumberland, for the *issue* of water, is *mouth*; as Tweed-*mouth*, Till*mouth*, Warn*mouth*, Ale*mouth*, and others.

(*c*) Kelham's Domsday, 161: Ingulphus expounded the word *Berwicke*, to signify, in his time, a manor.

(*d*) Holland's Camden, 816: In many ancient charters, nothing was more common, than grants of such, and such towns, "cum suis *Berwicis*:" And, in fact, we may see, in the records, and in the *Villaries*, many places, in England, called *Berwike*, *Berwyck*, *Berwyke*: And hence, in contradistinction, the town above was named Berwick-upon-Tweed.

(*e*) Coldingham, and Berwick, are eight, or nine miles distant from each other. It is more important to remark, that when the Scotish Edgar, who demised, in 1107, granted so many *mansiones*, in that neighbourhood, by his five genuine charters, to the monks of Durham, he never mentions *Berwic*, which is noticed, in his forged charters. This silence, both of the king, and monks, evinces, that they had no property, nor claims, in Berwick.

who

who lived in that neighbourhood, during the eighth century, though he notices Coldingham, under the dissimilar form of *Coludi Urbs* (*f*). Neither was Berwick mentioned, as we have just seen, among the several *mansiones*, which Edgar conferred on St. Cuthbert's monks of Durham, with their various rights: Nor, is it mentioned in a charter of Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, in 1127 (*g*). The name of Berwick first appears in the foundation charter of Selkirk, of Earl David, under the form of *Berwyk* (*h*): And, it is spoken of, by that prince, after he came to the throne, in his grant to Dunfermlin abbey, under the form of *Berwick*, when it was obviously the king's town in demesn, and of some importance (*i*). And, we may learn from Somner, and Lye, the Saxon glossarists, that *Berewic* is the same, in substance, as *Beretun*, villa frumentaria, a grange, a village (*k*). Yet, it is not very likely, that Berwic was a *villa frumentaria*, or grange, during the age, when it must have received its name, from the Saxon settlers, at the mouth of the Tweed. It was much more probably called, from the circumstance of its want of vesture, from the Anglo-Saxon *bar*, *bare*, *nudus*, and *wic*, vicus, castellum, sinus, the curving reach of a river (*l*). This, I believe, after considering all circumstances, is the real origin of Barwic; though it is now impossible to ascertain, whether the *wic* was actually applied to the village, or to the castle (*m*). On the whole, it is more

(*f*) Berwick does not appear upon the map, in Smith's Bede, Apx. 654: In vain, then, does Ridpath, in his Border History, speak of Berwick, as being a town of the Bernicians; and also suppose this circumstance to furnish not the least probable of Camden's etymons. Neither do I see *Berwick* mentioned, in the Saxon Chronicle, or exhibited, in the map, which is prefixed to Gibson's edition of that curious Chronicle.

(*g*) Smith's Bede, 760—64. Those intimations, from record, prove that, this town could not have been the Bere-wic, Bar-ton, or grange, of Coldingham-abbey.

(*h*) See that charter, in Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Collections, 403. The Saxon form of this name is *Beorwic*, Berwici oppidum ad ripam Twedæ fluvii. Somner. He seems to intimate, that it derived this name, from its being a town of the Bernicians.

(*i*) Ib. 384.

(*k*) See Skinner, in art. *Berwick*, a town, or manor, as Ingulphus had explained it, so many ages before him, as we have seen.

(*l*) Somner, and Lye.

(*m*) Upon attentively inspecting Speed's map of Northumberland, 1610, with a view to this subject, I observe: (1) The name, in question, is always written, *Barwick*; and there is a place called *Barwick*, which is not situated on any river. (2) The affix *wick*, as in Aln-*wick*, Lo*wick*, and others, is chiefly applied to *castles*, often to *villages*, but never to the reaches, or *mouths* of rivers. (3) The Northumbrian Saxons always applied to *the issue* of waters, the word *mouth*; as in Tweed-*mouth*, Til-*mouth*, and others; but, never *wick*. And thus, in the Lothian Borth-*wick*, the

more than probable, that the *wick*, in the name in question, was originally applied, by the Northumbrian Saxons, to the *castle*, on the *bare* knoll, which was built, by some Northumbrian baron, before the memorable epoch of 1020 A. D.

The whole area of Berwickshire was called *Bernicia*, in the age of Bede. It was named, in the Scoto-Irish Chronicle, *Saxonia*. And, some time after the close of the Pictish period of the North-British annals, in 843 A. D., this district acquired, from the Saxon settlers, the Teutonic name of *Lothian*, which was appositely applied to an extensive jurisdiction, on a dubious frontier (*n*). In after times, it was probably called the *Mers*; but, if it derived this name, as Camden intimates, from its being *a march country*, this appellation must have been applied, after the year 1020, when this fine district was ceded to the Scotish king. But, it was more probably called, by this name, from the Anglo-Saxon *merse*, a marish, *mariscus*, a naked plain. It did not, however, obtain the name of *Berwickshire*, till after the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, when the whole country, between the Tweed, and Lothian, had been placed under the useful regimen of an appropriate sheriff.

§ II. *Of its Situation, and Extent.*] The shire of Berwick is bounded, by Roxburghshire, and a part of Northumberland, on the south, and south-east; by the British sea, on the east, and north-east; by Hadingtonshire, on the north, and north-west; and by Edinburghshire, and a part of Roxburghshire, on the west, and south-west (*o*). The extreme length of this shire, from east to west, is thirty-one miles: Its utmost breadth, from south to north, is nineteen miles. And, its area contains 446 square miles, or 285,440 statute acres. Its population, in 1801, being 30,206 souls, evinces that, there are 67 : 72

the affix was obviously applied to the *castle*; and, in the Ayrshire Prest-*wick*, the affix was adjoined to the priests *vill*; as in other places of the same name, in Northumberland. In such cases, good sense must always decide, whether the *affix* were applied to the *hamlet*, or the *castle*.

(*n*) Caledonia, i. 258-9. Polydore Virgil, who lived under Henry VIII., and visited Scotland, says, in his history, that *Lothian* began at the Tweed, as indeed Simeon, and Hoveden, had said before him; and stretched considerably beyond Edwinsburgh. In the subsequent age of Camden, however, Lothian was supposed to lie northward of the *Merse*. The *Lamer-moor* became early a noted boundary, as we may learn, from the ancient charters of Alexander, and David I.

(*o*) Berwick town lyes in N. latitude 55° 46′ 40″; and W. longitude, from Greenwich, 2° 3′. Berwickshire, exclusive of *Berwick bounds*, the district of the town, lyes between 55° 34′ 50″, and 55° 57′ of N. latitude; and between 2° 5′ and 2° 57′ 12″ W. longitude, from Greenwich. Arrowsmith's map. Greenlaw, the shire town, lyes, in 55° 43′ 35″ N. lat.; and 2° 28′ 10″ long. W. of Greenwich.

persons

persons to every square mile. Berwickshire, in the tradition of its people, is usually divided into three great districts; the *Merse*, *Lamermoor*, and *Lauderdale*: The relative size of each, will most distinctly appear, in the subjoined *Table* (*p*). This shire has been often surveyed. During the reign of Charles I., it was first, perhaps, inspected by Timothy Pont, with a scientific eye, and a geographical purpose (*q*). The people of Berwickshire were content with his Surveys till our own times, when it was again surveyed by the Armstrongs (*r*). Blackader again delineated this agricultural shire, five and twenty years afterward (*s*). The modern surveys may probably be more scientific; but, they become less useful to topography, in proportion as they substitute new notices, for old localities.

§ III. *Of its natural Objects.*] Whatever may be *the heights* of this county, it cannot be regarded as so mountainous, as Roxburghshire, whether we consider the numbers, or the elevations of the Berwickshire hills. Of all those, the Lamermoor is the most remarkable range; forming an extensive curvature of unsightly heights; and stretching from the western marches of Mid-Lothian to their termination on the sea, where the Lamermoor abruptly declines into the precipitous promontories of St. Abbs-head, Earnheugh, and Fast Castle, which form some of the highest, and most curious cliffs, on the eastern coast of North-Britain (*t*). However denuded of trees, at present, the Lamermoor was once clothed

	Square Miles.	Stat. Acres.
(*p*) The *Merse* comprehends	202½	129,600
Lamermoor	138½	88,640
Lauderdale	105	67,200
The whole area of *Berwickshire*	446	285,440

(*q*) See Pont's map of Lawder, No. 7., and his map of the *Merse*, No. 8., in Blaeu's *Atlas Scotiæ*.

(*r*) Armstrong, and son, published, in 1771, a four sheet map of Berwickshire, and a reduced map of one sheet.

(*s*) Blackader published his two sheet map of Berwickshire, in 1797. There have been since laid before the public very useful sketches of this shire, in the frequent reports, which have been recently made of its agricultural state.

(*t*) The ridge of the Lamermoor-hills consists, say the theorists, of primary micaceous schistus; and extends from St. Abbs-head, westward, till it joins the metalliferous mountains, about the sources of the Clyde. See the Transact. of the Edin. R. S., v. last part, p. 71. The singular name

clothed with woods, as we may learn from the fact, that trees are often dug up from places, in that range, of the least woody appearance. The Lamermoor has some natural woods, which hang upon its several steeps; and which supply local ornament, if they contribute little to general use. The heights of Lamermoor rise to 1,615 feet above the level of the sea. The tops of its hills, and its higher slopes, are covered with heath; but, its lower declivities admit of the operations of the plough. In this shire, there are other hills, which run up to considerable elevations, though they do not assume the dignity of mountains (*u*). In the middle of this district, rises Duns-law, from a base of between two and three miles circumference, in a gradual ascent, on all sides, to the height of 630 feet, above the level of the sea, and terminates in a flat summit of almost thirty acres. The *Merse*, when it is viewed from the heights above, seems to be a perfect plain, though it be full of inequalities; and swells at Hirsel, Lamberton, and Dunse, into considerable hillocks (*x*).

This shire is supposed to be destitute of minerals, and fossils (*a*). It indeed cannot be said to be rich in minerals: Yet, has it some coals, in Mordington parish, near the sea; and more northerly in Cockburnspath, it has also

of that range appears in Alexander I.'s charter to Dunfermling, in the form of *Lambremor*, and in that of David I. to the same monks, under the form of *Lambermore*. Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. 372, 385. From the formation of this word, we may infer, that it is not Celtic; and it is, therefore, Teutonic. It is the same, in substance, as Lamber-hurst, in Kent, and Lamber-hurst, in Sussex; and it is derived from the same root, as Lamer, in Hartford, and Lamer-ton, in Devon. The root is plainly the A. S. *Lam* of Somner, and Lye, signifying *lutum, limus*, Loam; *Lamene*, luteus: So, Lam-hythe is luteus portus, which is writtten Lamb-hythe. *Moor*, saith Bailey, is a heath, or barren ground: And *hurst*, in the names of places, imports, that they took their designations from woods, or forests.

(*u*) The following altitudes were ascertained, by the ingenious Blackader, when he surveyed Berwickshire:

Criblaw rises to	1,615 feet.	Earlstown hill rises to	1,200 feet.
Clinthill	1,544	Bemerside hill to	1,011
Twinlaw hill to	1,260	Home castle to	898
Ayrhouse hill	1,054	Handiesland hill to	684
Manslaughter Law	1,273	Stichill-kirk to	680
Great Dirrington Law	1,145	Habchester	660
Cockburn Law	912	Lumisden hill rises from the level of the sea to	633
Tippet Knows to	1,323		

(*x*) Home's Agricult. Report, 11—13; Blackader's map.

(*a*) Home's Agricult. Report.

coals.

coals (*b*). In other places of this shire, there are the usual appearances of fossil coal: Yet, have the feeble attempts to find them every where failed, from want of skill, or effort (*c*). Lime-stone has been found, as usual, in the vicinity of the coal, along the coast of Mordington parish (*d*). The quantity is more abundant, than the quality is good; so that it is not often raised for common use. Marl of every sort much more abounds, in every district of Berwickshire. The clay, and rock marle are found in the more cultivated districts, along the rivers Whiteader, Blackader, and Tweed, where their strata spread over a large country (*e*). Shell-marl has also been found, at Hirsel, in Coldstream parish, at Birgham, in Eccles, at Newton Don, in Nenthorn, at Whiterig, in Merton parish, at Kimmergham; and there are indications of shell marl, in Billy-myre, an extensive morass, in Coldingham parish (*f*). Thus rich, then, is Berwickshire, in marl, which once contributed to fertilize its fields. In Chirnside, on on the banks of the Whiteader, has been found a species of *gypsum*, though not the best kind: It has been used, however, for the cieling of rooms, and is little inferior to the *Gypsum* of Paris (*g*). Freestone of various kinds, and colours, abounds, in every part of this shire; and it is wrought to the profit of the proprietors, and the benefit of the country (*h*). Whinstone also abounds, in every part of this shire, for the uses of the builders (*i*). *Slate*, which is supposed not to be seen, in Berwickshire, is worked, at Lawder (*k*). In Ayton parish, there

(*b*) In this last parish, coal was regularly wrought, at the end of the seventeenth century, but was relinquished, from some unknown cause. Stat. Acco. 13. 226. The coal, in Mordington, was also wrought; but, the works were, in the same manner, discontinued, by impatience, and irresolution. See the site of the coal pit, in Armstrong's Map of Berwickshire.

(*c*) Stat. Acco. of Coldstream, iv. 412; of Legerwood, xvi. 495.

(*d*) Ib. xv. 182.

(*e*) Agricult. View, 35, 122; Home's Report, 14; Stat. Acco. throughout. Marl, with clay and rock, abound in the parishes of Chirnside, of Buncle, and Preston, of Langton, of Coldstream, of Nenthorn.

(*f*) Stat. Acco. iv. 413; vi. 324; Home's Report, 14, 19; Low's Agricult. View, 37; Bruce's Agricult. View, 123; Home's Report, 94. The discovery of Shell-marl, in Whiterig-bog, which is the most abundant, has been deemed a great agricultural event. It is about 100 acres in extent, and the strata are from 7 to 10 feet thick, under a deep covering of moss. This rich field of marl was of old the lake of Merton, which was granted, for its fish, in the 13th century; but has recently been drained, by cutting a channel into the Tweed. Chart. Dryburgh, No. 104.

(*g*) Stat. Acco. xiv. 46.

(*h*) Ib. i. 86; xv. 182; iii. 154. The best quarry is that at Swinton quarter. Ib. iv. 197, 412; vi. 324. Of freestone, there are inexhaustible quarries, along the Tweed, in Merton parish. Ib. xiv. 591-2. And in Nenthorn parish, upon the Eden, there is red free-stone. Ib. vi. 337.

(*i*) See the Stat. Acco. throughout. (*k*) Ib. i. 73.

are some quarries of building stone, which is said to be impregnated with *iron ore* (*l*). In Mordington parish also appears *iron ore* (*m*). Pebbles, for the lapidary's use, which seem to be of a good quality, are commonly found, along the margin of the Tweed, as well as in the adjoining fields of Coldstream parish (*n*). At Hardwell, on the bank of the Whiteader, in Bunkle parish, a copper mine was worked, till impatience relinquished its own object, in 1780 (*o*). Copper mines have also been discovered, in Lawder parish (*p*). Fuller is diligent to show, that all those natural objects may be found within *Berwick-bounds*, with the addition of pure quicksilver, which has been discovered, in Hidehill (*q*). In Home parish, there is a rising protuberance, which is called *Lurgie Craigs*, and consists of regular ranges of whin-stones, like those of Arthur's Seat, near Edinburgh (*r*). Neither do mineral waters abound in Berwickshire. The Duns-spaw, which was discovered, in 1747, as it resembles the Tunbridge waters, has been found to give similar relief (*s*). On the estate of Mains, in Chirnside parish, there is a chalybeate spring, which issues from a bed of marl, and is resorted to, for scorbutic complaints (*t*). Near the ruined nunnery, of St. Bothan's, there issues a spring, which is called St. Bothan's well, and which neither fogs, nor freezes, and even prevents the freezing of a mill-head, from the Whiteader, though this stream freezes every winter (*u*).

The next objects of rational curiosity, are the waters of Berwickshire. The Tweed, which we have traced through the county of Roxburgh, and is at once, its ornament, and its convenience, first enters this shire, at the point, where the Leeder, and the Tweed, mingle their kindred floods. The Tweed now winds along the parish of Merton, which it separates from Roxburghshire; and continuing its easy course through a corner of Roxburgh, again bounds Berwick, below the confluence of Eden; and, as it "gently glides" to the sea, at Berwick, divides Northumberland, and Durham, from Berwickshire (*x*).

(*l*) See the Stat. Acco. i. 86.

(*m*) Ib. xv. 182. (*n*) Ib. iv. 412. (*o*) Home's Agricult. Report, 14.

(*p*) Stat. Acco. i. 73. (*q*) Hist. of Berwick-upon-Tweed, 472.

(*r*) Lurgie Craigs, which resemble the stones on the path, from Edinburgh to Duddingston, are regular *Polygons* of the height of five, or six feet, and five, or six inches broad; and stand erect, and close, but do not adhere to each other, so that they can be easily separated: They have all the appearance of being of the same nature, with those of the Giant's Causeway, or the Basaltic rocks of Staffa. Stat. Acco. iii. 292.

(*s*) See Dr. Home's Essay on the Contents and Virtues of the Duns Spaw. Edin. 1751.

(*t*) Stat. Acco. xiv. 46. (*u*) Ib. xii. 65.

(*x*) The tide flows ten miles to Norham-castle; and vessels of forty, or fifty tons, navigate the Tweed to New Waterford, which is six miles above Berwick. Stat. Acco. iv. 197.

Such

Such is the "fair flood," which the chorographical Drayton remembered, as "our northern borders boast." This river, which retrospection might adorn with many antiquities, and actions, continues to be the well known boundary of England, and Scotland, notwithstanding the poetical prophecy of Drummond, in his *Forth-feasting*, that "Tweed no more our kingdoms shall divide." Throughout its course, the Tweed glides along the lowest level of the vale, which lyes between the Cheviot range, on the south, and Lamermoor, on the north: And it thus naturally forms the common receptacle of the various riverets, which come down, on either side, from those extensive heights, the prolifick parents of so many streams. The Leeder rises in Lamermoor, fertilizes Lauderdale, drives many milns, and gives her waters to the Tweed, on the borders of Berwickshire: The *Leader-haughs*, which, in elder times, pastured many a mare, are celebrated in Scotish song. The Whiteader rises, in the same range; runs through the heart of Berwickshire; and, as it runs, drives many milns till it joins the Tweed, in the vicinity of Berwick, after receiving, in its circuitous course, the Dy, and the Blackader. The Eden, and the Leet, also contribute to swell the Tweed with their congenial waters; and like it, supply their benefits, and their ornaments, to this plenteous district. The Ey, also, issues from the Lamermoor, and being joined by its associate Ale, or Alan, winds through the north-eastern parts of Berwickshire, till it finds repose, not in the Tweed, but in the sea, at Ey-mouth, where it forms the most central port of Berwickshire. These riverets, with eighteen streams of less flow, are the constant drains of its superfluous moisture, and the usual sources of its abundant fishery. The rivers, as their names are all significant, in the Cambro-British speech, may be considered, as so many notices of its antiquities. The natural position of the surface of this shire, being a considerable declivity to the south, from the summit of the Lamermoor to the strath of the Tweed, does not admit of any lakes, or large diffusion of standing waters. But, perhaps, the natural objects of greatest curiosity, in this district, is the sea coast, which affords a transverse section of this alpine tract, at its eastern extremity, and exhibits the change, from the primary, to the secondary strata, both on the south, and on the north. At Siccar, on this coast, the primeval rock forms, alternately, the base, and the summit of the present land. It is here, a micaceous schistus, in beds nearly vertical, highly indurated, and stretching from south east to north west. The surface of this rock runs, with a moderate ascent, from the level of low water, nearly to that of high water, where the schistus has a thin covering of red horizontal sand stone laid over it; and this sand stone, at the distance of a few yards further back, rises into a very high perpendicular cliff: Here, then, the immediate contact of the

the two rocks is not only visible, but is curiously dissected, and laid open, by the action of the waves (*y*). Philosophers have been delighted with those appearances, on the coast of Berwickshire, that set, in so clear a light, the different formations of the parts, which compose the exterior crust of the earth, where all the circumstances were combined, that could render the observation precise, and satisfactory.

§ IV. *Of its Antiquities.*] Under this head, the people, and their speech, are certainly the earliest, and most curious objects of our archaiological inquiry. Berwickshire, which, we have just seen, does not abound, with natural subjects, was first peopled, by the same Gaelic tribes, who originally settled the more southern regions of Britain; as the names of the waters would evince, if there were not the demonstrations of facts (*z*).

At the epoch of the Roman invasion of North Britain, in 80 A. D. the great tribe of the Ottadini occupied, as we have formerly perceived, the extensive coast, which stretches from the Tine, along the Forth, to the Avon (*a*): And of course, this people inhabited the whole tract, which, in much more modern times, forms the respectable shire of Berwick. Specimens of their language may still be seen, in the names of places upon the maps of this well surveyed county (*b*). Their hill-forts, their subterraneous shelters, or caves, their weapons of war, their ornaments, their modes of burial, have been all already investigated (*c*). The Ottadini were not subdued, till the return of Agricola, from his campaign, beyond the Friths, in 84 A. D. Their country was at length penetrated by roads, bridled by castles, and improved, by the Roman examples

(*y*) Philos. Trans. Edin. V. last part, 71—2.

(*z*) Caledonia, Book I. ch. I. In addition to the names of the waters, there are still appellations of places, which, instructively supply significant traces of the first colonists. (1) Trebrown, in Lauderdale, the British *Tre-brun*, the hamlet on the hill: In fact, the place is on a hill. (2) Carfrae-burn, in Lauderdale, from the British Caer-fra, or frau, signifying the fort on the stream. (3) *Eccles*, the name of a parish, from the British *Eglwys*, the Gaelic Eaglais, a church. (4) *Press*, from the British Pres, Prys, Brushwood, a covert; the Gaelic *Preas* signifies the same thing. (5) *Ersildun*, from the British *Arsyl-dun*, the look-out hill, or the look-out fort. (6) Kelloe, from the British Kelli, or Celli, a grove, or thicket of trees. (7) Gordon, perhaps, from the British *Gor-din*, the fortified hill, with a rim, or border; now, both East, and West Gordon stand on hills of small elevation. (8) *Paes*, the rivulet, from the British *Pis*, a spout. (9) The British *Pil*, signifying a fort, was applied to several of the old fortlets; and hence, has it been embodied into the names of various places.

(*a*) Caledonia, i. 58-9. (*b*) Ib. ch. i. 2. (*c*) Ib. ch. ii.

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of labour, and skill (*d*). Yet, whatever roads the Romans may have made, in Berwickshire, whatever station they erected, whatever specimens of art they left behind them, the Ottadini remained, at the epoch of the Roman abdication, without any intimate knowledge of the Roman labours, and without the useful polish of the Roman civilization.

The abdication of the Romans, however, left the Ottadini in possession of their ancient territories. The Scotish historians have failed, egregiously, in their attempts to make out, for the Picts, any plausible title to this southern district, and much less for the Scots, who then resided in Ireland (*a*). The Ottadini were soon called upon to defend their possessions against a very different people. The year 449 A. D. is the remarkable era of the entrance of the Saxon tribes into the British isle. The Ottadini were ravaged, rather than subdued. Their fate remained undecided, during a century, that the Anglo-Saxon invaders were carrying the banners of conquest, throughout Southern Britain.

The year 547 A. D. is at once the memorable epoch of the arrival of the great Ida, of the foundation of the Northumbrian kingdom, and of the fall of the Ottadinian people, from their ancient independance. The Anglo-Saxons became now the ruling powers, on either side of the Tweed. And, with the ascendency

(*d*) For the Roman roads, and castles, in the lower district of Berwickshire, see Caledonia, i. 144, 163. For the Roman road, the Roman stations, and the opposing hill-forts, on the Leeder water, see Caledonia, i. 141-2. Patrick, who became Earl of Dunbar, in 1232, and died, in 1249, renounced to the monks of Melros, "quicquam juris habendam vel habere poterant ratione illius *Malcolmis rode*, vel alio jure versus occidentem ultra dictas calceyas quod est *publicum stratum*: Et illud *publicum stratum* de cetero habeatur pro rectis divisis inter me et ipsis." Chart. Melros, No. 141. And this release was confirmed, by Alexander II. Ib. No. 142. The position of this *causey*, or *public street*, corresponds exactly with the track of the Roman road, in lower Lauderdale, which was thus established, as the boundary, between the Earl of Dunbar's territory of Ersildun, that extended over the Leeder, and the lands of Cadisley, [Kedslie,] which belonged to the monks of Melros. This is a very curious notice. We thus see, that the Roman road, through Lauderdale, which escaped the research of Roy, was the *public street*, during the reign of Alexander II., by the name of *Malcolmis rode*, which is a specimen of the English language, in that age. From what circumstances, the Roman road was called *Malcolmis rode* cannot now be ascertained. Malcolm IV. lived, generally, and died, early, at Jedworth. Kennet's Par. Antiq. 119—121. He may have much used this way, in travelling to Edinburgh, to Strivelin, and to Perth; and he was fondly remembered, during the reign of his nephew, Alexander II. It is not easy, to recollect any circumcumstance, which could have induced the people to attribute this road to Malcolm III. or to Malcolm II.

(*a*) See Caledonia, i. bk. ii. ch. i.; and Robertson's Hist. Scotland, i. 3, which says, mistakingly, that, "North-Britain was, by the retreat of the Romans, left under the dominion of the "Scots, and Picts."

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of the Anglo-Saxon tribes, the Anglo-Saxon authorities were established, throughout this ample district, from the river Tweed, on the south, to the stream of Dunglas, on the north. But, the battle of Drumnechtan, in 685 A. D., gave an irremediable shock to the Northumbrian jurisdiction. The defeat of the imprudent Egfrid; the pressure of the Picts, on the north; and the intrusion of the Saxon kings, from the south; left the Northumbrian monarchy too weak, to regain its recent jurisdiction. Yet, to this period is referred the origin of the name, and the introduction of the authority of *Lothian*, within the district, which lyes along the shore, from the Tweed to the Avon. The silence of Bede, however, may lead us to suspect, notwithstanding the loquacity of Nennius, that neither the name of *Lothian*, nor the thing, was known, at the conclusion of the Pictish period, in 843 A. D. (*b*).

In the meantime, the Anglo-Saxon language was, with the colonizing people, superinduced, in this district, upon the ancient British. It became the vernacular language of that extensive country, during the religious age of the worthy Cuthbert, who died, in March 687 A. D., and of the venerable Bede, who deceased, in 735. The Saxon speech still appears, in the many names of places, within the ample bounds of Berwickshire (*c*). There are, in this dictrict, only a few

(*b*) See Caledonia, bk. ii. ch. 3.; Nennius Edit. 1758, ch. 52; Smith's Bede, throughout.

(*c*) Many local names are plainly derived from the Saxon words; *Clough, Law, Rig, Shiel, Den*, Lee; and from the less frequent appellations of *Thyrn*, Shaw, Ham, By. There do not appear, however, in Berwickshire, any Saxon names of places, which are derived from *Holm, Threap, Thwait*; nor, from the Scandinavian Fell, a mountain. The many *Chesters*, within the limits of Lothian, and other Saxon districts of the south, is obviously the *Ceaster, Caster*, of the Saxon settlers, who applied this name to the places, which had been *Caers* or fortlets, of the Britons. See the "Nominum Locorum explicatio" of Gibson, annexed to the Saxon Chronicle, in vo. *Ceaster*. But, there are not, in this shire, any *Bor-lands*; or any appellations, which would show the ancient division of lands, from the penny, halfpenny, farthing, or mark land. English names are properly excluded from this subject; as they are modern: But, it may gratify a reasonable curiosity, to see specimens of the Anglo-Saxon, as it was written, from 900 A. D. to 1066, and the English version, as it was translated by Wicliffe, in the year 1380, when the English began to be a formed language:

The *Saxon*:	The *English*:
On Herodes dagum Judea cyninges waes sum sacerd on naman Zacharias; of Abian tune, and his vif waes of Aarones dohtrum: and hyre nama waes Elizabeth.	In the dayes of Eroude, kyng of Judee, there was a prest, Zacharye by name: Of the sort of Abia; and his wyf was of the doughters of Aaron; And her name was Elizabeth.

This curious subject may be further illustrated, by adverting to the connexive orthography of the Anglo-Saxon, and the Anglo-Scotish. One of the witnesses to the Scotish Edgar's charter, granting

a few names of places, which are obviously derived from the Scoto-Irish (*d*); and which must necessarily have been imposed, after the year 1120, when this part of Lothian was surrendered, by the Earl of Northumberland, to the Scotish king: Yet, this circumstance alone evinces the predominance, in Scotland, of the Scoto-Irish language, at that important epoch. It is indeed almost impossible to resist the evidence of this topographical inquiry, for shewing the genuine history of its colonization, by those successive generations, whatever Gothic glossarists may say.

To the speech of the people, the next objects of archaiological research are the *stone monuments*, which, indeed, do not, in this shire, abound. The ruins of castles, and the remains of religious houses, which so frequently engage the pencil of the draughtsman, can only be considered, every where, as *modern* antiquities. There have not yet been discovered any druid monuments, in Berwickshire. And, indeed, there are scarcely any druid remains to be met with, in Lothian. This singular circumstance is owing, perhaps, to the early settlement of the Anglo-Saxons in this district; or probably may have arisen, from the zeal of the first christians, in Lothian, who may have been actuated, by the ardent heat of new converts. There are, indeed, in this district, a few cairns of stones, which denote the sepultures of the dead, and, in a secondary sense, the conflicts of the living (*e*). In the mountainous

granting the manor of Swintun to the monks of St. Cuthbert, was *Hwite*. Smith's Bede, App. xx. When this charter was confirmed by Robert III., in 1392, the Chancery Clerk wrote the same person's name *Qhwite*, for the Saxon of *Hwite* of Edgar's charter. Robertson's Index, 155. This, then, is one of the many proofs, which may be adduced, in support of the true origin, and the corrupted use of the *quh*, in the orthography of the old English, and old Scotish; as they were explained, in the Prefatory Dissertations, and the Glossary, to the Poetical Works of Sir David Lindsay.

(*d*) The most obvious Scoto-Irish names are, Achincraw, Ald-Camus, Bunkle, (Bonkil), Dunse, Glengelt, Glen-tinn, Kil-inch, Knock, Rait, Blanern, Lough-Loch, Lorgy-Lough, Lurgie-Craigs.

(*e*) On a hill, forming the west side of Cranshaws parish, there are two heaps of stones, which are each of a great size; each containing, according to a loose estimate, many thousand cart loads. In Chirnside parish, on the highest summit of the hill, there is the vestige of a cairn; whence the name of this district is supposed to be derived. On Idington-hill, there are still more apparent remains of two cairns; the stones of one of them was but lately carried away; and, on their first demolition, about fifty years ago, a stone coffin, of an oblong square figure, was taken up entire. In Langton parish, on clearing the ground, during the year 1792, of a heap of stones, on the top of Cramestone hill, on the north side of the village of Gairnton, several earthen urns were discovered; containing human bones, but without any inscription. On the lands of Midlefield, and

tainous division of Lamermoor, those cairns are chiefly discernible; being the site as well of ancient cemeteries, as of the earliest battles. Add to those, *Burgess' Cairn*, which stands on the remarkable angle of a height, where the three shires of Roxburgh, Berwick, and Mid-Lothian, join their kindred limits, on the westward of Lawder (*f*). There is a *cairn* to the memory of St. David, near the northern extremity of Coldingham parish (*g*). In this class, may be ranked the ancient obelisk, standing at the village of *Dead*-rig, in the parish of Eccles. It consists of one stone column, which is inserted into a base; the whole height being about 14 feet 10 inches, with various sculptures of the cross, the sword, the hound, which denote the monument of some ancient warrior: But, as neither inscription, nor tradition, declares the cause of its erection, it is impossible to ascertain what worthy wight it was, to whom this obelisk was erected, at *Dead*-rig (*h*).

Next to those stone monuments, are the oval, and circular, encampments, which have been already mentioned, as the early fortlets of a British people, before the Saxons had arrived on our shores, or the Danes were even known, on the coasts of the Baltic (*i*). To the British *rings*, succeeded the Roman

Crease, there have been found several coffins of stone, measuring 3½ feet long, and 3½ feet deep; and containing human bones: A neighbouring field retains the appropriate name of *Battlemoor*. In the parish of Longformacus, there is, at Byrecleugh, a heap of stones, 80 yards long, 25 broad, and six yards high. On *Warlaw* bank, which is part of a ridge, stretching from east to west, through the parishes of Coldingham, and Bonkil, there was a cairn, which was surrounded by a circle of stones, forty feet diameter; and which, when opened, discovered, about three feet below the surface, a stone of a red colour, six feet long, and two and a half feet broad: And under this stone, was found a coffin, that was also of blue stone, which contained merely a black earth, of an oily substance, and as soft as soap. [Scots Mag. 1759, 461.] On Lawdermoor, near the old road to Melros, there are many tumuli, the lasting memorials of some conflicts, in very early times; as fragments of swords, of bows, and arrows, are found there; the arrows were pointed with flint stones, tapering from the juncture, about an inch long. For all those Celtic remains, see the Statistical Accounts throughout; and Pennant's Tours.

(*f*) See Blackader's map of Berwickshire. (*g*) Id.

(*h*) Transact. Society Ant. Scot. i. 269, where may be seen an engraving, with a Dissertation by Mr. R. Robertson of Ladykirk.

(*i*) Scots Mag. 1759, 462: Along the ridge, running from east to west through Coldingham and Bonkil, are the vestiges of five circular camps. In the parish of Dunse, there are, on Cockburnlaw, several military stations of similar conformations. On Habchester, in Mordington parish, there is an encampment, which is surrounded by two deep trenches; and which, from their circular construction, are said, by inconsiderate ignorance, to be unquestionably *Danish*. At the village of Chesters, in Fogo parish, there is an ancient encampment, which is equally said to be Roman, though its form intimates a much earlier fabrication, than the Roman period. There are many places, in Berwickshire, which were denominated *Chester*, from the *Ceaster* of the Saxons, who applied, generally, their term to the fortlets of the Britons, that were already denominated *Caer*.

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right angular entrenchments: But, the Roman labours do not abound, in Berwickshire, if we except their remains, in Lauderdale.

There is a very remarkable remain of a mixed kind, and of a more recent origin, lying about a mile, from the shire-town of Greenlaw, which is known, by the name of *Herrits Dyke;* and which must be referred to the labours of the Romanized Ottadini: It consists of an earthen mound, with a ditch, on one side of it, neither of which can now be precisely traced (*k*). There is a remain of a somewhat different kind, which is situated within two miles of Wedderlea; and which the tradition of the country calls the *Caims.* It consists of an immense ridge of sand, between two extensive mosses: Its breadth is from 20 to 100 feet; its height from 14 to 40 feet: And it runs out the length of three quarters of a mile. There is no such sand as this, within many miles of this remain, which seems, to a willing eye, to be the production of art, rather than the work of nature (*l*).

Of the same anomalous class, as the former, is *Edins-hall,* which stands about a mile below the abbey of St. Bothan's, on the bank of the White-ader. This hall of Edwin very much resembles *Arthur's Oon,* both in its form, and construction. It is built of stones, without any kind of cement, though they seem to have been mortized into one another. The form of it is three concentric circles, which are six, or seven feet distant from each other; and the diameter of the innermost is about twenty feet: In the heart of the walls, there are several square holes, which seem to go perpendicular to the foundation. It has two entries, one on the south, and the other, at no great distance, on the south-west. On the south of this building, there are very deep, and wide trenches; and on the head of the outermost trench, there are the vestiges of a stone wall, which runs fifty, or sixty yards to the west, and then turning northward, as it

(*k*) About the middle of the eighteenth century *Herrit's Dyke* could have been traced fourteen miles, eastward; and tradition relates, that it proceeded, in the same direction, as far as Berwick: It is supposed to have extended westward to a place, in the parish of Legerwood, which is called *Boon,* a *Celtic* word, signifying a termination, or rather the *foot* of a hill, or water. Stat. Acco. xiv. 512. See a fuller account of *Herrit's Dyke* in Caledonia, i. 243.

(*l*) The Rev. Dr. Hewat's Letter to me, dated 18th October 1791. See Dogden moss, upon Armstrong's map of Berwick, wherein this singular ridge is strikingly represented. The name of *Kaims,* or *Caims,* implies, that it is a *ridge,* which this appellation signifies. Yet, Mr. Spottiswoode of Spottiswoode, in that neighbourhood, has informed me, that being employed, as a trustee, in executing a turnpike-road law, he had ordered the *Kaims* to be bored, in search of gravel, or other materials, for the new road; but, found none: And he was convinced, from what he saw, that this singular ridge is the work of nature, and not of art.

follows the sweep of the hill, till it reaches the river (*m*). On the east of Edin's Hall, there are the vestiges of several camps, which, as they are not said to be rectilinear, we may easily suppose, are circular camps of the Britons, which, no doubt, existed before, and without any connection with *Wooden-hall.*

Soon after the introduction of christianity into this shire, religious houses were erected within it, by the accustomed zeal of the new converts. The *Coludi urbs* of Bede, the Colingham of Hoveden, was founded, for the reception of female, and male, votaries, under the holy government of St. Ebb, the daughter, and sister of kings. This monastery, though it had St. Cuthbert for its guide, was not fortunate. It was burnt, in 679 A. D., as an infliction, for its infirmities, rather than the casualty of fire, from its construction of wood: It was again burnt, in 870, by the Danish Vikingr, from the hope of plunder, rather than the gratification of enmity. St. Bothans was also established, during those ages, on the same principles of piety; yet encountered the same misfortunes (*n*).

The ruined castles form another class of antiquities, which may be considered, as still more modern. They were all mostly built, after the year 1097 A. D., the remarkable epoch of the Scoto-Saxon period. The castle of Berwick was the residence of David I.; it was strengthened by Edward I.; it was repaired by Robert I.; and it was ruined, by the neglect of Elizabeth (*o*). At the end of the twelfth century, the site of *Home* castle became the seat of the family of Home. This pile increased in strength, with the gradual augmentation of the wealth of that warlike race. As Home castle could not resist artillery, it became ruinous from inattention (*p*). Billy castle, which had furnished shelter to quiet negotiators, shared the same fate, when it could no longer resist modern hostility. The tower of Cockburnspath was probably built, by the earls of Dunbar, to guard the pass, which led to their principal castle: And it no doubt followed the ruinous fortunes of that unfaithful family (*q*). Fast castle, which was perched on a rocky cliff, overhanging the sea, shared the same fate (*r*). In this ruinous condition is the castle

(*m*) See the position of Edins Hall, on Blackader's map of Berwickshire, where it is called, *Wooden*-hall, as it is, indeed, named in other maps. This name, in popular tradition, seems to intimate, that this singular building may have been dedicated, by the pagan Saxons, to their national god. There is a minute description of this remain in the Scots Mag. 1764, 431.

(*n*) Smith's Bede, 162; Holland's Camden, *Scotia*, 10, 11.

(*o*) There is a drawing of this ruin, in Grose's Antiquities, i. 108; as it appeared, in 1789; and there is another view of it, in Cardonel's Picturesque Antiquities, part ii.

(*p*) There is a drawing of this lofty castle, in Grose's Antiquities; facing p. 98.

(*q*) There is a drawing of it, in Grose's Antiq. 93-4.

(*r*) Its remains may be seen in Cardonel's Picturesq. Antiq. part. ii.

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of Lauder, which Edward I. had built, and the Duke of Lauderdale inhabited (*s*). In an extensive district, forming a litigated frontier, there necessarily once existed many towers, which could resist domestic conflicts, but not foreign inroads, with modern weapons of war (*t*). Many of the *Bastile* houses owe their demolition to the absurd courtship, by Henry VIII., and Edward VI., of Mary Stewart, the infant queen: Many of the castles were ruined, by the policy of King James, when the hostile borders, happily, became the heart of the United Kingdom.

§ V. *Of its Establishment as a Shire.*] The epoch of this sheriffwick must be referred to some era, after the conclusion of the Scotish period, in 1097 (*a*). This district was certainly a sheriffdom, during the reign of David I. (*b*). There is a precept of William, the lion, to the sheriff of Berwick, commanding him, not to make unusual exactions on the monks, or men, of Coldingham-shire (*c*).

(*s*) Lauder castle makes the last plate, in the second edition of Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ*. There is also Thirlestane castle, on the east side of Lauderdale, which is different from Lauder fort, which stands on the west side of the same dale; and which has also been sometimes called, mistakingly, Thirlstane castle.

(*t*) Of Ayton-castle there are now scarcely any vestiges. At Eymouth was once a fortlet on a promontory. There was a tower at Renton; there was one at Houndwood; there was one at East Preston; but, they were all demolished, for their materials, during the enterprizing improvements of the eighteenth century. In Chirnside, there was a baronial castle, at Idington; and there was also a castellated tower, near the church. Of *Bastile* houses, there was one in Chirnside, one at Kelloe, one at Foulden, and one in Ayton. Rymers-tower will be remembered, as the residence of the earliest poet of Scotland, after its foundations shall disappear, before time, and chance. Cranshaw castle is still entire. The remains of Huntly castle, in Gordon parish, may be still traced in their ruins. There are three ruinous towers, in Legerwood, at Crosbie, West-Morayston, and at Whitslade. Edrinton castle still frowns, in ruins, on Whiteader river. The castle of Colding-knows will be long remembered, in the popular lyricks of North-Britain. There were castles at Greenlaw, at Blanern, at Cockburn, at Nesbit, at Blackader, at Wedderburn, at Langtown, at Bunkle, at Mellerstone. But, time has martyred many a tower to the long-enduring enmity of two spirited nations.

(*a*) There is nothing of sheriffs, or sheriffwicks, in the charters of Edgar. There is not any charter of Alexander I., his successor, that have come down to us, which mentions, or alludes to sheriffs, or sheriffwicks, though the Saxon term *scire*, for an ecclesiastical division, may be traced, in some grants. One of the witnesses to Earl David's charter to the monks of Selkirk was Gospatrick, *vicecomes*, who was probably sheriff of Berwick, while Alexander I. yet reigned in Scotland. Chart. Kelso, No. 4. Gospatrick, *vicecomes*, is a witness to a charter of David, in 1126. Robert. Index, 155.

(*b*) See David's writ to the sheriff of Berwick; to inquire of whom Wester Lumsden is held. Archives of Durham; Nicholson's Hist. Lib. 364.

(*c*) Chart. Coldingham; Nicholson's Hist. Lib. 364.

Various eminent men succeeded to this great charge, during the subsequent reigns of Alexander II. and of Alexander III. (*d*). Soon after the sad demise of this lamented king, Edward I. assumed the rule of Berwickshire (*e*). When Edward I. attempted, in 1305, by his well known ordinance, to settle the government of Scotland, he directed, that the chamberlain of Berwick might appoint any one for sheriff, whom he would answer for (*f*). While the shire of Berwick was fought for, during the long wars, of the succession, throughout the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III. the sheriffs were oftener appointed by the English, than the Scotish kings (*g*). After the return of David II. Sir Walter Halyburton was sheriff of Berwick, in 1364 (*h*); which he seems to have transmitted to his heirs: John, the second Lord Halyburton, appointed, in January 1447, Alexander Home, of Home, sheriff-depute of Berwick, for life (*i*). Sir Patrick Hepburn, of Hales, acquired from John, Lord Halyburton, in 1449, the heretable office of sheriff of Berwick, which continued with his successors, for several generations (*k*). In 1480, Sir Patrick Hepburn, as sheriff of Berwick, assembled, at Edinburgh, a jury of Berwickshire freeholders, to decide the suit of the abbot of Melros, for some tofts, and fishings, at Berwick town (*l*). It was the anomalous practice of sheriffs, in that age, to sit in other shires, than their own, so as to administer justice, without their jurisdictions (*m*). This office, which thus came into the family of Hepburn, continued with their descendants, the Earls of Bothwel, together with the office of baillie of the bailiwick of Lauderdale, as appears by the records, till the forfeiture, in 1567, of the notorious, James, Earl of Bothwel, and Duke of Orkney. These offices were now granted to Alexander, Lord Home, the guardian of the East March, who

(*d*) In the early part of the reign of Alexander II. Richard Gualen, who granted a tenement, with an oven, in Berwick, to the monks of Kelso, prayed Walter de Lindsay, the sheriff of Berwick, to affix his seal to the grantor's deed. Chart. Kelso, No. 49. Walter de Lyndsay, the sheriff of Berwick, witnessed a charter of William, the son of Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, to the monks of Kelso. Ib. No. 302. Walter de Lyndsay, the sheriff of Berwick, witnessed a charter of the priory of Coldingham, during the reign of Alexander II. Dougl. Peer. 100. In 1226, Ingelram de Baylol, the sheriff of Berwick, witnessed a charter of Alexander II., in the 12th year of his reign. Chart. Moray, 59. David de Graham was the sheriff of Berwick, about the year 1258. Dougl. Peer. 227.

(*e*) In 1296, Edward I. committed to Osbert de Spaldington, the castle, the town, and the shire of Berwick. Rym. ii. 716. In 1300 John Bourdon was sheriff of Berwick, by Edward's appointment. Ib. 870.

(*f*) Ryley's Placita, 504. (*g*) Ayloff's Cal. 206-7.

(*h*) Dougl. Peer. 321. who quotes the Chartulary of Coldingham.

(*i*) Ib. 322, who quotes a charter in the Pub. Archives. (*k*) Ib. 83.

(*l*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 42. (*m*) Caledonia, 753.

retained

retained them, till he lost them, in his turn, by his forfeiture. In October 1573, the same offices were transferred to Archibald Earl of Angus, and his heirs-male (*n*). The brother of Lord Home, though he was restored, both in his estates, and blood, was never restored to the offices of sheriff of Berwick, and baillie of Lauderdale. And, in July 1587, Francis, another audacious Earl of Bothwel, obtained, from the imprudence of King James, both those offices, to him, and to his heirs-male (*o*). Upon his forfeiture, in 1591, the king, in the spirit of folly, transferred both those offices to Lodowick, Duke of Lennox, and his heirs-male. Yet, in October 1592, the Duke of Lennox transferred the office of sheriff to Alexander, Lord Home, and his heirs. This lord, who was created Earl of Home, in 1605, resigned the office of sheriff to the king, in 1616, who thereupon appoined Alexander Home, of Renton, to be sheriff-principal of Berwickshire, on the 9th of January 1617, who executed this office till the 15th of February 1621 (*p*). From the epoch of Alexander Earl of Home's resignation, who was the last heretable sheriff, the appointment to this trust was in the king. And there followed no fewer appointments than five-and-twenty, before the king's restoration, by such authorities, as existed in the country, during a period of change. In August 1661, James, Earl of Home, was restored to this office. In October 1667, Alexander Earl of Home was sheriff. In January 1675 James, Earl of Home, was again sheriff, though other persons had been appointed, in the mean time. At the Revolution, this great trust was transferred to a somewhat different family: And on the 21st of August 1690, Sir Patrick Home, of Polworth, was appointed sheriff, by king William. Yet, on the 26th of September 1710, when a change of influence had taken place, Alexander, Earl of Home, was appointed to the same office, during pleasure, by Queen Anne. On the 13th of January 1715, Patrick, Earl of Marchmont, was again named sheriff, during pleasure, by George I. And on the 2d of October 1724, Alexander Earl of Marchmont was constituted, during pleasure, by the same king (*q*). After the abolition of the heretable jurisdictions, George Ker, who became one of the senators of the college of justice, in 1755, by the title of Lord Nisbet, was appointed the first sheriff of Berwickshire, under that new, and salutary arrangement.

(*n*) Dougl. Peer. 193, who quotes a charter, in the Pub. Archives: MS. Memorial of the sheriffs of this shire.

(*o*) Pub. Rec.; Dougl. Peer. 86.

(*p*) Pub. Rec. From all those transfers, it is easy to perceive, that the sheriffdom of Berwick was conveyed, as property.

(*q*) MS. Paper Office.

There

There seem to have existed, in this shire, through every age, since its establishment, various jurisdictions, which must have circumscribed the power of the sheriff (*r*). The Morvilles, who held Lauderdale, during the 12th and 13th centuries, had their own sheriffs, within this extensive district (*s*). During those middle ages, the Earls of Dunbar had their stewarts, who acted, as judges of the *Merse* (*t*). These notices throw some light on the obscure intimations, which remain of the *vice-comitatus* of the Earls of Dunbar, and March (*u*). As the Morvilles, and Dunbars, had their sheriffs, so had the Giffords, and other barons, their sheriffs (*x*). The Douglases acquired the regality of Lauderdale, from Robert I., David II., Robert II., and Robert III. (*y*). When the heretable jurisdictions were to be abolished, on a day propitious to Scotland, the Duke of Douglas claimed a compensation, for the regality of Bunkle, and of Preston (*z*); the Earl of Morton, for the regality of the one half of the lands of Langton (*a*); the Earl of Lauderdale, for the regality of Thirlestane, and the baillierie of Lauderdale (*b*); the Earl of Marchmont, for the regality of Marchmont (*c*); and two several persons, for the regality of Mordington, but this claim seems not to have been sustained. There was also a *coroner* of Berwickshire (*d*). The *commissariate* of Lauder, which came in place of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of St. Andrews, extended over this shire; and, exclusive of its

(*r*) On the 12th of July, 1476, however, there was a cause moved, in parliament, at the king's instance, against two baillies of Berwick-town, for taking out of *the king's irons*, two persons, who had been put in, by the sheriff. Parl. Rec. 208. Patrick, Lord Hailes, was then sheriff of Berwickshire; and Oliver Lauder, of Lauder, his deputy. Ib. 306—10.

(*s*) Char. of Glasgow, throughout. The Sinclairs of Herdmanston were their sheriffs of Lauderdale. Alan de Clephan was sheriff of Lauder, in 1203, Chart. Kelso, and Dougl. Bar. 317.

(*t*) Patrick, the Earl of March, granted a precept, "Seneschallo suo ad deliverandum servos "nativos prioris de Coldingham." Chart. Colding. 14. Gilbertus de Home schenescallus comitis Patricii, as mentioned in the records of Durham, was judge of the Merse. Hay's Vindication of Elizabeth More, 103. See the *Dapifers* of the Earls of Dunbar, in the Dip. Scotiæ, pl. lxxii—lxxiv.

(*u*) There is a confirmation, by David II. of Patrick de Dunbar, Earl of Marche and Moray, "in vicecomitatu Marchie."

(*x*) Caledonia, i. 716.

(*y*) Robertson's Index, 55, 93, 142.

(*z*) He received for that regality 400 l.

(*a*) But, this claim was not sustained.

(*b*) For the regality of Thirlestane, he was allowed 500 l.; and for the baillierie of Lauderdale, 500 l.

(*c*) He received for his claim 300 l.

(*d*) David II. granted to Ade Corsour the office of Coroner, in Berwickshire, for life. Robertson's Index, 30—5.

authority

authority over the affairs of the dead, exercised a jurisdiction over civil causes of inconsiderable value (*e*).

§ VI. *Of its Civil History.*] Berwickshire, as the most southern division of Lothian, became an important district of the kingdom of Scotland, by the cession of the Earl of Northumberland to the Scotish king, in 1020 A. D. (*f*). It was, at that epoch, inhabited by Northumbrian-Saxons, who had long enjoyed this ample country. Half a century of violent conflicts ensued. At length, the sons of Malcolm Canmore, successively, ascended his bloody throne. In 1097 A. D. Edgar acquired the sovereignty of Berwickshire, which he quietly retained till his demise, in 1107. By the will of Edgar, his younger brother, David, obtained not only a part of Cumberland, but a large portion of the districts, which lye in Lothian, southward of Lamermoor (*g*). In those times, there was not, probably, a numerous population, on a doubtful frontier, either at the accession of Edgar, or even at the more settled year, 1124, when Earl David, by indisputable descent, became king (*h*). Many respectable English barons, who laid the foundation of considerable houses, at that period, settled, in Berwickshire, and augmented its people (*i*).

In the history of this shire, Berwick-town is one of the first objects of just curiosity. This place, lying at Tweedmouth, on a dubious frontier, has an origin, obscure, undignified, and recent. It was not mentioned by Bede, who closed his useful labours, in 732 A. D.; it was not noticed by Hoveden, when he enumerated the churches on the Tweed, in 882 A. D. (*k*); but, it was called *Nobilis vicus*, by William of Newbrig, during the age of David I.. It was, at this period, the most populous, and important town of North Britain (*l*). At the

(*e*) The power of the commissary extended only to the value of 3 l 6 s. 8 d. sterling.

(*f*) Caledonia i. 369—402. At the accession of David I., in 1124, Northumberland was separated from *Lothian*, by the Tweed. Sim. of Durham, 253. In 1173, the same country was, by Hoveden, called *Lonais*, and, by Diceto, *Lohaneis*.

(*g*) See Earl David's foundation charter of Selkirk abbey, while Henry reigned, in England, and Alexander, in Scotland; whereby he granted many lands in the southern districts, and, particularly, a carucate, and *maisure* of lands, in Berwyc [Town.] See his two charters, while he was Earl David, in Smith's Bede, Apx. xx.

(*h*) See the charter of Thor-longus, in Smith's Bede, Apx. xx.

(*i*) See the Saxon Colonization of Scotland, in Caledonia, Book iv. Ch. 1.

(*k*) Fol. 418.

(*l*) Berwick is not mentioned in any of the genuine charters of Edgar, nor by David I., when he confirmed those charters; nor, is it spoken of, in the doubtful charter of Duncan. Berwick was

the epoch of the Scoto-Saxon period, Berwick had certainly become a town of the royal demesn, as we may learn from the charters of Earl David, and of the Scotish kings, his successors (*m*). It was already a *burgh*, when Earl David founded the abbey of Selkirk, while Alexander yet reigned, in Scotland (*n*). And it became, during the reign of David I. one of the *quatuor burgorum*, for holding a court of commercial jurisdiction, under the king's chamberlain. Whether the town of Berwick gave rise to the castle, or the castle to the town, cannot be precisely ascertained: Generally, the castles, by furnishing shelter, in rude times, produced a village under its walls: And, there is reason to suspect, that some of the Northumberland Earls may have built a castle of whatever strength, on the *naked* height, for his own accommodation (*o*). The castle gave protection to the town, and the town gave rise to the bridge across the Tweed,

given by Edgar, to the see of Durham, saith Wallis, as a part of the lands of Coldingham; but it was taken back by Edgar, he adds. Hist. Northumberland, ii. 431. For those assertions, he quotes Holinshed; yet, after looking into the charters, and reviewing the subject, I consider such assertions as unfounded, and fictitious.

(*m*) Earl David gave to the monks of Selkirk, in Berwic, one carucate, "et unam mansuram sub "ecclesia usque in Tweda," and the half of a fishery, the seventh part of the miln, and forty shillings a year, "de censu de Burgum." Chart. Kelso, No. 4. This was confirmed by Malcolm IV. and William, Ib. No. 1, 2, 3. K. William directed the *prepositus* of Berwic to pay the monks of Kelso forty shillings, annually, as his grandfather, David I., had granted. Ib. 29. They still received this annuity, at the beginning of the 14th century. Ib. 25. Alexander II. confirmed an agreement between the monks of Kelso, and the mayor and community of Berwic, "super tota "septima parte molendinorum de eodem villa." Ib. 37. In 1128, David I. granted to the monks of Holyrood, a toft in *his burgh* of Berwick. Maitland's Edin. 145. David I. gave to the monks of Dunfermlin, "unam mansuram, in Berwic." MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 105. David I. granted to the monks of May, "quandam plenariam toftam, in Berwic." Chart. May, No. 5. David I. gave to the canons of Jedburgh, "unam mansuram in Berwic, tertiam quoque maisuram, in eadem Ber- "wic super Twedam, cum tofto suo circumjacente." MS. Monast. Sco. 29. William confirmed to the monks of Lindores, a toft, "in *burgo meo* de Berwic." Chart. Lindores, No. 6.

(*n*) Charter of Selkirk: Berwick had then a church, a fishery, a miln, and some trade. A charter of Malcolm IV. speaks of the merchants of Berwic. David I. granted an exchange of the church of St. Mary de Berewic, for the church of Melros. Nic. Hist. Library, 363. Malcolm IV. directed, by his charter, that none of his ministers *of Berwic* should implead the men of Coldingham. Id. Dalrymple's Col. 364. William, the lion, gave an annuity of eight shillings out of the miln of Berwick to the monks of Farn-island. Nichols. Hist. Lib. 365. There is in the Appendix to this work, 363—7, a list of the charters granted, by the Scotish kings, which are preserved in the treasury of Durham, and which illustrate the obscure history of Berwick, in those ancient ages.

(*o*) David I. appears, from the dates of some of his charters, to have resided, at times, in Berwic castle. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xii, xii; Smith's Bede, 762.

in

in those uncommercial times (*p*). Under the beneficent reigns of David, and his immediate successor, Malcolm IV., Berwick flourished: Under William, the lion, it became a place of mintage (*q*).

The importance of Berwick was known to Henry II. of England, who is recollected, as the oppressor of Scotland: And, from the captive William, he wrenched, in 1174, Berwick, and its castle, which he retained, while he lived. The policy of Richard I. relinquished, in 1189, the castles of Rocksburgh, and of Berwick, specifically, with every claim, which he could make on Scotland (*r*). Berwick-town now flourished a while. But, the fury of king John, as he retired through the Merse, carried his torch throughout that devoted town, in 1216 (*s*). Yet, was Berwick restored, and improved, during many years of peace, under the beneficent influences of the Scotish kings. In 1235, Gilbert, Earl Mareschal, on his marriage with Margery, the sister of Alexander II., came to Berwick, where he received his bride, and celebrated his nuptials. In 1266, Edmond, the younger son of Henry III. paid a visit to the king, and queen, of Scots, at Berwick, where Alexander III. celebrated his birthday (*t*). The disputes arising, from the disputed succession to the crown of Alexander III., involved Berwick, in many miseries. In June 1291, the castle of Berwick, and indeed every other strength, in Scotland, were surrendered to Edward I. as lord paramount. On the 3d of June 1292, Philip de Rydale, the mayor, and the inhabitants of Berwick-town, swore fealty to Edward I. (*u*). The competitors, for the crown of Alexander III., soon after put in their several claims, at Berwick-town. A parliament assembled here, in October 1292. On the 17th day of the following

(*p*) In 1199, the bridge of Berwick being carried off by floods, this event gave rise to disputes between William, the lion, and the bishop of Durham, about rebuilding it, as it abutted on the bishop's lands. Hoveden, 796. The late Lord Hailes remarked, that the only dispute now would be, *who should pay the expence.* This new bridge scarcely "durid ix yeres," saith Leland: As early as 1307, *a passage*, between Berwick, and Tweedmouth, is spoken of, in Rym. ii. 1049: In 1334, *this passage* was granted to the bishop of Durham. Ayloff's Cal. 147. And, in 1337, there was a grant of rents, "for *building the bridge* of Berwick." Ib. 177—204. One of the streets of Berwick was, of old, called *Brig*-gate. Ib. 166. The present fine bridge of 16 arches was built of stone, in the reign of Elizabeth. Wallis's Northumb. ii. 41.

(*q*) Cardonel's Numismata, 6. The names of the moneyers were William, and Adam: William on Berewic, Adam on Berewic. Pl. i. No. 13, 14, 15. Those coins illustrate the Saxon speech of the moniers. Even James III., who claimed the honour of being the *liberator* of Berwick, seems to have made some coins, at Berwic mint. Ib. 80. At the epoch of king William's misfortune, in the field of Alnwick, Berwick, and the adjacent country, were burnt, by the English barons, Lucy, and Bohun, says Bromton. Twisden, 1089.

(*r*) Rym. i. 64; Hoveden, fol. 662.

(*s*) Border Hist. 123.

(*t*) Wallis's Northumb. ii. 53; Fordun. x. 24.

(*u*) Rym ii. 568.

November, the crown, and kingdom of Scotland, were adjudged to John Baliol, in the hall of the castle of Berwick (*x*): And two days, afterward, the castle, and kingdom, of Scotland, and with them Berwick, were placed in the possession of that dependant king, under his lord paramount.

Roger Bartholomew, a citizen of Berwick, by appealing to Edward against the late guardians of Scotland, in December 1292, brought on disputes, which ended in long, and ruinous wars (*y*). In October 1295, Baliol consented, that Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, should be delivered to the bishop of Carlisle, during Edward's hostilities with France (*z*). Yet, Berwick seems not to have been surrendered. And Edward I. having attacked it by sea, and land, took it by assault, and butchered the inhabitants, on the 30th of March 1296 (*a*). Edward held a parliament, at Berwick, in 1296, where the principal persons of the Scotish nation offered their homage, after Baliol, and his government, had renounced their allegiance to the English king (*b*). And, in August 1297, Edward I. established his exchequer, for Scotland, at Berwick, when it became the English metropolis, in North Britain, the depository of the records, and the tribunal of his authority (*c*). Yet, was it soon after seized by Wallace, as one of the fruits of his victory, at Stirling bridge, though the castle was too strong, and too well defended, to be taken, without a siege (*d*). After the great defeat of Falkirk, the English remained in possession of Berwick, during twenty eventful years (*e*). Meantime, in 1305, the mangled limbs of the illustrious.

(*x*) Rym. ii. 588. (*y*) Ryley's Placita, 146; Lord Hailes An. i. 222.

(*z*) Rym. ii. 692.

(*a*) Lord Hailes An. i. 236. Thirty Flemings, who manfully defended the Red Hall, were burnt with it, on the same day. Sir William Douglas, who feebly defended the castle, surrendered his charge, and swore fealty to Edward. Id.

(*b*) Prynne, iii. 652—663.

(*c*) Rym. Foed. ii. 793; Ayloff's Cal. 115. The records, which had been deposited, in the castle of Edinburgh, were delivered, on the 16th September 1296, to Hugh Cressingham, the treasurer, at Berewyk-upon-Tweed. Ib. 337. And see Maddox's Exchequer, ii. 4; whereby, it appears, that the exchequer of Berwick was to be governed, by the same rules, as the exchequer of Westminster.

(*d*) Bord. Hist. 207; Lord Hailes An. i. 252. Yet, early in 1298, the Scots evacuated Berwick, which became the rendezvous of the army of Edward, which was again to decide the fate of Scotland, on Falkirk-field. In 1299, the English monarch assembled his army, at Berwick, for the relief of Stirling castle; but, his barons refusing to advance, he was obliged to retire in disgust. Ib. 266.

(*e*) Bord. Hist. 269; Wallis's Hist. Northumberland, ii. 435. Edward I., for the last time, came to Berwick for a few days, in July 1301, on his northern expedition, which proved, as fruitless, as his first.

Wallace,

Wallace, who had fallen under the axe, rather than the sword of Edward, were exhibited, as sad, but unavailing spectacles to the Scotish people, on Berwick bridge (*f*). In the subsequent year, Berwick was again stained, by the anger, more than by the policy of that overbearing king. The spirited Countess of Buchan, who had placed Robert Bruce in the inaugural chair, was exhibited, to the disgrace of Edward's gallantry, in a *wooden cage*, on the walls of Berwick castle (*g*).

Let us, mean-time, turn to some other towns of this shire, which are less frequent in negotiation, and seldomer dignified by events. Lauder is, indeed, the only royal burrough, within this county. As a kirk-town, it is as ancient as the reign of David I., if not older. From him, however, Hugh Morville obtained Lauder, with its territory, on the Leeder water. Like the other great settlers, Hugh Morville having obtained a district, built a castle, a church, a miln, and a brewhouse, for the convenience of his followers. As early as the subsequent reign, we may see Malcolm IV. give a confirmation of the grant of his grandfather, for the tithes of the miln of Lauder to the canons of Dryburgh, which they had derived from Hugh Morville, before the death of Earl Henry, in 1152 (*h*). We thus perceive that *Lauder* was a town in demesn of the Morvilles, and Baliols, who represented those early constables of Scotland, even down, perhaps, to John Baliol, who, with his dependant crown, forfeited, for his ambition, his vast estates (*i*).

Greenlaw, the county town, which stands on the White-Ader, twelve miles from Lauder, on the west, and twenty, from Berwick, on the east, was merely the seat of a kirk, and the demesn of the Earl of Dunbar, during the reign of

(*f*) N. Trivet, i. 340; Holinshed, ii. 313.

(*g*) Rymer, ii. 1014; Holinshed, 314; Caledonia, i. 673; wherein the final fate of that great woman is left, in unsatisfactory doubt. In her wooden cage, she remained till the year 1313, when Edward II. ordered Edmund Hastings, the keeper of Berwick, and the constable of its castle, to deliver Isabel, who is described, as the wife of John, late Earl of Buchan, to Henry de Beaumont, the husband of Alice Cumyn, her relation. Rym. iii. 401. See Dug. Baron. ii. 50. for an account of Henry de Beaumont, who assumed the earldom of Buchan, and made a considerable figure, in the annals of Scotland, during the subsequent reign.

(*h*) Chart. Dryburgh. Hugh Morville, the grantor, died in 1162; and his territorial rights, in Lauderdale, descended, successively, to two male heirs, and to a long succession of female heirs, who introduced the Lords of Galloway; the de Quincy's, and the Baliol's.

(*i*) The right of patronage of the church of Lauder was resigned, by John Baliol, and Dervorgille his wife, who represented the Morvilles, in 1268, for the benefit of the canons of Dryburgh, with the site of the chapel, to the same church of Lauder, belonging. Chart. Dryburgh. After that forfeiture, Robert I. granted to Sir James Douglas, his great supporter, the *town*, and *territory of Lauder*. Robertson's Index, 10.

David

David I. (*a*). *Greenlaw* was, by the fourth Gospatrick, the Earl of Dunbar, who died, as we have just seen, in 1166, to his younger son, Patrick, who fixed his residence, at that ancient kirk-town; and he confirmed his father's grant to the monks of Kelso, of the church of *Greenlaw*, with the chapel of Lambdene, and the adjoining land (*b*). Patrick was succeeded, by his son William, who also resided in the castle of *Greenlaw*, and enjoyed a private chapel, within *his court* (*c*). William married his cousin, Ada, the daughter of the first Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, by whom he obtained the manor of *Home*; and from this marriage sprung the family, which is known, by the surname of *Home*, that was derived from the appellation of their castellated residence. Thus, William, and his progeny, long possessed *Greenlaw*, under the Earls of Dunbar, from whom, they in this manner originated (*d*). William was succeeded, by his son, William, who assuming the surname of Home, from the castle, where he resided, the scene of so many conflicts, *Greenlaw* was neglected, for greater objects; and was perhaps involved in the several forfeitures of the Earl of Dunbar, and Lord Home (*e*).

Dunse is another town, which was the seat of a kirk, during the twelfth century; as we may know from record (*f*). *Duns*, as the name imports, stood

(*a*) Exchequer MS. of Mr. Sol. Gen. Purvis. Gospatric, *comes*, who succeeded his father, in 1147, granted to the monks of Kelso, with other churches, and lands, the church of *Greenlaw*, with the chapel of Lambdene, and the adjacent land. Chart. Kelso, 70. Waldeve, who succeeded Gospatrick, in 1166, confirmed that grant of his father. Ib. 72.

(*b*) Ib. 73: Patrick further granted to the same monks certain rights of pasturage, in *his manor of Greenlaw*. Id.

(*c*) Ib. 74-5-7.

(*d*) Dougl. Peer. 341. William, who lived under Alexander II., engaged to the monks of Kelso, that their church of *Greenlaw* should sustain no injury, from the chapel, which they granted him, within his court, "in curia mea." Chart. Kelso, 74. William made other grants to the monks of Kelso, which show, that he was *lord* of *Greenlaw*. Ib. 75-77. Crawf. Peer. 220.

(*e*) Chart. Kelso, No. 76. When the earldom of March came to the crown, by forfeiture, there were enumerated, among the lands of that earldom, which were accounted for, in the Exchequer, *Greenlaw*, and the miln thereof, Greenlaw-den, and Greenlaw-hame. Purvis's Excheq. MS. Alexander Lord Home obtained charters, between the years 1508, and 1516, for the barony of *Greenlaw*, and other lands. Dougl. Peer. 345, who quotes the Records. Lord Home was executed, on the 8th of October 1516. His estates were not all restored to his brother George. Parl. Rec. 641.

(*f*) At the epoch of the ancient *Taxatio*, it seems to have been the most considerable place, in this shire, next to Berwick, and Coldingham; The church of Berwick was rated, in that *Taxatio*, at 110 marks; the church of *Duns*, at 110 marks; the church of Coldingham, at 120; the church of Eccles at 100; and of Greenlaw, at 45 marks.

originally

originally on the summit of a hill, which is, pleonastically, called Duns-law; and which rises gradually 650 feet, above the level of the sea. At the head of the plain, which stretches, from the mouth of the Tweed, in the centre of the shire, stands the modern town of Duns; having the Lamermoor hills on the west, north, and east. Its origin is extremely obscure. It is never mentioned, in the charters of the 12th, and 13th centuries; its inhabitants are not even noticed, in Ragman-roll: Yet, it rose into notice, soon after the succession of Robert Bruce, when it became the property, and residence, of the celebrated Sir Thomas Randolph, the king's nephew, and Earl of Moray. From him, it descended, in 1332, to his son, Thomas; and from John, in 1346, to his sister, Agnes, the celebrated Countess of March. Thus, did Dunse become a town, in demesn, of this potent family, who had here many tenements, and husband-lands, a *park*, a forest, and a castle (*g*). Dunse now partook of their splendour; followed their fortunes; and shared in their fate. After the accession of Bruce, some other villages, in this shire, rose into the political state of *burghs of barony*, which, by their unimportance, only justify the remark of Camden, that *the Marche* is more noted for its *earls*, than its *places*.

Let us now turn, from those places, which, in those times, were only the obscure seats of several parishes, to the shire, by a retrospect to original settlement, and an attention to influential events. In the history of property, and of persons, there are two periods of great importance, in the Scotish annals: The first is the reign of David I., when so many strangers settled, in North-Britain; the second is, the reign of Robert Bruce, when a contest, for the crown, produced so many forfeitures, which were granted to the spirited supporters of the successful king. During the first period, David himself possessed much property, in Berwickshire, and the sovereignty of the whole: How many lands he granted to his followers, from the south, need not be repeated (*h*). Earl Henry, his son, and the Countess Ada, possessed several manors, which they liberally

(*g*) There is a charter of Thomas, Earl of Moray, granting to the monks of Newbotle an annuity of two marks out of the lands of Kingeside, dated "apud parcum de Duns," the 9th of July 1316, in the king's presence, with Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, Sir James Douglas, and other considerable persons. Chart. Newbotle, No. 132. David II., in 1362, confirmed a grant of lands, by Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, to Alexander de Ricklintoun, his armour-bearer, of certain lands in *Duns*. Robertson's Index, 43. When George, Earl of Dunbar, founded the collegiate church of Dunbar, in 1392, he made the church of *Dunse* one of the eight prebends thereof. Sir Lewis Stuart's MS. Col. 58. There was a confirmation, in 1366, by David II., of a charter from Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, to Thomas de Papedy, "me tunc existente apud *Dunss*." Robertson's Index, 81.

(*h*) Caledonia, bk. iv. ch. i.; of the *Saxon Colonization*.

distributed

distributed to their English vassals (*i*). Next to the king, and prince, the earls of Dunbar enjoyed the most extensive estates, and the most numerous vassals. Next to this potent family, Hugh Morville possessed the greatest property, in Berwickshire, particularly, on the Leeder water (*k*). The Stewarts retained their estates in Berwickshire, till they ascended the throne. The progenitors of the Gordon family, during the twelfth century, obtained the manor of Gordon, from which they derived their appropriate name, with other lands, in the parishes of Weststruther, and Earlston. Bernard Baliol, Haye of Simprine, and Byset of Upsettlington, all obtained from the munificent David I., their several manors. The vast estates of the Morvilles passed, by a female heir, in 1196 A. D., to the lords of Galloway; and from them, those possessions were transmitted, by other female heirs, in 1234, to Roger de Quincey, William de Fortibus, and John Baliol, whose son contended for the crown. And, above all, the monks emulated the barons, in the extent of their estates, and went beyond them, in the usefulness of their improvements (*l*). During the second period, the restoration of the monarchy, by Robert Bruce, created many forfeitures,

(*i*) To William de Vetereponte, Earl Henry granted almost the whole manor of Langtown, with the lands of Hornedene, in the Merse, and some *shielings*, in Lamermoor. He transferred various portions of those lands to the monks of Kelso. His son, William, followed his example. The monks, in their gratitude, received into their cemetery the corps of the lamented Earl Henry, who died, in England; they enrolled his name among their benefactors; and they said masses for his soul. Chart. Kelso, 138, 142, 143. To the Northumbrian, William de Ow, Earl Henry granted other portions of Langtown; and here he settled, with his followers. Ib. 137, 448. The Countess Ada, Earl Henry's widow, gave the lands of Langlaw, to Alexander de St. Martin, who was a liberal benefactor to the monks of Dryburgh, and Newbotle. Chart. Dryb. 66-8; Chart. Newbotle, 108-9.

(*k*) The Morvilles enjoyed the whole of Lauderdale, as low down, as Legerwood, and Birkenside, which the *Stewart* obtained from Malcolm IV. Below those manors, the earls of Dunbar owned considerable estates, on both sides of the Leeder; comprehending Ersildun, and other lands. At the foot of Lauderdale, the Morvilles enjoyed some rich lands, on the northern bank of the Tweed, including Bemerside, Dryburgh, Mertown, and Newton, on the Eden. Chart. Dryburgh, and Kelso, throughout.

(*l*) The monks of Coldingham very early acquired, on the lower Tweed, around Berwick, many manors, and lands, and perhaps even parishes, from the grants of Edgar, David I., and the earls of Dunbar. See the Chartulary of Coldingham, throughout, which evinces not only the greatness, but the compactness of their estates. The monks of Dryburgh acquired considerable possessions, in the western parts of Berwickshire. See their Chartulary, throughout. The monks of Kelso also obtained very large estates, in the middle districts, as well as the south-western parts of this shire. See their title-deeds, in the Chartulary of Kelso. And the nunneries, hospitals, and other ecclesiastical corporations, obtained, from the piety of those times, many lands; as we may still see, in the Chartularies.

and

and introduced many new people into Berwickshire (*m*). The king's nephew, the Earl of Moray, by acquiring Duns, Morthington, Longformacus, and other lands, at that epoch, gained a settlement, in this county (*n*). The Douglases were introduced here, for the first time: The forfeiture of the representatives of the Morvilles enabled a generous prince to grant Lauderdale to Sir James Douglas, with Cockburn, and other lands (*o*). The earls of Marche seem to have retained their property, in this shire, during a lengthened struggle. The Stewarts of Scotland preserved their lands, throughout many years of peril (*p*). The second son of the Stewart, by marrying the heiress of Boncle, transplanted a new family into Berwickshire; from which is descended the present representative of that ancient race. The religious houses acquired their full share of lands, and annuities, in this shire, from the Bounty of Robert I., who owed much of his success to the spirited support of the churchmen (*q*). In the midst of those struggles, for a great object, and forfeitures, for attachments to the unsuccessful king, several families, who had been vassals, rose to independance, and some families, who had been for ages low, now rose to eminence.

The people of this shire were first involved in warfare, by the efforts of David I., in support of his niece, the Empress Maud, against the usurpations of Stephen. By the cessions of Malcolm IV. to Henry II., Northumberland, and Cumberland, from being congenerous districts, became unfriendly neighbours. The imprudence of William, the lion, was far more fatal, however, than the weakness of Malcolm. By engaging in hostilities, with England, in 1173, for supporting the son of Henry II., against his father, he induced Lucy, the justiciary of England, to cross the Tweed, when he burnt Berwick, and wasted the Merse, and Lothian (*r*). William renewed the war, in the subsequent year. He was taken prisoner, on the 13th of July 1174. To regain his liberty, the captive monarch weakly surrendered the independance of his kingdom. As a pledge, for the performance of this wretched treaty, William delivered to the English king Berwick, and four other castles, the principal strengths of Scotland (*s*). The year 1189 will always be memorable, in the annals of North-Britain, for the death of Henry II. and the succession of Richard I., who restored Berwick, and with it, national independence (*t*). Berwickshire enjoyed the benefits of those events, during many years. Disputes began, however, in 1204, about the building of a castle at Tweedmouth: The English king led his

(*m*) Robertson's Index, 1—30. (*n*) Ib. 9. (*o*) Ib. 10. (*p*) Ib. 77-93.
(*q*) Ib. i. 30. (*r*) Chron. Mailros, 172; W. Newbrig, 206.
(*s*) Rym. i. 39. (*t*) Ib. 64; Chron. Mailros, 178.

army to Norham; William, the lion, led his to Berwick (*u*). Alexander II., entering into warfare with John, during the barons' wars, from a hope of acquiring the northern counties of England, involved his kingdom in misery. In 1216, John wasted Lothian, with fire, and sword; he stormed the castle of Berwick; he burned Dunbar, and Haddington; and, in his retreat, he set his torch to Coldingham monastery, and to Berwick town (*x*). More than seventy years now elapsed, before the Scotish borders were again involved, in such devastations.

It was the demise of Alexander III., in 1286, without issue; the competition for his crown; and the ambition of Edward I.; which brought infinite miseries on the contiguous nations. On the 31st of May 1291, the estates of Scotland, after sitting, at Norham, in Northumberland, were adjourned, by the English king, to meet him, at Upsetlington, within Berwickshire, on the opposite bank of the Tweed. Here, in a few days, the estates of Scotland relinquished the independance of the nation to Edward; to enable him, as the pretended Lord Paramount, to decide the contest for the crown. He soon repaired to Berwick. And an universal homage to the English king was here required, under the pains of forfeiture. On the 28th of June 1291, the mayor, corporation, and inhabitants of Berwick now swore fealty to that ambitious sovereign, within their parish church (*y*). Many of the people of Berwickshire, and of other counties, followed their servile example. Having thus obtained this important acknowledgment, which comprehended so many consequences, Edward returned to England, in August 1291; leaving the ultimate decision, with respect to a dependant crown, to the subsequent year (*z*). The Lord Paramount returned to Berwick castle, on the 1st of June 1292. And many a disgraceful scene here ensued, during some subsequent months. A parliament assembled, at Berwick, on the 15th October 1292. And on the 17th of November 1292, in the great hall of the castle, Edward adjudged the disputed crown to John Baliol (*a*). A few feverish years of claims, by the Lord Paramount, and of compliance, by a dependant king, ended at length, in avowed enmity. A treaty with France was sought by Baliol; and in March 1296, an inveterate war began with the

(*u*) Lord Haile's An i. 137. (*x*) Chron. Mailros, 190; M. Paris, 191.

(*y*) Prynne, iii. 509.

(*z*) Rym. ii. 525; 567—73; Prynne, 450. Edward was at *Caldstrem, in Scotiæ*, says the record, on the 2d of August 1291. Ib. 451. Here, in a happier age, a bridge was built, to facilitate the intercourse between the two united nations, by mutual compact.

(*a*) Rym. ii. 598.

marched

oppressor of his people. Edward, as if prepared for such an event, promptly marched to Berwick, which he took by assault, after a vigorous defence, when five thousand persons were slain, in a general carnage (*a*). The castle of Berwick, which Sir William Douglas commanded, capitulated, on the same day (*b*). Here, Edward remained, during fifteen days; fortifying this border town; and directing his ultimate measures. His army marched through the Merse to Dunbar, where the English generals obtained a victory, on the 28th of April 1296, which decided the fate of Baliol, and the issue of the war (*c*). He now over-ran Scotland. And, assembling a parliament, at Berwick, on the 24th of August 1296, he received the homage of a kingdom, which was over-run, but not subdued (*d*). In the subsequent year, however, Wallace acquired Berwick town, as one of the consequences of his victory at Stirling (*e*). But, his important acquisition was of short continuance: The Scots retired from it, as Edward I. again advanced to the Tweed: And, he now placed a body of Gascons to garrison Berwick, till the fortune of Scotland should be tried by a battle (*f*). He won the field of Falkirk, on the 22d of July 1298: Yet, the Scots continued unsubdued. In the subsequent year, they even besieged the castle of Stirling: In November 1299, Edward assembled an army, at Berwick, in order to relieve that important strength; but, his barons, feeling their wrongs, positively refused to advance, through a rugged country, during that gloomy season (*g*). After alternate successes, and defeats, and the ill-kept truces of various years, Edward proceeded, in 1305, to settle this litigated kingdom, by his ordinance, for the stability of Scotland: By it, the castle of Berwick was left in the keeping of the Chamberlain of Scotland, Sir John de Sandale, who was to appoint such a sheriff, for Berwickshire, as he could answer for; and the Chamberlain was entrusted with the town, for the profits whereof he was to account, according to the extent, which had been made, by the king's command, after its conquest (*h*).

But, new events were at hand. The coronation of Robert Bruce, on the 27th of March 1306, brought with it a fresh war, which was equally bloody, as the former, but more fortunate, for the interests of Bruce, and the indepen-

(*a*) Fordun says 7,500 persons were killed; Hemingford 8,000; M. Westm. 6,000: If 5,000 were slain, in the assault, Berwick must have been, indeed, at that epoch, a very populous city.

(*b*) The 30th of March 1296.

(*c*) On the 16th of May 1296, Edward committed to Osbert de Spaldington the keeping of the castle, the town, and county of Berwick. Rymer, ii. 716.

(*d*) Prynne, iii. 653-63. (*e*) W. Hemingford, i. 131.

(*f*) W. Hemingford, 159. (*g*) Ib. 170.

(*h*) See the Ordinance, in Ryley, 504—8.

dence of Scotland. Edward I., with his dying breath, ordered the prosecution of a vigorous war against North-Britain. But, Edward II., as he was opposed by the skill, and valour, and fortune of Bruce, carried on hostilities, without success. From Carlisle, on the west, and Berwick, on the east, most of his inroads were made into the Scotish frontiers. In the years 1310, and 1311, Edward II. passed nine months, in Berwick, whence he made some incursions into the adjacent country. On the 26th of January 1311-12, the English king issued, from Berwick, ample authorities, for making a truce with the Scots, whom he tried to gain; but, they felt their own powers of resistance, under more fortunate commanders. No truce was made, between parties, whose pretensions were so different. Edward II. assembled a great army, at Berwick, on the 11th of June 1314; with design to make the Scots feel his hostile sword, and to relieve Stirling castle. But, Robert Bruce resolutely placed himself between the English army, and Stirling castle, at the Torwood. And, on the 23d of June 1314, the independance of Scotland was successfully fought for, at Bannockburn, on a decisive field. Edward II., after an undignified flight, by land, to Dunbar castle, was carried thence, by water, to a safe retreat, in Berwick. The Scots attempted, in July 1315, to surprize Berwick; but, their success was not equal to their effort. Edmond de Cailaud, the Gascon governor of Berwick, made an inroad into Teviotdale, and wasted the intermediate country; but, on his return, he was intercepted, by Sir James Douglas, and slain, with many of his Gascons. Douglas now heard of the vaunt of Robert Nevil, another of the commanders, in Berwick, that he would encounter that eminent commander, wherever he might see his banner: Douglas was thus invited towards Berwick; and he burnt some villages, and displayed his pennon: While much of warfare was personal, Nevil was thus provoked into the field, where he fell before the fortune of that valorous knight.

The ascendency, which the Scots had at length acquired, induced Edward II. to avail himself of the pope's favour, for obtaining a necessary truce: But, while the title of king was withheld from Bruce, the papal messengers were told, *that there could be no hopes of a treaty.* The guardian of the minorites of Berwick, Adam Newton, was now sent to proclaim the papal truce, in Scotland. He found Bruce, with his army, in a wood, near Old Cambus, preparing for the assault of Berwick. But, to the intimations of the minorite, Bruce resolutely answered, *I will listen to no bulls, till I am treated as king, and have made myself master of Berwick.* On the 28th of March 1318, the Scots, under Randolph, Douglas, and Dunbar, obtained the town of Berwick, partly by intrigue, but more by address, and bravery. Bruce, who lay in the neighbourhood, hearing of this success,

success, hastened to besiege the castle, which he soon obliged to submit (*a*). By his valour, and policy, he had now expelled his adversaries from Scotland. He, for some time, resided in Berwick castle, where he dated many of his charters; and where he assembled several of his parliaments.

Edward II. resolving to wipe off this disgrace, assembled a great army, at Newcastle, in July 1319. He soon advanced to Berwick. And trusting to the numbers of his troops, and to their skill, he assaulted the town by sea, and land (*b*). They were opposed, with equal knowledge, and firmness, by the Scots, under the stewart of Scotland, who had been placed in this great trust, by Bruce, whose daughter Margery he had married. At the close of a well-fought day, the English desisted from their strenuous efforts. The merit of this repulse was chiefly attributed to the stewart, who, being supported by his own family, and vassals, displayed a conduct, gallantry, and perservance, which became the father of a race of kings (*c*). Nor, was Robert Bruce an unconcerned spectator of

(*a*) Those were events so important, and the story has been so obscurely told, that it may be of use, to clear this darkness, by adopting a few illustrations. Lord Hailes has failed, in relating those adventures, by misconceiving the language, and meaning of Barbour. The tale of this poetical historian is, that Syme of Spalding, a burgess of Berwick, having been harshly treated by the governor of that town, in order to be revenged, sent a letter to the *March-erle*, whose *cosyne* he had married. The *March-erle* is Barbour's poetical expression, for the *Earl of March*, the sixth Patrick Earl of Dunbar, and March. The earl communicated this letter to the king, who ordered him to assemble his men, on the night appointed by Spalding, at *Duns-park*, the Earl of Moray's manor-place, in the Merse, where he would cause Randolph, and Douglas to meet him, with their men. The earl prudently kept both the letter, and the king's order, secret till the appointed day;

"Than of the best of *Lothiane*
"He him till his tryst has ta'ne;
"For schyreiff thereof then was he:
"To *Duns-park* than with his menye
"He came at evyn privelye."

Lord Hailes, as he did not understand Barbour's expression of *March-erle*, says Spalding's letter was sent to a *Scotish lord*; But, the Scala Cronica, which he had before him, might have shown him that, "James Douglas, by help of *Patricke Counte of Marche*, and Peter Spalding, got Berwick "out of the Englishmen's hands:" And his lordship not understanding what place was meant, by *Duns-park*, says the king ordered the *Scotish lord* to repair to *a certain place*: This is all obscurity; but, Barbour is all clearness, when properly understood. *Duns-park* was contiguous to Duns-town, and being the domain of Randolph, and within a night's march of Berwick, the object of surprize, was the most commodious place of rendezvous.

(*b*) Malmsbury, 161, described Berwick "as a strong well-walled town, situated on the sea, in "the beginning of Scotland, and convenient for merchants, in time of peace."

(*c*) This Walter Stewart was born in 1293; succeeded his father, James, in 1309; married Margery Bruce, in 1315. who brought him a son on the 2d of March 1315-16, that ascended the throne, on the 22d of February 1370-71, upon the demise of David Bruce, by the name of Robert II., the first of the Stewartine dynasty.

that

that conduct, which saved this important town. By sending Randolph, and Douglas into Yorkshire, who made a successful diversion, he obliged Edward II. to raise the siege, on which he had built so many hopes. Robert Bruce now repaired the defences, and raised the walls of Berwick, which recent experience had shown him to be too low, and deepened the ditches, that were too shallow (*d*).

A two years truce was the just reward of so many efforts, and of so much enterprize. The war was renewed, with greater waste, and misery. Edward II. entered Berwickshire, in August 1322, with a formidable army. Bruce opposed him, rather with caution, than magnanimity. Having ordered the cattle, and flocks, and valuables, of the Merse, and Lothian, to be removed, he took post behind the Forth, at Culross. When the English army had advanced to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, famine fell upon it; and Edward was obliged to retreat, by the policy, rather than the sword of Bruce, who had a nation to save, and a crown to transmit. The English troops, as they retired, carried a flaming torch through Lothian, and the Merse, to Dryburgh abbey, where the monks were slain, and their church profaned. The Scots retaliated, by a vigorous incursion into Yorkshire, which was attended, with circumstances of equal profaneness, and barbarity. At Berwick, in March 1323, Bruce negotiated a truce, which was to endure till June 1336: It was agreed that, during this period, no fortresses should be erected in Cumberland, northward of the Tine, nor in the shires of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Dunfries (*e*). On the 7th of June 1323, this important treaty was ratified by Robert Bruce, at Berwick, with the consent of his bishops, earls, and barons (*f*). So great a value did the Scots put on Berwick, that they rather chose to continue under the excommunication of the pope, than yield it to the English.

The Scots, in June 1327, put an end to the truce, which seems not to have been much regarded by either party. Randolph, and Douglas, now entered England, at the head of twenty thousand cavalry. The warlike Edward III., at the age of fifteen, marched fifty thousand men to oppose them. The Scotish com-

(*d*) Barbour iii. 94, speaks of the siege, and reparations, with the minuteness of personal knowledge: Bruce, says he,

"—— Sent for mesonys far and ner,
"And gert *ewill ten fute hey the wall*
"About Berewick's toun our all."

This intimation of Barbour is confirmed, by a charter of Robert Bruce to the monks of Melros, in 1320, which evinces that, he had obtained a special aid, for repairing the walls, and deepening the ditches of Berwick. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 38.

(*e*) Rym. iii. 1022. (*f*) Ib. 1031.

manders,

manders, after amusing the English leaders, for several days, retired into their own wilds, whatever could be opposed to their march, by skill, or bravery. The young prince wept, when he perceived, that he had been outgeneralled, by such experienced commanders, in desultory warfare, as Randolph, and Douglas. The misfortunes of the campaign of 1327, led to the treaty of Northampton, in April 1328, which, with the consent of the English parliament, acknowledged the sovereignty of Scotland, and the royalty of Bruce. It was a fundamental article of this treaty, which will be always remembered, in the Scotish annals, that David, the son of Robert I., should marry Johanna, the daughter of Edward II. (*g*). This marriage was solemnized at Berwick, on the 12th of July 1328.

Robert Bruce, the restorer of the monarchy, died, at the premature age of fifty-five, on the 7th of June 1329. Never were his prudence, his conduct, his valour, and his perseverance, more necessary, for the welfare of his kingdom. The ambition of Edward III. renewed the pretensions of his grandfather, in defiance of a solemn treaty, and in contempt of two acts of parliament. Pretences are never wanting, at the call of duplicity. A new war, which was more bloody, and wasteful, than the former, commenced, in 1332, and did not end till 1357. In 1332, appeared at Roxburgh, Edward Baliol, the pretender to the Scotish crown. Here, he surrendered the independance of Scotland to Edward III. as his liege lord. He engaged, to put the English king in possession of Berwick, its town, castle, and territory, with other lands on the Marche (*h*). After some disasters, he even made preparations, for besieging Berwick. In March 1333, Baliol came before this important place. Edward III. arrived soon after, with his more potent army. The castle of Berwick was defended by Patrick, Earl of March, and the Town, by Sir William Keith. Without relief, their gallant efforts had been fruitless. At length, the regent, Archibald Douglas, appeared near the town, with a considerable army. Without success, he tried to relieve the besieged. He attempted a diversion in England. When that enterprize also failed, he resolved on a decisive conflict. His object was to drive the English army from Halydon-hill, lying within Berwick-bounds (*i*). But, the most gallant efforts of the Scotish army were unavailing: The regent was mortally wounded, in the moment of his grievous defeat. The town, and castle, immediately, surrendered; and, Berwickshire, and Lothian, were overrun

(*g*) There is a copy of this treaty, in the MS. paper office, which was sent to the Register House at Edinburgh. Robertson's Index, 101-2. Berwick-upon-Tweed is more than once emphatically mentioned, in the treaty of Northampton, whereby it remained to Scotland, after so many conflicts.

(*h*) Rym. iv. 536-9.

(*i*) The site of this important battle is distinctly marked, in Armstrong's Map of Berwickshire.

and

and wasted, by the English army, under Edward III. In February 1334, the town, castle, and county of Berwick were, by Baliol, and his parliament, annexed to England, for ever (*k*). Edward III. took the Earl of Dunbar into his protection; and gave him a distinguished command on the borders (*l*). Yet, did he revolt, in the subsequent year, when he saw his own ruin, involved in the degradation of his country. From that sad epoch, few events of any importance occurred, in Berwickshire, for many years (*m*).

In August 1355, the Northumbrians made, at length, an inroad into the Merse. The Earl of Dunbar retaliated, by sending Sir William Ramsay into Northumberland, which he equally wasted. Sir Thomas Gray, the governor, sallied out, to chastise the spoilers. Ramsay, with great artifice, made an insidious retreat, while Gray, imprudently following him across the Tweed, fell into the ambush, which that crafty commander had laid for him. Gray tried, by efforts of valour, to break the toils, wherein he had fallen: But, he was taken, while few of his party escaped unhurt, from Nisbet field. Berwick-town was soon after taken by assault; the Earl of Angus, having scaled the walls, from the sea, while the Earl of Dunbar attacked it, by land. The inhabitants flying to the castle, left to pillage their town, which had become opulent, by twenty years tranquillity (*n*). But, Edward III. hastened himself to retake this important place, which surrendered, on the 13th January 1355-6 (*o*). Milder scenes soon succeeded. David Bruce, who had been a prisoner, since the battle of Durham, in 1346, was conveyed, in August 1357, to Berwick, where commissioners were negociating a peace (*p*). This treaty was concluded, at the frequent scene of so many truces, on the 3d of October 1357 (*q*): David was now released, for a ransom of a hundred thousand marks sterling, which were payable, by yearly instalments, of ten thousand marks; and Scotland was to enjoy a

(*k*) Rym. iv. 590-94. The people of the town, and of the adjacent country, now swore fealty to Edward III. The monks of Coldingham, Eccles, Kelso, Melros, and others, followed their overpowering example. Ayloff, 143. The English king now exercised over the town, and county, of Berwick every act of sovereignty. He invited merchants to settle here; and he built several new mills. Ib. 146-49.

(*l*) Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, sat in Baliol's parliament, at Edinburgh, in 1333, which transferred Berwickshire, with the town, and castle, to the English king, for ever. Ib. 591.

(*m*) In 1336, there were tournaments held, at Berwick, where the English, and the Scotish barons, equally showed their prowess. Lord Hailes' An. ii. 272-3. In 1341, Edward III. kept his Easter, at Berwick; where he held a tournament, in which two Scotish, and one English knight, were slain. Bord. Hist. 332.

(*n*) Lord Hailes' An. ii. 233.

(*o*) Ib. 234; Rym. vi. 12.

(*p*) Rym. vi. 31.

(*q*) Ib. 46-7.

cessation

cessation from war, till the ransom should be paid. Thus ended those disastrous hostilities, at the end of five and twenty years (*r*).

The nature of the settlement, which had thus been extorted, naturally promoted ill will, and warfare, between irascible people. At length, on the demise of Edward III. outrages began on the borders of the Merse. A hasty quarrel, at a fair, was quite sufficient to promote an inroad, on either side. After the accession of Richard II. the Earl of Northumberland entered Berwickshire, in 1377, and ravaged the lands of the Earl of Dunbar. Commissioners were appointed to settle those hostile disputes. But, in the meantime, the castle of Berwick was surprised, in 1378, by seven Scotsmen of desperate fortunes. And being joined by some similar persons, from an unsettled frontier, they retained this fortlet, till they were assaulted, by the Earl of Northumberland, at the head of ten thousand men. This potent baron ravaged the Merse till he was successfully opposed by the Earl of Douglas. Commissioners met, successively, at Berwick, at Ayton, and other places, to hear complaints, and to promote quiet, between two feeble governments, while there were, on either side of *the border*, so many men, who wished for strife, and hoped for plunder. A truce, which was made, at Ayton, in 1384, tranquillized the borders awhile. But, during this truce, the castle of Berwick was again seized by the Scots, in December 1384, who obtained their object, by insidiousness, rather than by valour. The Earl of Northumberland, however, soon regained this treacherous castle, by similar means. Amidst all those frequent hostilities, and subsequent truces, the English, at the end of 1386, appear to have possessed some part of Berwickshire, the result of the feebleness of the English, as much as of the Scotish government. Those petty hostilities, which were wasteful, and vexatious, beyond conception, were without any effects, that could justify such odious means.

The wretched period of eighty-five years, which ended with the death of Richard III., and with the assassination of James III., was extremely disastrous to Berwickshire. It began with the nine years revolt, and hostilities, of the Earl

(*r*) We may judge of its wastefulness, from the following statement: The old extent of the lands of Berwickshire, before the war began, amounted to £622 2s. 4d. The new extent, after it ended, was £372 17s. 3d. And the difference evinces, what must have been the devastations of that long course of hostilities. In 1368, there was an act of parliament made, at Perth, *De quatuor Burgorum*; enacting that, as the two burroughs of Berwyc, and Roxburgh, were detained, by their adversaries of England, Lanark, and Linlithgow, should be accepted, in their place, to hold the chamberlain's courts, at Hadington. MS. Paper Office.

of Dunbar, and ended with the insidiousness, and treaty, by which the Duke of Albany relinquished Berwick-town, for ever, to England (*s*).

In the long period of two and sixty years, which elapsed, from the accession of Henry VII. in 1485, during the reign of James III. to the death of Henry VIII. in 1547, in the childhood of Mary Stewart, events happened in Berwickshire, which were disastrous, and wasteful. This period opened with a three years truce, which ended by the intrigue of Henry VII. to obtain, by the baseness of corruption, the person of James IV., who was destined to be soon his son-in-law, and the father of a new race of kings (*t*). Henry VIII., after inflicting many a wound on Berwickshire, and on southern Scotland, left his odious courtship of Mary Stewart to be prosecuted, by his son, Edward VI., a younger lover, but a more wasteful invader of his mistress' kingdom. The councils of Edward VI. endeavoured to obtain, by ravage, what they wanted address to gain, by management. The passions, which prevailed in the English court, during the reign of Edward VI. continued during the life of Mary, his successor, who had an indifferent husband to please. To the political malignity of Elizabeth was added, personal rivality to Mary Stewart. The old infelicity of Scotland, in having an infant for her sovereign, and the wretchedness of regents, for their governors, continued to distract, and debilitate an unhappy land. To the

(*s*) In 1402, the Earl of Dunbar made an inroad into the Merse, and defeated at East-Nisbet the youth of Lothian, with Hepburn, at their head. He took Fast castle, which was soon after surprized by the Scots; and afterwards surrendered to Sir William Dury. In 1409, the Earl of Dunbar returned to his country; was pardoned; had his estates restored; all except Lochmaben, and Anandale, which were given to Douglas. In 1417, and 1419, Umfraville, the governor of Berwick, burnt the East March, Lauder, with Lauderdale; the forests, which extended far into the country, from Berwick; and he even extended his ravages to Selkirk, and Dunbar. In 1424, James I. was set at liberty; and assassinated in 1437: The borders of the two hostile kingdoms remained pretty quiet, during his salutary reign. In 1456, an inroad was made into the Merse, by the expatriated Douglas, with the Earl of Northumberland: And as they were unsuccessfully opposed, by the Earl of Angus, and Sir James Hamilton, the country was plundered. In 1461, the town, and castle of Berwick were amicably surrendered to the Scots by Henry VI. who found an asylum, in Scotland. In 1464, the town of Berwick was taken by the Earl of Warwick, who laid waste the neighbouring country. In 1480, the English besieged the castle of Berwick. Both those desirable objects were obtained by the English, in 1482, which had been in the hands of the Scots, since 1461. For all these events, which were either injurious, or disgraceful, to Berwickshire, the Border History may be inspected.

(*t*) On the 17th April 1491, Lord Bothwell, and Sir Thomas Todd, engaged, for 166 l. 13 s. 4 d. to deliver to Henry VII. the young king of Scots. Ayloff's Cal. 313. Lord Bothwell, who thus received the wages of corruption, was Ramsay, the favourite of James III; and not Hepburn, his successor, in the title of Bothwell.

profligacy

profligacy of the nobles, and the divisions among the people, were added the savageness of zealots, who were, by Elizabeth, made the principal instruments, in distressing the government, and wasting Berwickshire, and southern Scotland. Her rivality, and her rage, were at length appeased, by the blood of Mary Stewart. Meanwhile, Berwickshire endured every evil, which can afflict a people, from the guilty passions of the neighbour sovereigns, more than from the usual distractions of the Scotish regencies.

After a thousand intrigues, King James became Elizabeth's pensioner, and his regents, her instruments. Yet, were not the contiguous borders of the two kingdoms altogether tranquil, nor were the Scotish people free from disquiet. In 1567, the principal gentlemen of the Merse were summoned to Edinburgh, to advise how to preserve peace, and administer justice, in Berwickshire (*a*). But, a wretched people did not want law, so much as manners. King James, on his deliberate course to a quiet throne, entered Berwick, upon the 27th of March 1603. In pursuit of his object, to tranquillize the contiguous limits of his two kingdoms, which had been so long involved in waste, and wretchedness, James ordered all strengths, on those borders, except gentlemen's houses, to be destroyed; thus completing, by system, what had been begun, by warfare (*b*).

After this full detail of the events, which had long ruined Berwickshire, let us return a while to the towns, within the same county. Berwick, after so many changes, returned to its ancient allegiance, under Robert Bruce, in 1318, as we have seen. On that occasion, Berwick town again became an important part of North-Britain. That great prince marked the importance, which he annexed to its acquisition, by strengthening its defences, and residing within its castle: And, he seems to have supposed, by the annuities, which he granted out of the revenues of the town, that his posterity would enjoy it for ever (*c*). After various conflicts, which were fought by valorous barons, Berwick town,

(*a*) See their names in the Border History, 626.

(*b*) Border Hist. 626—36-7; 702-3, 706.

(*c*) In 1325, Robert Bruce granted to the monks of Aberbrothic a *hostilage* in Berwick. Chart. Arbroath, No. 201. He conferred on the monks of Newbotle ten merks of silver out of the firm of Berwick. He granted to the monks of Melros £100 Sterling, yearly; to be received ot the firm of his burgh of Berwick, or out of the *new customs*, within the same burgh, if the firm thereof should be insufficient, to pay this annuity. MS. Diplom. Scotiæ. Among the Scotish records, which were returned, by Edward I., in 1296, there were several rolls, respecting the accounts of the *new customs* of Berwick, and one roll, with regard to the collection of the customs on wool, at Berwick. Robertson's Index, Introd. xix. The Setons, who were connected by marriage with Bruce, seem to have been hereditary governors of Berwick; and as such enjoyed the firms thereof. Nisbet's Heraldry, i. 237.

and castle, were often lost, and regained, as we have perceived, in our course. In 1482, they were finally ceded, by the treasonous intrigue of the Duke of Albany, and never recovered, by design, or accident. The English now regarded Berwick as their own (*d*). It was made the eastern mart of the Scotish trade, by Edward IV.; as it was, by nature, the issue of the products, which the countries, on the Tweed, and Teviot, could spare (*e*). In 1551, Berwick was made a *free town*, independent of both England, and Scotland (*f*). As King James was received, with the warmest gratulations, by the people of Berwick, he seems to have been equally studious to confirm to them their old privileges (*g*).

Lauder, and its territory, when they ceased, by forfeiture, to be the property of the Baliols, became, by grant, the estate of Sir James Douglas, as we have seen (*h*). Lauder now followed the fortunes, of that ambitious family, whether happy, or unfortunate. When the overbearing Douglases were forfeited, Lauder was transferred to the Earls of Angus, who succeeded them, also, in their practice of domination. At the accession of Robert II., the first of the Stewarts, Lauder was a regality, within the constabulary of Lauder (*i*). At length, this town was created a free burough, in December 1502, by a charter of James IV., to be holden of the king, and his successors, in free burgage, for ever (*k*). There is a custom here, which, as it is peculiar, merits some notice: The king having of old conveyed 105 acres to 105 persons, thereby made 105 burgesses; with this condition annexed to their burgage tenure, that there never should be more burgesses, than there are burgess acres (*l*). This town has always been inconsiderable, in the numbers of its people, and in their means of livelihood.

(*d*) In Ayloff's Calendar, there are various documents, with regard to Berwick; to the burgesses of Berwick, and their liberties; to the chamberlain of Berwick; to the chancellor of Berwick; to the constable of the castle; and to the religious houses. See the Index, in Art.

(*e*) 22 Edw. IV. ch. 8: By this law, all merchandizes brought from Scotland were to pay customs at Berwick: The fishery there was confirmed to the freemen.

(*f*) Rym. xv. 265. (*g*) By 1 Ja. I. ch. 28. (*h*) Robertson's Index, 10.

(*i*) Robertson's Index, 93.

(*k*) A copy of this charter remains in the Advocate's Library, at Edinburgh: And it was confirmed, by an act of parliament, dated the 28th of June 1633. The corporation consists of seventeen members; namely, of fifteen counsellors, and two baillies. The whole revenue of this corporation, as returned to parliament, in 1788, was only £85 a-year.

(*l*) For this custom of Lauder, which seems to have been sustained, by the Court of Session, in 1663, see Hope's Minor Practicks, 325.

Lauder

Lauder is the seat of a presbytery (*m*): And, in June 1640, an act passed, for giving to Lauder a yearly fair, on the 22d of July (*n*). With the four other buroughs, of Jedburgh, Hadington, Dunbar, and North-Berwick, Lauder sends one representative to the parliament of Great-Britain.

After Berwick had ceased to belong to North-Britain, in 1482, this shire had no settled county town: And Duns sometimes, and Lauder often, but Greenlaw never, were used, as the shire towns (*o*). Next to Berwick, and Lauder, Duns was, probably, in this shire, the largest town: After the deaths of the great Earl of Moray, and his sons, it became the property, if Duns were not already the estate of the Earl of March, who had married the daughter of the one, and the sister of the other; and from the forfeiture of the Earl of Dunbar, it was invested in the crown (*p*). Duns was made a burough of barony; and at length the shire town, in 1661 (*q*); and continued, as such, till 1696, when that pre-eminence was restored to Greenlaw (*r*). This town, as we have seen, was still the estate of Lord Home, when he died, and was forfeited, in October 1516. Before the year 1596, Greenlaw had become the property of Sir George Home of Spot, whose right was then confirmed, by King James's charter, which declared its fitness, to be the shire town. This charter was ratified, by parliament, in November 1600 (*s*). During the anarchical age, that followed, at the end of

(*m*) To the tax of the year 1556, amounting on the whole royal buroughs to £10,102 : 8 : 2, *Lauder* paid £67. 10s., in the same rank with Rothsay, Ruglen, Selkirk, Peblis, Dunbar, Banff, and Kirkaldy; which, with the same inconsiderable means, contributed to the same tax. Of the additional supply, amounting to £72,000 Scots, which was granted by the estates, on the 23d of January 1667, for a twelve month, payable monthly, Berwickshire was rated at £2,813. 1s. Scots, according to the valuation of 1660: And *Lauder* was assessed at £42; the magistrates choosing a *stentmaster*. Glendook's Acts. Of the supply granted by the estates, on the 10th of July 1678, amounting to £1,800,000 Scots, in five years, Berwickshire was to pay £2,813. 1s. Scots, monthly; and *Lauder* £36, monthly. And, to the monthly *cess* of 1695, Lauder paid £30.

(*n*) Unprinted Act of that session. (*o*) Parl. Rec. 301—10; 688-9-10.

(*p*) On the 12th of December 1494, there was produced, to the auditors in parliament, a charter of George Earl of Dunbar, to Hucheon Adamson, of the lands of Little Borthryk, with the pertinents, in Duns; and another grant, by Patrick Earl of March, of two oxgangs of land, with a croft, lying in Duns; providing, that Hucheon, and his heirs, should pay *multure* to the miln of Duns, of the corns raised on those oxgangs of land. Parl. Rec. 447. And, there was then depending, in parliament, an action of David Lyle of Stonypeth against various *free tenants* of Duns, for withholding their *multure* from the miln of Duns, which belonged to the said David, in *feu farm*, for certain rent, owing to the king. Ib. 447.

(*q*) An Act in favour of the town of Duns. Glendook's Acts, 103.

(*r*) An Act, 2 Sess. 2 Parl. ch. ii. concerning the execution of legal process, at Lauder, and Duns. On the 4th of September 1672, the parliament directed, that a correction house, for Berwickshire, should be erected at Duns. 2 Parl. ch. ii. Sess. 3. No. 18.

(*s*) Unprinted Act, No. 26.

forty

forty years, the rights of Home of Spot seem to have been overpowered, by greater interests. And, it was not till *the Revolution* restored Sir Patrick Home of Polworth to his appropriate sway, that those special privileges of Greenlaw were properly respected; as they had been acquired by him from the late proprietor. And, in October 1696, the parliament declared the town of *Greenlaw* to be the *head burgh* of the shire of Berwick, which it still continues, notwithstanding some dissatisfaction (*t*). Polworth was made a baronial burough, in 1587 (*u*). Eccles was erected into a burough of barony, in 1647, on the resignation of George Home of Kaimes; and it was re-granted to John Home of Eccles, in 1679 (*x*). Eymouth is also a burough of barony (*y*). There are some other baronial buroughs, in Berwickshire, perhaps; but, they have not many people, much opulence, nor any importance.

From *the places* of Berwickshire, which, with the exception of Berwick town, were never of much consequence, as we have just seen, let us advert to *the earls*, who are mentioned, emphatically, by Camden, as highly renowned, for martial prowess (*z*). They were descended, from Gospatrick, the expatriated Earl of Northumberland, who fled to Scotland, from the wrath of *the conqueror*; and obtained, from Malcolm Canmore, Dunbar, and many fair lands, in the Merse, and Lothian (*a*). His posterity also possessed, in Northumberland, the barony of Bengeley (*b*); "on the service, of being *in-borough*, and "*out-borough*, between England, and Scotland," saith Camden: "What these "terms should mean," continues he, "let others guess." Cowell has *guessed* those terms to have meant that, the earls of Dunbar were bound, to observe the ingress, and regress of those, who travelled to, and fro, between the two realms (*c*). *Borough*, in old English, we may remember, signified a surety,

(*t*) 1696, Act, ch. 16. In April 1697, Lord Polworth, when he was created Earl of Marchmont, was also made Lord *Greenlaw*.

(*u*) Private Act, 1587, No. 70.

(*x*) MS. Warᵗ Book in the Paper Office. On the 24th of June 1609, indeed, there was an act, confirming *Eccles* to Sir George Home. Unprinted Act of that date.

(*y*) Stat. Acco. ii. 112. (*z*) Holland's Camden, Scotia, 11.

(*a*) Id. Gospatrick, the first Earl, emigrated to Scotland, in 1072 A. D.; as we learn from Simeon, and Hoveden.

(*b*) Dug. Bar. i. 54. When he died is uncertain: But, he undoubtedly left three sons, Gospatrick, Dolphin, and Waldef, who appear in the *Inquisitio Davidis*, 1116 A. D.; and partook something of his importance, whatever they may have enjoyed of his property.

(*c*) Interpreter, in vo. Inborh. But, it was impossible, for those earls, to examine the passports of those, who travelled between the borders. The inquest mentioned by Camden may be seen in Wallis's Hist. Northumb. ii. 493. Comes Patrick tenet baroniam de Beneley *per servicium inborwe* et *outborwe*. Testa de Nevil, 385.

or

or pledge; and the verb *to borrow* meant to bail, to redeem, to relieve (*c*). The first Earl Gospatrick died, towards the conclusion of the eleventh century; and was buried in the church of Norham, on the border, which his posterity were bound to secure.

(2.) He was immediately succeeded, in Scotland, by his eldest son, Gospatrick; his other two sons were provided for, in Cumberland (*d*). The second Gospatrick, as an eminent person, and a *comes*, witnessed the charters of the Scotish kings; and as an opulent, and liberal man, he gave lands, and a church to St. Cuthbert's monks of Durham (*e*). This great earl died, in 1139 (*f*).

(3.) He was succeeded by his son, Gospatrick, who confirmed his father's liberalities, and added his own, in the presence of his *chaplain*, and his *dapifer* (*g*). He died, about the year 1147; but, as he did not endow the monks of Melros, they seem to have withheld the immortality, that the notice of their chronicle was supposed to confer.

(4.) The *third* Gospatrick was succeeded by his son, Gospatrick, who was still more liberal, than his progenitors, in granting lands, and churches; and in founding, with the concurrence of his countess, Derder, convents, at Cold-

(*c*) See the Glossary to the late edit. of the Poet. Works of Sir David Lindsay. Those terms were very common, in diplomatic proceedings, on the borders, at the end of the fourteenth century. See the Indenture of the Commissaries, on the 2d of October 1397, at the abbey of Dunfermlin; The parties accused of the breaches of the truce were obliged "to find *borowis* to appear; the "prisoners were to be lettin to *borgh*." Rym. viii. 18.. Again: The convention of a truce, at Hawdenstank, on the 26th of October 1398, provided that, "al prisoners that ar latten to *borgh*, "and al men that are *borowis*, for payment of rannsoms, sall be freely dischargit." Ib. 55. Again: At Clochmabanstane, on the 6th November 1398, "Sire Williame Stewart of Castel-"mylke," and others, were appointed *borowis* of the west marche of Scotland." Ib. 59. In the Testa de Nevill, 385, we may see that, "Patricius com. de Dunbar tenet in cap. de dom. rege "Beneley," &c.: "Et pro aliis villis idem comes est *inborwe* et *outborwe* inter Angliam et "Scotiam." The literal translation, and meaning of these last expressions are: And, for the other villages, the same earl is *in-borow*, and *out-borow*, between England, and Scotland: He held the other towns, by the tenure, of being surety, for the peace of both the kingdoms, *within* the border, and *without*. In after times, this became a task, which the two kings of the contiguous realms were scarcely able to perform.

(*d*) Caledonia, i. 499.

(*e*) Chart. Coldingham; Smith's Bede, Appx.; Chart. Kelso, No. 4; Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 7; Maitland's Edin. 145.

(*f*) Chart. Colding. 2; Dougl. Peer. 438.

(*g*) Chart. Colding. 11; Chart. Kelso, No. 287.

stream,

stream, and Eccles, in the Merse. This munificent earl, the fourth Gospatrick, died, in 1166; leaving two sons, Waldeve, and Patrick (*b*).

(5.) Waldeve succeeded his father, in 1166. He confirmed his donations to the monks of Kelso, and gave them two vileyns, Halden, and his brother, William, with their issue: And he confirmed the grants of his father, and mother, to the nuns of Coldstream (*i*). He married Alina, who died, in September 1179; and by whom, he had several children (*k*). Waldeve had the honour to be one of the hostages, for the performance of the treaty, which, in 1174, restored William, the lion, to his kingdom (*l*): And, Waldeve died, in 1182; leaving by his wife, Alina, several children (*m*).

(6.) Patrick, the *first* of this name, thus succeeded his father, in 1182. William, the lion, gave him, in 1184, Ada, one of his natural daughters, in marriage (*n*). He confirmed the pious donations of his opulent predecessors, and added his own (*o*). In his baronial court, he decided controversies, as to the property of vassals, which was held under him, in the territory of Hailes (*p*). At the end of the twelfth century, Earl Patrick was justiciary of Lothian, and

(*b*) Chron. Mailros, 73: His son, Waldeve, succeeded him: His son, Patrick, inherited the manor of Greenlaw; and leaving a son, William, who married Ada, that had *Home*, for her dower, the foundation of the house of Home was thereby laid.

(*i*) Chart. Kelso, 72-303-127: Chart. Coldstream; Dougl. Peer. 439.

(*k*) Chron. Mail. 174: Dougl. Peer. 439, who mistakingly supposes that, she outlived her husband.

(*l*) Rym. i. 39.

(*m*) 1182, ob. Waldevus comes de Dunbar; cui successit Patricius filius ejus. Chron. Mail. 175; Dougl. Peer. 439.

(*n*) Chron. Mel. 176.

(*o*) Chart. Coldstream; Dougl. Peer. 439: Patrick also granted to the monks of Kelso the chapel of Halyburton, with some lands adjacent; a carucate of land in Bothkilsheales, with common of pasture, between that place, and the *Scalingas* of his men of Pinkerton. Chart. Kelso, 71. I have already explained the *Scalingas*, *Scheales*, and *Shealings*, to mean the same thing; a mountain pasture; the herdmen's huts; and secondarily a hamlet: Hence, so many names of places, in Northumberland, the Merse, and Lothian, ending in *Sheales*. He confirmed various grants, by his vassals, to the monks of Newbotle. Chart. Newbot. 83-87-100-22. He gave to the monks of Melros all his arable land of Sorowlessfield, on the Leeder, which William Sorowles had held. Chart. Mail. 63. With those monks, he had a dispute, about the pasture, on the west side of the Leeder, which was amicably settled, in the presence of the king, sitting in his court, at Selkirk. Ib. 140. He made a perambulation of the boundaries, between his lands of Ercildun, and the grange of Cadesley, which belonged to the monks of Dryburgh. Chart. Dryb. 80. He gave to the canons of Dryburgh the lands of Elvinsley, and two bovates of land, in Ercildun. Ib. 82. He was liberal to his vassals. Chart. Kelso, 130.

(*p*) Chart. Newbot. 101-2.

keeper

keeper of Berwick (*p*). In 1200, he was, at Lincoln, with King William, when the Scotish sovereign did homage to King John, for his lands, in England (*q*). In this year, he lost his wife, Ada, the pious foundress of several convents (*r*). In June 1221, this aged earl attended Alexander II. to York, where he witnessed the king's marriage with Joan, the eldest daughter of King John (*s*). In 1232, died Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, when he had enjoyed his earldom fifty years: After spending the festivities of Christmas with his children, and neighbours, he sent for his relation, and friend, the abbot of Melros; and receiving from him extreme unction, with the religious habit, he quietly expired, at the extremity of an honourable life: He was buried, in the church of the convent of *Eccles*, which his grandfather, Gospatrick, had founded (*t*). By his countess Ada, he left two sons, Patrick, and William, who appear, as witnesses, to his charters; and a daughter, Ada, who was destined to be the mother of the Homes (*u*).

(*p*) In 1199, when the bridge at Berwick was carried away by a flood, King William directed a precept to Earl Patrick, his *custos* of Berwick, and one of his justiciaries, to rebuild it. Philip, the bishop of Durham, on whose lands one abutment of this bridge stood, obstructed the re-establishment of it: But, the prudence of Earl Patrick overcame the obstinacy of the bishop. Hoveden, 796.

(*q*) Ib. 811: The English historian calls him Patricius, comes de *Lonais*. Fordun denominates him, Patrick, comes de *Laodensi*, l. viii. c. 33. He is, indeed, said to have been the first Earl of Dunbar, who was *Comes Marchiæ*.

(*r*) Fordun, l. viii. c. 61, states the death of Ada, the king's daughter, and Marjory, her sister, in 1200 A. D. The Countess Ada founded a convent for Cistercian nuns, at St. Bothans, in Lammermoor. Spottiswoode's Acco. of Religious Houses, 511: Dougl. Peer. 439.

(*s*) Rym. *i.* 252: And Earl Patric, which he is simply called in the record, also witnessed her endowment, by Alexander, on the 18th June 1221.

(*t*) Chron. Mail. 201.

(*u*) Ada first married a gentleman of the name of de Courteney; and obtained from her father the lands of *Home*, "in liberum maritagium." But, Courteney dying, without issue, she secondly married her own cousin, William, the son of Patrick of Greenlaw, who was the second son of the fourth Gospatrick. William, the husband of Ada, assumed the name of *Home*; and, from this marriage, sprung the border clan of the *Homes*. Douglas, the genealogist, indeed, assigns to the venerable Patrick an elder son Galfrid, whom the Peerage writer marries to Jean, the eldest daughter of King John. He quotes Rymer, who, indeed, has printed the marriage contract of H. the Earl of March, on the continent; and to make out his point, Douglas only interpolates P. instead of the H. in the record. William, the second son of Earl Patrick, obtained from his father the manor of Foghou, in the Merse; and he married Christian Corbet, the opulent heiress of Walter Corbet of Mackerston, in Roxburghshire: Christian died, in 1241; and William, her husband, in 1253. They left two sons; Nicholas, who enjoyed Makerston; and Patrick, who possessed Foghou. [Fogo].

(7.) That venerable baron was succeeded by his son Patrick, the *second*, who must have been, at this epoch, of the age of forty-six; and who was recorded, by the chronicler of Melros, as a strenuous knight, and the king's nephew. In his several charters of confirmation, he calls himself the son, and heir of Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar; In granting an annuity of a mark of silver to the canons of Dryburgh, for supporting their church, he avows his motives to be, the safety of the soul of his king, William, the lion, of his father, and mother, and of his own wife (*x*). After his father's death, the *second* Patrick granted to the canons of Dryburgh a messuage, in *his burgh* of *Dunbar* (*y*). To the monks of Melros, he renounced his claim to some disputed marches, between his lands, and theirs, in Lower-Lauderdale (*z*). In 1235, he commanded the army, which was sent against the bastard of Galloway, with his Irish followers, whom he compelled to submit (*a*). In 1237, Earl Patrick witnessed the treaty, which Alexander II. made, at York, with the English king (*b*). When the Bissets murdered the Earl of Athol, at Hadington, in 1242, the Earl of Dunbar, the most powerful baron of the southern districts, put himself at the head of the nobles, who demanded justice (*c*). He was one of those, who guaranteed the treaty with England, in 1244 (*d*). And, going on the crusade, with Louis IX., Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, died, at the siege of Damietta, in 1248 (*e*). Douglas, the genealogist, marries this second Patrick to *Christian*, the daughter of Walter, the stewart, who died, in 1241 (*f*).

(*x*) Chart. Newbotle; Chart. Melros; and Chart. Dryb. 84: From this last chartulary, we may observe that, the second Patrick had married, before the demise of William, the lion, in 1214: Of this king, he was only a nephew, by a bastard daughter; and yet, it was, from the bastard Ada, that his grandson Patrick claimed the crown, in 1291.

(*y*) Chart. Dryb. 86.

(*z*) Chart. Mel. 141: In 1247, he sold to the same monks his *equicium*, or stud, which he had, in Lauderdale, on the Leeder-haughs. Ib. 145. This sale must have been intended, to raise money, for defraying the journey to the holy land of this very opulent baron, who there met his destiny.

(*a*) Lord Hailes' An. i. 152. (*b*) Rym. i. 377. (*c*) Lord Hailes' An. i. 157.

(*d*) Rym. i. 428. (*e*) Chron. Mel. 218-19; Ford. l. ix. c. 62-3.

(*f*) Peerage, 440, which quotes Duncan Stewart's Hist. of the Stewarts, 49: But, her name was *Euphemia*, as her own charter testifies. The earl had with her, in marriage, the lands of Birkenside, in Lower Lauderdale, which had been granted to the first Stewart, by Malcolm IV. It was, from the firm of those lands, that the Earl, her husband, granted an annuity to the canons of Dryburgh. After her husband's death, "Domina *Euphemia* comitissa sponse quondum Patricii "com. de Dunbar nunc in sua viduitate existen.," confirmed to those canons the same annuity, "e firmis terrarum mearum matrimonalium de Birkenside." Chart. Dryb. No. 85. And see a charter of confirmation by Robert II. Robertson's Index, 93.

(8.) The

(8.) The *third* Patrick succeeded his father, in 1248, at the age of thirty-five, who had then a son five years old (*g*). He soon became one of the English faction, which, under Henry III., contended with the Scotish party, for the rule of Scotland, during the turbulent minority of Alexander III. In August 1255, the Earl of Dunbar, and other partisans of England, were formally received into the protection of Henry III. (*h*). While the Cumyns, and the Scotish faction, were preparing to hold a parliament, at Stirling, the Earl of Dunbar, Alan Durward, and others, surprized the castle of Edinburgh, and obtained possession of the young king, and more infant queen (*i*). When Henry III., and the Scotish king, soon after met, at Roxburgh, the Scotish party were removed, from the king's councils, a regency being then formed, of which the Earl of Dunbar was a conspicuous member (*k*). This regency, however, was dissolved, in 1257, when the Cumyn party obtained complete possession of the king, and queen. A sort of coalition took place, in 1258: And a more mixed regency was formed, in which the Earl of Dunbar does not appear (*l*). Yet, was he one of those Scotish nobles, who demanded, and received security, in 1260, from Henry III., to deliver the Scotish queen, and the infant, of whom she might be delivered, at her father's court (*m*). In 1263, the earl led his warlike vassals to the battle of the Largs, where he commanded the left division of the Scotish army, while the Stewart commanded the right: They obtained a complete victory over the invading Haco, and his adventurous Norwegians (*n*). The Earl of Dunbar had the honour to append his seal to the treaty, which was signed at Perth, on the 6th of July 1266, between Alexander III., and Magnus of Norway, for ceding to the Scotish king the Isle of Man, and the Hebrides (*o*). The Earl of Dunbar, with Patrick, his son, who was now thirty-eight, witnessed the marriage-contract of Margaret, the king's daughter, with Eric of Norway, which was made, at Roxburgh, on the 25th July 1281 (*p*). The earl was, at

(*g*) Chron. Mel. 219: In 1249, Earl Patrick did homage for his lands, in England, to Henry III. Calendar Rot. Pat. 23.

(*h*) Rym. i. 559. (*i*) Chron. Mel. 220.

(*k*) Rym. i. 566. On the 21st September 1255, the Earl of Dunbar, and the English partisans, were again taken into the protection of Henry III. Ib. 567. On the formation of this regency, Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, swore *upon the soul of the young king of Scots*, that he would perform his engagements to the English king, and to the Scotish regency. Ib. 566.

(*l*) Ib. 670.

(*m*) Rym. i. 715. "1260, nata est, in Anglia, primogenita regis Scotiæ, nomine Margareta." Chron. Mel. 223. This Margaret was afterwards the queen of Norway, and the mother of Margaret, the famous *maiden of Norway*.

(*n*) Dougl. Peer. 440. (*o*) Robertson's Index, 101. (*p*) Rym. ii. 1082-3.

length, to enter upon less joyous scenes. He was one of the *Magnates Scotiæ*, who were required, by Alexander III., to recognize, at Scone, in February 1284, the maiden of Norway, as his successor to the Scotish crown (*q*). When the lamented death of Alexander III. happened, on the 16th of March 1285-6, the various claimants of his "blessed crown" hastened to assert their several titles. Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, with his three sons, Patrick, John, and Alexander, associated, on the 20th September 1286, with the competitor Bruce, whose daughter he had married, to support him, who should gain the kingdom, by right of blood, from the deceased Alexander (*r*). If the *third* Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, were thirty-five, when he succeeded his father, in 1248, it was now time for him, at the age of seventy-three, to think more of repose, than of struggle. And, he died, as we know from record, in December 1289; leaving his earldom, which he had held one and forty years, and his lands, in Northumberland, to his son, the *fourth* Patrick (*s*).

(9) The *fourth* Patrick now succeeded his father, in December 1289, at the ripe age of forty-seven. He was thus called into action, at a moment of great struggle. He appeared in the great parliament, which was assembled at Brigham, in March 1290, for betrothing the princess Margaret to the son of Edward I. (*a*). After her sad demise, he again appeared, at Upsettlington, on the 2d of January 1291, as one of the competitors, for the Scotish crown (*b*). In Berwick castle,

(*q*) Rym. iii. 266. (*r*) Symson's Hist. Stewart Family, 78.

(*s*) Inquisitio post Mortem; 18 Ed. I. No. 22. He married Christian, the daughter of Robert Bruce of Annandale, some time before the year 1243, when his eldest son was born. Douglas, in his Peerage, 440, has interpolated into the genealogy of the earls of Dunbar, between Patrick, who died, in 1248, and Patrick, who thus died, in 1289, another Patrick, No. 10. of his series, whom he has married to one Cecilia, the daughter of John de Wer. It was the *fourth* Patrick, who claimed the crown, in 1291, from his father Patrick, his grandfather Patrick, and his great-grandfather Patrick, who married Ada, the bastard daughter of William, the lion, in 1184. Rym. ii. 575. This is an additional evidence of Douglas's interpolation: Rymer, mistakingly, calls that lady *Ilda*, for *Ada*.

(*a*) Ib. 470.

(*b*) Ib. 546: He is called, in the record, "Comes de Marchia." On the 3d of June 1291, he was present, at Norham, under the same designation. Ib. 548-50. These are the first instances, wherein the Earls of Dunbar were called *Comites Marchiæ*, in any record, or document of that age. In the proceedings, relative to the competition, the Earl is designed, Patrick de Dunbar, *Counte de la Marche*. Ib. 531-2. He was one of the nominees for Bruce, the competitor, his grandfather. Ib. 555. And Patrick de Dombar, "Comes de Marchia," swore fealty, with other nobles, to Edward I. as lord paramount of Scotland, on the 13th of June 1291. Ib. 558. In the subsequent century, when the treaties, between the contiguous kingdoms were, for convenience, written in plain English, the successors of this Earl were always called "Earls of *the March*." Rymer's Foedera, throughout: They were not, then, Earls of *the Merse*.

On

on the 3d of August 1291, the Earl of Dunbar entered a formal claim to the crown, as the great-grandson of Ada, the bastard daughter of King William (*c*). After the crown had been awarded to Baliol, the Earl of Dunbar had the mortification to see this dependant king do homage to Edward I. as Lord Paramount, in Norham castle (*d*). This Earl, with the other Scotish nobles, was summoned by Edward, on the 29th June 1294, to attend him, on his expedition to Gascony (*e*). But, the Earl, as well as those nobles, who were summoned with him, eluded the English king's demand, which, as it was new, incited their resistance, rather than induced their compliance. Baliol made a secret treaty with France: And the great body of the Scotish people prepared to resist the ambitious dictation of the English king. Yet, the Earl of Dunbar now stood aloof from Baliol, whose title he contemned, adhered to his relation Bruce, who entertained hopes, that were never gratified, and supported Edward I., whose power he feared; recollecting always the vast estates, which he possessed, within the borders of the two hostile nations. A mighty revolution had now taken place. The Earls of Dunbar, who as Scotish barons had hitherto acted great, and honourable parts, in the varied scenes of their country, were at length obliged, to conduct themselves, according to the circumstances, in which they were placed, sometimes, honestly, with Scotland, but oftener, treacherously, with England. When the Scots, after this alliance with France, commenced hostilities with England, in March 1296, the Earl of Dunbar avowed his attachments (*f*). While the Earl of Dunbar thus acted strenuously with the English king, his wife steadily adhered to the Scotish king; retained the castle of Dunbar, for his interest; and calling to her aid some of the bravest knights, manfully defended

(*c*) Ib. 575. On the 17th November 1291, the Earl withdrew his absurd claim, which only shows the lax manners of an unsettled age. Ib. 588.

(*d*) Ib. 591-2. He witnessed the same degrading ceremony, at Newcastle. Ib. 594. He was again present, at Newcastle, when Baliol renewed his submission, on the 2d January 1293. Ib. 594. In the same year, Patrick de Dunbar, the Earl of March, appears to have obtained a pardon from Edward I. Ayloffe's Cal. 110.

(*e*) Rym. ii. 643.

(*f*) There is in W. Hemingford, 102, a declaration of allegiance to Edward I. and renunciation of Baliol, dated at Werk, the 25th of March 1296, by the Earl of Dunbar, Umfraville, Earl of Angus, Robert Bruce, the elder, and Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, (the competitor having died in 1295). The Bruces, and Dunbar, speak with a kind of malignant exultation over "John de "Balliolf, be fut rex Descoz." In this instructive document, Dunbar calls himself "Patrick counte. "de la Marche, et de Dunbar." The English historian says, that Earl Patrick was, *vulgarly*, called *Counte de la Marche*. W. Hemingford, 94.

her

her house to the last extremity (*g*). Edward now overran Scotland. And returning southward, as a conqueror, he called a parliament of English, and Scotish barons, at Berwick, on the 28th of August 1296: And here the Earl of Dunbar again swore fealty to Edward, and renounced John Baliol, and the French alliance (*h*). The triumph of Edward was of short duration. Wallace came out upon this disastrous stage, in 1297, to retrieve the fallen fortunes of his country. His successes freed the nation, for a season: After their defeat at Stirling bridge, the English universally fled for safety to the borders. The Earl of Dunbar opposed himself to the efforts of Wallace: And being summoned, by the guardian of Scotland, to attend a convention, at Perth, the Earl contemptuously refused; calling Wallace the "King of Kyle (*i*)." The Earl was at length considered by Edward I. as one of his courtiers: And when the English king was about to lead his army against Scotland, in October 1298, and called his chief barons to attend him, he directed a letter to Earl Patrick, de la Marche, and to Patrick de Dunbar, his son, who was, on that occasion, entitled *juvenis* (*k*). In 1304, the Earl was deemed a proper person to assist, in the settlement of his country, after so many conflicts: But, though he was, at Perth, chosen one of the commissioners, to attend the king, at London, he declined to act (*l*). The accession of his cousin Robert Bruce to the Scotish throne, in 1306, seems to have made no immediate change in the Earl's attachments; being more governed by reasons of policy, than affections of kindred. In September 1307, the Earl, and others, were summoned, by the weakness of Edward II. to lead their vassals into Galloway, when the power of Bruce began to prevail (*m*). He was again summoned, with his youthful son, Patrick, to

(*g*) It surrendered on the 29th of April 1296, after the Scotish army, which came to its relief, had been defeated under its walls. Ib. 95-7; Lord Hailes' An. i. 237-8; Dougl. Peer. 440, states the countess to have been Marian, the daughter of Duncan Earl of Fife.

(*h*) Prynne, 652-3. The Earl of Dunbar was, in consequence, received into the king's protection, and had his lands, and tenements, restored to him. Ayloffe, 113-15. W. Hemingford, 94, remarks, that the Earl, and Countess of Dunbar, when they supported different sides, in this momentous struggle, understood each other.

(*i*) See Blind Harrie's metrical History of William Wallace, whom the Scotish historians generally follow, but dare not quote. Bk. viii. Blind Harrie is, however, supported, by the Tower records. Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, was Edward's captain, "Citra mare Scotiæ," on the south side of the Forth, in November 1297. Calend. Rot. Pat. 59.

(*k*) Maddox's Exchcq. i. 654-5.

(*l*) Ryley, 503: Sir John Monteith was appointed, in the Earl's place.

(*m*) Rym. iii. 14. From this document, Douglas, the peerage writer, is so wild as to suppose, that the Earl of Dunbar was appointed the keeper of the peace, in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire. Peerage, 440.

support

support the falling interests of Edward II., in May 1308 (*n*). But, he was relieved by death, in 1309, from seeing his country torn in pieces, by hostile competitors, for the sovereignty of a nation, which was distracted, by intrigues, and wasted, by war. The *fourth* Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, and March, died at the age of sixty-six, leaving by his wife, whoever she were, a son Patrick, who was then, at the age of twenty-four (*o*).

(10) The *fifth* Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, was now to enter on the bloody scene of his harassed country, while Edward II. was endeavouring to support the ill-acquired power of his father, in North Britain. The Earl of Dunbar was immediately induced to be one of the sureties, for the Earl of Strathern (*p*). With Sir Adam Gordon, he was appointed, by the English partisans in the Merse, who began to feel the progress of Bruce, to complain to Edward II.: But, he only praised their fidelity, and promised them relief (*q*). The battle of Bannockburn, in June 1314, decided the present fate of all parties. Edward II. by a hasty flight, sought, and found protection, within the Earl's castle of Dunbar, whence he was conveyed by sea, to Berwick (*r*). The Earl now found it necessary to make his peace with Bruce: Nor, was this reconcilement difficult, between cousins, who had long agreed, in hating Baliol, and in supporting the same cause, though they had separated, when their interests became somewhat different (*s*). Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, was present, at the parliament of Ayr, in 1315, when the succession to the crown was settled on Edward Bruce, and his heirs-male (*t*). Yet, was he not present at the parliament of Scone, in 1318, when the second settlement of the crown was made, and when the guardians of the kingdom were appointed, in case of the demise of Robert Bruce, leaving an infant son (*u*). The Earl of Dunbar had the merit, however, as we have seen, by his intelligence, and efforts, to assist, in the retaking of Berwick, in March 1318 (*x*). He was at that time sheriff of Lothian. He concurred, with other nobles, in transmitting to John, the pope, in 1322, that epistle, asserting the independance of their country, which has been noted, for

(*n*) Rym. iii. 81.

(*o*) Inquisitio Post Mortem, 2 Ed. II. n. 8. The inquest is positive, that the son, and heir, of the deceased Earl, was, at that date, only twenty-four. Douglas, besides the interpolation into the series of one Patrick, supposes the *fourth* Patrick, to have married Marian, the daughter of the Earl of Fife; and he puts him to death, in 1315, when he died, quietly, in 1309.

(*p*) Ayloffe's Calend. 120. (*q*) Rym. iii. 58. (*r*) Lord Hailes' An. ii. 49.

(*s*) Robert Bruce's grandfather was Robert Bruce, the competitor, by his father's side: The Earl's great-grandfather was the same Robert Bruce, by his grandmother. It may be inferred, from the silence of Robertson's Index, that Bruce never granted any of the lands, or rights of the Earls of Dunbar, though they had adhered so long to the two Edwards.

(*t*) Anderson's Independance, Appx. No. 24; Robertson's Index, Appx. 7.

(*u*) Robertson's Index, Apx. 9.

(*x*) Barbour's Bruce, iii; Leland, i. 547; Lord Hailes' An. ii. 77-8.

its energy (*x*). We see nothing of this earl, during the ten subsequent years of conflicts, and treaties. In 1331, he had a controversy with the bishop of Durham, about Western Usetlington, a dependency of Norham, and a legacy of St. Cuthbert. Whether the bishop, or the baron, were the most contentious, could not easily be decided. But, Edward III., as he disapproved of summoning the bishop, to answer, in a Scotish parliament, requested David II., from a regard for him, to put an end to such vexations (*y*). The English king, by bringing forward the son of John Baliol, as a pretender to the Scotish crown, was preparing a sad retribution. The deaths of Sir James Douglas, in 1330, and of Randolph Earl of Moray, the regent, in 1332, led to other appointments, which were of great importance. Donal, Earl of Mar, the most unfit man in Scotland, was named the regent, in his room; while the Earl of Dunbar was chosen guardian of the southern shires. The Earl of Mar was the king's cousin; the Earl of Dunbar was his second cousin; yet, were they both connected in affections, and interests, with England. The inexperience of Mar allowed himself to be surprized, by young Baliol, and the English barons, who defeated him, at Duplin: The Earl of Dunbar coming to his aid, shared his misfortune, and dismissed the army, which ought to have retrieved the consequences of the battle lost. The motive of the one Earl was supposed to be inexperience, and of the other, to be artifice. The Earl of Dunbar, and Archibald Douglas, made a truce with Baliol, till the 2d of February 1333, while the infant Bruce was obliged to seek shelter in France, under the trusty care of Sir Malcolm Fleming. In the mean time, the pretender to the crown was inaugurated, at Scone, on the 24th of September 1332 (*z*). The Earl of Dunbar, while he thus acted suspiciously, was appointed commander of the castle of Berwick, and Sir William Keith of the town (*a*). They were besieged, in May 1333, by Edward III. The battle of Halydon-hill decided their fate. And, the town, and castle, were surrendered to the English king, who knew their proper value (*b*). The Earl, and his estates, were openly received into the protection of England, while more was promised, than ever was performed (*c*). He was even obliged to repair his castle of Dunbar, and to receive an English garrison within its stubborn walls (*d*). The Earl was mean-time appointed with Henry Percy, by Edward III. as joint wardens of the country, lying southward of the Forth, which the English king had received to his peace (*e*). A new

(*x*) Dipl. Scotiæ, pl. LI. (*y*) Rym. iv. 467-499.

(*z*) Fordun. l. xiii. c. 24. (*a*) Rym. iv. 564-6; Lord Hailes' An. ii. 163.

(*b*) Rym. iv. 581. It is a fact, which may explain some of the mysterious conduct of the Earl of Dunbar, that in 1333, Edward III. promised Patrick Earl of Dunbar, and Agnes, his wife, a hundred librates of land, in England. Calend. Rot. Pat. 118.

(*c*) Rym. iv. 570. (*d*) Bord. Hist. 309. (*e*) Ib. 310.

scene

scene of servility now opened, at Edinburgh. The Earl of Dunbar was one of the few Scotish barons, who attended Edward Baliol, in his disgraceful parliament, on the 12th of February 1333-4, at that degraded city. And, the Earl assented to the absolute surrender of the town, castle, and county of Berwick, which the pageant Baliol made to Edward III., as a perpetual annexation to the English crown (*f*). This abject servility, however, did not save the Earl of Dunbar from grievous mortifications. The English estates, which his family had long held, in Northumberland, had been taken into the hands of Edward II. in 1309, as escheat, when his father died (*g*). Those estates remained in the crown of England, till they were granted by Edward III. to Henry Percy, in 1334, for ever (*h*). Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, at the ripe age of forty-nine, at length, renounced his allegiance to Edward III., who was advancing through the Merse, in December 1334, with an overpowering army (*i*). The Earl, thus attaching himself to the fortunes of Bruce, and of Scotland, attended the parliament, which was called, in April 1335, by the regents, at Dersie, in Fife (*k*). In July 1335, Edward III. and Baliol, advanced with an army, which could not be opposed, to Perth: But, the Earl of Dunbar, and others, found means to cut off a detachment of the English forces, on their return southward. He soon after assisted the Earl of Moray, in defeating the Count of Namure, on the burrough-moor of Edinburgh. And, in the autumn of this year, the Earl assisted, in defeating the English partisan, the Earl of Athol, within the forest of Kilblane, in Aberdeenshire. The struggles of a few gallant men against so powerful a prince, as Edward III., till they became finally successful, will never be forgotten, as an example to be followed. While this Earl was thus struggling, for his safety, for Bruce, and for Scotland, he left his wife, the heroic daughter of Randolph, the great Earl of Moray, in charge of his castle of Dunbar. The English, under the Earl of Salisbury, came before it, in January 1338. This illustrious woman, who is remembered, by the popular name of *Black Agnes*, during nineteen weeks, foiled the besiegers. She was relieved, by the enterprizing skill of Sir Alexander Ramsay, one of the gallantest knights of a military age. In 1339, the Earl of Dunbar assisted the Stewart of Scotland, who now acted, as regent, to expel the English from Perth (*l*). In 1340, with the Earl of Sutherland, he even made an inroad into England; but, they were repulsed by Thomas de Gray, while they made an useful diversion (*m*). In

(*f*) Rym. iv. 590-4.
(*g*) Calend. Inquis. Post Mortem, 231.
(*h*) Calend. Rot. Pat. 122.
(*i*) W. Hemingford, 314.
(*k*) Fordun. l. xiii. c. 34.
(*l*) Fordun. l. xiii. c. 46.
(*m*) Lord Hailes' An. ii. 206.

1341, David Bruce returned from France, at the age of seventeen. At this epoch, the castles of Edinburgh, of Jedburgh, of Roxburgh, of Lochmaben, and of *Berwick*, still remained, in the English power (*n*). The Earl of Dunbar attended his youthful king, as assiduously, as a counsellor, as he had before acted, daringly, as a soldier (*o*). But, he could not prevent the rashness of that imprudent prince, from making his fatal inroad into England. At the battle of Durham, on the 17th of October 1346, the Earl of Dunbar, with *the Stewart*, commanded the left wing of his army. The issue of this conflict was most disastrous. The king remained a captive, for many a year; the nobles were either slain, or taken: And the kingdom was almost undone, by the sad events of this decisive day. Among other gallant men, Thomas, Earl of Moray, was left upon the bloody field. Agnes, his heroic sister, as he left no issue-male, became the sole possessor of his vast estates (*p*). The Earl of Dunbar now assumed, though without right, the additional title of Earl of Moray (*q*). Edward III. now resented the hostile conduct of the Earl of Dunbar, during many years, by granting some of his estates to strangers (*r*). But, Edward III., like his grandfather, grasped at too much. A cessation of warfare with Scotland became necessary to his designs on France. And the Earl of Dunbar seems to have busied himself, for several years, in obtaining either the liberation of the king, or peace for the kingdom; offering his son, and heir, as a hostage (*s*). A truce of nine years would have been extremely detrimental to France; the French king sent a large sum, in April 1355, to be distributed among the Scotish nobility, "who, "according to old Fordun, overlook future inconvenience, for the sake of "present gain:" And they were thus induced to dissolve the truce with England; and to renew hostilities (*t*). The Earl of Dunbar seems to have

(*n*) Lord Hailes' An. ii. 206.

(*o*) He witnessed many charters of David II., about this difficult time. Robertson's Index, 126.

(*p*) Besides the earldom of Moray, the Earl, and Countess, of Dunbar, obtained the Isle of Man, the lordship of Annandale, the barony of Morton, in Nithsdale, the baronies of Morthingtown of Longformacus, and the manor of Duns, perhaps, in Berwickshire, with Mochrum, in Galloway, Cumnock, in Ayrshire, and Blantyre, in Clydesdale. Robertson's Index, throughout.

(*q*) The Earldom of Moary, as appears by the charter, was a male fee; and of course, could not descend to a female heir. But Agnes, and Earl Patrick, were allowed, during arduous times, and the captivity of the king, to enjoy their brother's title, and estates.

(*r*) We may see in Ayloff's Calendar, 205, a notice of the grant of Edward, in 1348, to Thomas de Bradestone of the manors of *Duns*, and *Chirnside*, "que fuerunt Patricii de Dunbar *nuper* "Comitis de Marchiæ." The English king had, in 1333, given those manors to the same person, when the victory of Halydon, and the surrender of Berwick, laid open the Merse to his views of interest, and ambition. Ib. 160.

(*s*) Rym. v. 634-711-712-723-736-747-793 802-3.

(*t*) Lord Hailes' An. ii. 232.

been

been extremely active, in promoting the negociations with France, from whatever motives of levity, or avarice (*u*). The Northumbrian borderers were equally alert, on the prospect of hostilities, to pass the Tweed into the Merse. Glad of so good a pretext, for renewing hostilities, the Earl ordered Sir William Ramsay, to enter England, with his sword, and torch. The constable of Norham castle, Sir Thomas Gray, sallied out, to chastise the spoilers. But, Ramsay made a feigned retreat, by the Earl's order: And Gray was thus led into the toils, which had been prepared for him, at Nisbet, where he could not extricate himself, by whatever efforts of skill, or bravery (*x*). In November 1355, the Earl was equally active, in taking Berwick-town, by a spirited effort, from the sea, as well as from the land. Robert Stewart, the regent, now dismissed the French auxiliaries; being glad, as we are told, to free himself from such friends, who were particularly attached to the Earl of Dunbar, in whom the Stewart is said to have had no confidence (*y*). In April 1356, however, William, the powerful laird of Douglas, made a treaty with the English warden of the border, engaging not to molest the English, while they abstained from hostilities against his estates, and those of the Earl of Dunbar (*z*). This Earl concurred, zealously, in obtaining the liberation of David Bruce (*a*). In September 1357, the Scotish parliament, sitting at Edinburgh, appointed this Earl of Dunbar, with other commissioners, to repair to Berwick, for concluding the treaty, which was to give freedom to their king, the son of the restorer of their monarchy (*b*). After this event, which forms an epoch, in the Scotish history, Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, seems to have been seized with a violent desire to visit the court of England (*c*). He was certainly engaged, in some mysterious intrigues, which cannot now be clearly developed (*d*). Whatever they were, this Earl appears to have

(*u*) Lord Hailes' An. ii. 232.

(*x*) Ib, 232-3. Though the Ramsys of Dalwolsy did not hold their estate of the Earl of Dunbar; yet, they attached themselves to his interest, after the assassination of Sir William Ramsay, in 1342, by the knight of Lidsdale, and they obtained some lands, and other rights from the Earl. In 1364, Sir Patrick Ramsay resigned to the Earl, in his court of Whitingham, the half of the lands of East Spot, with the tenandries of Whitsome; and the Earl granted the same property to Alexander de Ricklington, his *armiger*. Robertson's Index, 76.

(*y*) Lord Hailes' An. ii. 234. (*z*) Rym. v. 849. (*a*) Rym. vi. 12-15-33.

(*b*) Ib 41-43: A convention was at length made; ratified by David Bruce; and confirmed by the parliament at Scone. Ib. 52-6-8-68: And, among other barons, who pledged themselves, for the performance of this *hard bargain*, was Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar. Ib. 48.

(*c*) Rym. vi. 82. On the 6th May 1358; Ib. 88. the 19th of June; Ib. 108. the 16th of October, a safe conduct to go into England, on certain affairs of David Bruce.

(*d*) Ib. 137. on the 13th of September 1359; Ib. 207. on the 26th of July 1360, a safe conduct to treat with the English government, "on certain articles, touching David Bruce."

been amply rewarded by David II. (*e*). He indulged, frequently, in the fashion of those times, to perform a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket, at Canterbury (*f*). The absurd intrigues of David II. to place a son of Edward III. on the Scotish throne, produced much indignation among his nobles: The Stewart, on whom the crown had been entailed, by parliament, entered into an association with the Earl of Dunbar, the Earl of Douglas, and others, for their mutual support (*g*). The Earl of Dunbar, at length, began to think of performing some acts of piety, and of showing some instances of his liberality. In May 1367, he confirmed the grants of his predecessors to the monks of Coldingham (*h*). And, at various times, he remunerated Alexander Ricklynton, who had been his *armiger*, in many a field, throughout twenty hostile years (*i*). In September 1367, the Earl was again called out, to give his assistance, in making a convention, for preserving the quiet, on the contiguous borders of the two kingdoms (*k*).

(*e*) The Earl was allowed to assume the Earldom of Moray, and to receive its rents, and profits, from 1346 to 1369. Parl. Rec. 110. He obtained from David, a grant of all the castlewards, within his lands, during his life. Robertson's Index, 42. He had a pension from David, of 40l. sterling, during the king's pleasure, dated the 3d July 1362. Ib. 73. His town of Dunbar was erected into a free burgh. Ib. 65.

(*f*) Rym. vi. 395, on the 26th October 1362; Ib. 429, on the 6th of December 1363. In 1362, the Bishop of St. Andrews, the Earl of Mar, the Countess of Douglas, and others, had similar safe conducts, to visit Canterbury. In 1363, the Earl of Douglas, the Earl and Countess of Sutherland, also visited Canterbury. Id. In 1366, the Earl of Dunbar also visited the sacred fanes of Canterbury. Ib. 497.

(*g*) Lord Hailes' An. ii. 251: When the nation had bled for David, during many years; when so much treasure had been paid, for his ransom; when the nobles had become pledges, for its payment; the conduct of David, in attempting to deliver the whole nation into the power of an artful, and unprincipled enemy, in opposition to parliamentary settlements, was ungrateful, and scandalous.

(*h*) He confirmed to those monks, by a charter to the prior, and convent of Durham, the manors of Ederham, and Nisbet, with the church of Ederham: This confirmation was witnessed, by his relation, George de Dunbar, by Alexander Ricklynton, his *constable of Dunbar*, by Robert Lecke, his *stewart*; and his wife Agnes, Countess of March, and Moray, ratified the whole. David II. confirmed this, in August 1367. Robertson's Index, 82.

(*i*) David II., on the 2d July 1362, confirmed a grant of Earl Patrick to his *armiger* Alexander Ricklynton, "de terris dominicis dicti comitis de Duns et Milnhaulch," with some lands, in Drumly, and Home. Roberts. Index, 43-73. In 1364, the Earl granted to the same Alexander Ricklynton the half of the lands of Eastspot, in East Lothian, with the tenandries, within Whitsome, in the Merse, which had belonged to the late Seire Freser, and which Sir Patrick Ramsay *de Dalusy* resigned, in the Earl's Court, at Whittingham: And this munificent grant was confirmed by David II. on the 8th of April 1364. Ib. 76. Ricklynton also offered his adorations, at the tomb of Becket, in 1365, with six horsemen in his suite. Rym. vi. 478. In 1363, the Earl made a munificent grant to his *alumnus*, John de Hibburn. Robertson's Index, 64.

(*k*) Rym. vi. 569.

In

In June 1368, the parliament of Scone advised the king, to consult the Earls of Dunbar, and Douglas, about the security of the eastern Marches (*l*). The Earl of Dunbar's experience was again looked up to by the nation. And the parliament appointed the Earl of Dunbar, with other respectable men, to watch over the general state of a harassed kingdom (*m*). This was probably the last public service, which Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, was required by parliament, to perform, for the common benefit. About this time, he resigned his earldom, and estates, to his eldest son, George, who received a confirmatory charter, from David II., on the 25th of July 1369 (*n*).

(12.) George, the Earl of Dunbar, the first of this name, thus obtained the earldom of Dunbar, with the revenues, and influence, which belonged to that early jurisdiction, at the epoch of the Stewartine period (*a*). By those vast, and opulent acquirements, Earl George became one of the most powerful nobles of southern Scotland, the rival of the Douglasses, whom he surpassed, in the antiquity, and splendour of his descent. As this great baron lived till 1420, and received a sort of establishment, as a young man, in 1363, he must have been born, a year or two *after* his mother's successful defence of their baronial castle, in 1338; and he must of course have been twenty-nine, or thirty, when he became Earl of Dunbar, in 1369. He soon came into action, as a statesman. He first appeared, as Earl of Dunbar, and warden of the eastern marches, on the 20th of July, when, with other nobles, he swore to maintain the fourteen

(*l*) Parl. Rec. 113.

(*m*) This was the parliament of Perth, on the 6th of March 1368-9. Id.

(*n*) Robertson's Index, 85: That charter is said to have been granted, in the 39th year of David II.; but it was really the 40th, there being an error of one year short, in many of the latter charters of that king, as the editor of that Index, and others, have remarked: David commenced his reign, on the 7th of June 1329, and demised on the 22d of February 1370-1, in the 42d year of his reign. How long Earl Patrick lived, after thus denuding himself of his title, and estates, is not easy to discover. Douglas, the Peerage writer, has indeed fixed his *mortal hour*, in 1360. He no doubt continued to enjoy the Earldom of Moray, with all its revenues, in right of his wife, till the death of both; they probably were dead, before the demise of David II. since they are not noticed, at the coronation of Robert II.: The fifth Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, and March, as he was twenty-four, in 1309, must have been eighty-four, in 1369.

(*a*) Besides the earldom, he acquired, from his father's resignation, the lands of Cumnock, in Ayrshire, Blantyre, in Lanerkshire, and Mochrum and Glenkens, in Galloway. He had already obtained, from his parent's resignation, on the 28th of June 1363, the baronies of Morton, and Tibbers, in Nithsdale. Robertson's Index, 73. He also inherited, from his heroic mother, the heiress of the great Randolph, the lordship of Annandale, the Isle of Man, the baronies of Morthington, and Longformacus, with the manor of Duns, perhaps, in Berwickshire. Ib. 115, 122, 136, 144, 164.

years.

years truce, which David had made with Edward III., who was enfeebled, by his own ambition (*b*). In October 1372, the two wardens of the marches, the Earls of Dunbar, and Douglas, made an explanatory agreement, with the bishop of Durham, and Henry Percy, with regard to the more regular receipts of David's ransom (*c*). The Earl of Dunbar, with several of the Scotish nobles, seem to have been ambitious, at this period, of visiting the more splendid scenes of England (*d*). In April 1373, George de Dunbar, the Earl of March, and John de Dunbar, the Earl of Moray, were present, in the parliament of Scone, which settled the succession of the crown (*e*). Among barons irascible, and brave, on both sides of the limits, which separated Scotland from England, good will, and quiet, could not long endure. In August 1376, an *Esquire* of the Earl of Dunbar, the warden of the east march, was slain by some Englishmen, at the fair of Roxburgh, which was then held, by England. The earl applied to Henry Percy, the opposite warden, for justice. As no redress was given, for this wrong, revenge was resolved on. The same fair, in the subsequent year, was chosen, as the place of perpetration. And the Earl of Dunbar, with his brother, John, Earl of Moray, assembling their followers, attacked Roxburgh, during the fair of 1377; killed many Englishmen, set fire to the town, and made good their retreat, with much spoil. This action was the signal, for an alternation of wasteful inroads, on either side of a hostile border. The Earl of Northumberland was not to be easily appeased: And resolving "to make his arrows drunk "with blood, from revenges upon the enemy," he entered the *Merse*, with seven thousand men; ravaged the lands of the Earl of Dunbar; encamped at Dunse-wood, till they became frightened, by their own fears (*f*). Such were the manners of the age, that it was the *wardens* of the *peace* of the marches, who were the leaders of those wasteful enmities. A truce was at last made, in November 1381, which was to endure, between "those brandishers of speares,"

(*b*) Rym. vi. 633. (*c*) Robertson's Index, 109.

(*d*) On the 3d February 1373, the Earl of Dunbar, had a safe conduct to go into England, with a suite of thirty horsemen. The Earl of Strathern, and others, had similar passports. Rym. vii. 1. In 1376, the Earl of Dunbar went again into England. The Earl of Douglas had, at the same time, a safe conduct to travel, in England, with a suite of twenty horsemen. Ib. 100.

(*e*) Parl. Rec. 129. The Earl of March was also present, at the parliament of Scone, in 1371, when John, Earl of Carrick, was declared the heir of Robert II.

(*f*) Fordun; Wyntown; the Border Hist. 327, mistakingly, places this inroad, in 1372: Walsingham, 197; and Ypodigma Neustria, 136, places it, in 1377; and acknowledges, that the *Merse-men* having frightened, by artifice, the Englishmen's horses, a panic became general among the men.

for

for an angry twelvemonth (*g*). The earl of Dunbar, and other Scotish nobles, now renewed their pilgrimages into England (*h*). But, every atonement, at the shrine of Becket, was followed by some act of hostility. The truce ended in 1384: And, the Earl of Dunbar, who was still the warden of the east border, in March 1385, intercepted, at Benrig, the baron of Graystock, who was conducting supplies to Roxburgh; captured his convoy; and led the baron captive to his castle of Dunbar (*i*). In addition to the perpetual enmity of border chiefs, France had a strong interest, in promoting continual warfare, between the contiguous kingdoms. In November 1385, John de Vienne, the French admiral, came into Scotland, with forty-thousand golden livres, for that insidious purpose. Of that shameful lucre, the Earl of Dunbar had 4,000 livres, while the Earl of Douglas had 7,000, as the greatest mischief-maker, among a misgoverned people (*k*). Alternate ravages were in consequence made, on either side of the adjacent borders. And, the people suffered, for their leader's profit. A truce a length put a temporary end to such unprincipled warfare (*l*). In the subsequent year, the Earl of Dunbar visited the "silent tomb" of Becket (*m*). In the quick succession of hostilities, and truces, it required little provocation, among such men, during such times, to produce a war. In 1388, the Duke of Albany, the king's son, who ruled Scotland, resolved on an inroad into England, to gratify ambition, as much as to gain advantage. He detached, from

(*g*) This truce was made, at Berwick, on the 1st November 1380, between the Earl of Dunbar, the Earl of Douglas, and others, and the Duke of Lancaster, on the side of England; and it was to endure till St. Andrew's day, 1381. Rym. vii. 276.

(*h*) Ib. 338.

(*i*) Fordun, l. xiv. c. 47; Wyntown, ix. c. v: This chronykler supposes, that the baron of Graystock had a grant of Roxburgh, the *Castelle*, which he was coming to enjoy, with his whole household, who were now intercepted, by Earl George, "that wyst welle of his comyng."

(*k*) Rym. vii. 485, is the veracious record of this scandalous traffic: That must have been the famous James, Earl Douglas: as William, the first earl, died, in 1384: Wyntown, ii. 323, tells, how he was taken with *seknes*, on the way to Douglas; "and thare, in a schort tyme, dede he "was; and till Melros they had his body; and thare it was honourably entyred."

(*l*) This truce was made at Billymyre, in *the Merse*, on the 27th of June 1385, between the Erle of the Marche, and the Earl of Douglas, the Scotish wardens, with Lord Nevil, the English warden: This is a curious document, as one of the first, which was drawn, in the English language, of an illiterate age, Rym. vii. 526: "It wes accordit, that the castelx of Jedd, Rokeburgh, the "town of Berwyk and the castel, yar garnisons, servantz, guydes, and catel, whatsaever thay be, er contenyt in yir speciale trewes and assurantz," &c. Such, then, was the written language of Northumberland, and the *Merse*, in 1386. The Earl of Dunbar did not understand either French, or Latin; as we know, from his own epistle, to the English monarch, Henry IV. Pink. Hist. App.

(*m*) Ib. 565.

the

the large army, which he commanded, the celebrated James, Earl Douglas, the Earls of Dunbar, and Moray, with a considerable body of men, to penetrate into the eastern frontier, while he himself should attack the western. Douglas, without opposition, advanced almost to the gates of York, with his torch lighted, and his spear advanced. Satiated with spoil, he began to retire upon the middle marches. But, the Earl of Northumberland had seen his steps; and he had collected an army, under the famous Hotspur, and Ralph Percy, his warlike sons, to intercept the Scotish invaders. Douglas had retreated into Redes-dale, when he was overtaken, by Hotspur, at Otterburn. Here, ensued one of the most memorable conflicts of that age, or indeed of any other, saith Froisart, for the gallantry of the leaders, the resolution of the men, and the generosity of the conquerors. After the greatest efforts of bravery, Douglas fell, in the foremost ranks, covered with wounds. His friends, by displaying his pennon, and raising his war-cry, encouraged the Scots, to redouble their efforts. Hotspur, and his brother, were made prisoners; and the Northumbrians retired, from this desperate field. Happy for the Scots, that the command of them now devolved on the Earl of Dunbar, the most prudent general, in Scotland, during that age: He was almost always successful, in his various battles; because his circumspection constantly predominated over his courage. The bishop of Durham had followed the track of Hotspur, with the yeomanry of his bishoprick; and arriving near the field, on the morrow, found the Scots advantageously encamped, and artfully secured. The bishop tried all his artifices of war, to provoke the Scots, to meet him in the field. But, the Earl of Dunbar said to his chieftains, "Here "have we the advantage of the ground, which is strengthened with trees; and "here will we fight, if the bishop should dare to attack us." The English yeomen sullenly retired. And the Earl of Dunbar conducted his army, with his prisoners, to the Tweed; carrying "the adored remains" of the gallant Douglas, in mournful triumph, to Melros, the sacred repository of his valiant family (*m*). But, there was no good result from this victory to Scotland. The parliament had the servility, in the subsequent year, to appoint the Duke of Albany the dictator of the kingdom. A truce, between England and France, ensued, which included Scotland. And in July 1390, Robert III., after swearing to keep this cessation from war, appointed the Earls of Dunbar, Moray, Douglas, and others, the conservators of the border quiet. The Earl of Dunbar now employed himself, during several years, either in visiting England, in preserving quiet, as warden of the marches, or in negotiating treaties, which,

(*m*) Fordun, l. ix. c. 8; Wyntown, ii. p. 334—44.

among

among such a people, under a feeble government, could not possibly be maintained (*n*).

But, a sad scene of sorrow soon ensued, which gave a colour to the earl's future life. In 1399, the Duke of Rothsay, the son, and heir of Robert III., a known profligate, *spoused* Elizabeth, the earl's daughter. The father is said to have paid to the Duke a large part of her matrimonial portion, who gave a bond, under his seal, to perform his espousals (*o*). Yet, did the heir apparent of the throne marry, within Bothwell church, in February 1400, Marjory the daughter of Archibald, the third earl of Douglas, who died in February 1400-1 (*p*). The injured lady was very nobly descended. She had the blood of William, the lion, in her veins; Robert Bruce, the competitor, was her progenitor, by his daughter Christian; she was the grandchild of Black Agnes, the magnanimous defender of Dunbar castle, who was the daughter of Randolph Earl of Moray, one of the illustrious restorers of the Scotish monarchy: And she was the second cousin of Henry IV., the reigning sovereign of England. This injured lady very soon had her revenge: The Duke of Rothsay neglected her rival: And he was assassinated by Albany, his uncle, and Douglas, his brother-in-law, on the 27th of March 1402 (*q*). The Earl of Dunbar, as he had forgot his usual circumspection, in entering into such a contract with the heir-apparent to the crown, when under age, felt, that he had been injured, without hope of reparation; and carried his resentment beyond all bounds. He

(*n*) Rym. vii. 683-737-54-5-788; Rym. viii. 54-68.

(*o*) The earl, in writing on this interesting subject to Henry IV., his relation, says, "the Duke "of Rothsay *spousit* my douchter, and now, agayn [against] his oblishyng [obligation] to me, "made be his lettre and his seal, and agaynes the law of haly kirk, spousis another wife, as it is "said." Pink. Hist. App. i. 449. *Spousals*, according to the learned Swinburn, doth only signify promises of marriage, though lawyers have sometimes confounded *spousals* with *marriage*. Treatise on Spousals, 1—3. Though she were only affianced, the Earl of Dunbar's daughter called herself, and was called by Henry IV., *Duchess of Rothsay*. Rym. viii. 694. Bower, 428: It appears not, that there was any dispensation from the pope, for this second marriage, in opposition to a previous contract. The pretence held out was, that the Estates had not given their assent to that *previous spousal*, which formed a bar to the second spousals: But, there was a much stronger objection to the first marriage: As the Duke of Rothsay was born, in 1379, he could have been only 20 years of age, in 1399, when he *spousit* the daughter of George, Earl of Dunbar. Bp. Elphinston's Chon. in Innes's MS. Notes, ch. ii. He was scarcely 21, when he married the daughter of the Earl of Douglas, in 1400. And he was assassinated on the 27th of March 1402. Such was the short, but wretched life of the first Duke of Rothsay. His fate may be attributed to the folly of Dunbar, the ambition of Douglas, the miscreancy of Albany, and to the profligacy of Rothsay himself.

(*p*) Crawford's Peer. 97.

(*q*) Bower, 431-2; Wyntoun, ii. 397: Lord Hailes' Remarks Hist. Scot. ch. xix.

appealed to his kinsman, Henry IV., against Rothsay, and sought his protection, with design to emigrate to England (*r*). Leaving his castle of Dunbar, in the charge of his nephew, Maitland of Lethington, he retired into England, under Henry's safe conducts, in July 1400. The English king was then marching towards Scotland; and the Scotish earl met him at Newcastle (*s*): The fugitive now relinquished his allegiance, and gave his son, Gaweyn, as a hostage, in consideration of the royal promises. In August 1400, Henry marched through the Merse to Hadington; thence to Leith; thence to Edinburgh castle, which he assaulted, without hope of success; and then retired into England, without doing much damage to Scotland, except the pillage of Dalhousie castle. An army, which the son of Douglas conducted, was now sent to take Dunbar castle, that readily yielded to the first summons (*t*). In the negotiations, which followed, in November 1400, the Scotish king demanded the Earl of Dunbar: The English king required, that the earls estates might be restored: And, as both those requests were denied, the earl, with his followers, remained under Henry's protection, to whisper mischief, and incite hostilities.

In February 1401, Henry Percy, and the Earl of Dunbar, assembled the Northumbrian yeomen, with design to waste Scotland. They now marched through Berwickshire, and Lothian, beyond the Tyne, to Popil, and to Linton; wasting the land, as they advanced. They assaulted the castle of Hailes, which repulsed their onset. They burnt the villages of Hailes, Trapren, and Merkhill; and they pitched their hostile tents, at Linton, and Preston, on the northern side of the Tyne (*u*). This bold advance made a strong impression, at Edinburgh. The son of Douglas was dispatched, to repel the ravagers. The spoilers

(*r*) See his English Letter. Pink. Hist. Scot. i. 449.

(*s*) Here they entered into an uncommon contract; the earl to renounce his allegiance "to "Robert, that pretends hymself king of Scotland;" and Henry IV. engaged to give the traitor, and *Christeane*, his wife, some manors in England. The following is a specimen of their language: "This "Endenture maad at the toune of the Newe Castil opone Tyne the xxv day of the monyth of Juyl, "the yere, Frome the Incarnation of our lord Jesu Crist, a Thousand and Four Hundreth, Between "the Noble and Michty Prince Henry by the grace of God Kyng of England &c. on the ton syde, "and his cousin George de Dunbarre, Earle of the Marche of Scotland, on the tother syde.——In "the Witness of the *quiche* things, the Parties aforesaid have to thes Endentures sette to their "Seales, in the day, yere, and place beforesaide." Rym. viii. 54.

(*t*) Fordun, l. xv. c. 10.

(*u*) The above specification, from Bower, ought to have prevented any mistake, as to the appropriate route of this hostile intrusion of the Earl of Dunbar, into his own county: Yet, has the latest historian of Scotland laid the obvious scene of this wasteful inroad, in Tweedale; being deluded by the names of Pople, and Linton. Pink. Hist. i. 64.

did

did not stay to feel his spear. Dunbar, and Percy, made a precipitate retreat to Colbrandspeth; and thence, to Berwick. Douglas closely followed them; and almost entered the gates of Berwick, with the fugitives (*x*). The English king now rewarded the Earl of Dunbar, with his followers, and received his son Gaweyn into his service; as they had shown their attachment to him, and their enmity to their country, by their recent inroad (*y*). The Douglases obtained possession of Dunbar castle, and its appropriate country. In 1402, ensued alternations of inroads. Halyburton of Dirleton wasted Northumberland. Another incursion of Hepburn of Hales, as it was more adventurous, was less successful. The Earl of Dunbar, with the Northumbrian yeomen, and his own adherents, pursued his countrymen to Nisbet, in the Merse, where a sharp encounter ensued. Hepburn made a gallant resistance; but, he was at length slain, with the youth of Lothian; leaving many prisoners, in the hands of his pursuers (*z*). This conflict was fought, on the 22d of June 1402; and the bloody scene was thereafter called *Slaughterhill*, saith Godscroft. When the Earl of Douglas heard of this disaster, he felt for his own fame. He immediately collected the strength of Scotland, with the aid of Albany, the governor. He entered England, with ten thousand spears; ravaged the country, as far as Newcastle: But, on his triumphant return, he was encountered, near the Northumbrian border, by the Earl of Northumberland, his son, Henry Percy, and the Earl of Dunbar. The name of Douglas inflamed the proud heart of Hotspur; he was ready to rush into the bloody ranks: But, he was prevented by the prudent remonstrances of the Earl of Dunbar, who perceived, that the English archers would discomfit the Scotish spearmen. The Scots were thus, by the circumspection of Dunbar, totally defeated at Homildon, on the 14th of September 1402. The Earl of Dunbar saw, with malignant eyes, his rival, Earl of Douglas, Murdoch, the son of Albany, and many of the chieftains of Scotland, led captives to the Northumbrian castles. Hotspur tarnished the lustre of his victory, by assassinating the gallant Sir William Stewart, the sheriff of Teviotdale, on frivolous pretences, under the form of law (*a*). Henry IV. claimed the captives, from Hotspur, and Dunbar (*b*). The expatriated earl now supplicated the English parliament, to restore to him his estates, as they should be conquered. They seem to have admitted the reasonableness

(*x*) Fordun, l. xv. c. 10.

(*y*) Rym. viii. 154, 212, 245.

(*z*) Fordun, l. xv. c. 13.

(*a*) Fordun, ii. 434; Wyntown, ii. 401-2, who was a contemporary writer. Andr. Stuart's Supplement, 16—22. This fact cannot, hereafter, be doubted.

(*b*) Rym. viii. 278.

of his prayer (*c*): But, though the English army penetrated, through the Merse, to Inverwick, in East-Lothian; and returned through Teviotdale, in 1403, to Cocklaw; they appear to have made little progress, in conquering the earldom of the March. They were all drawn aside to very different objects, by the rebellion of the Percys, in 1403, against Henry IV. The Earl of Dunbar naturally took the part of his protector: Douglas joined Hotspur, whose prisoner he was. They all met, in furious conflict, at the battle of Shrewsbury, on the 22d of July 1403. The circumspection of Dunbar was again very properly opposed to the fire of Douglas. On this decisive day, this dangerous rebellion was quahed; Hotspur was slain; and Douglas was again wounded, and taken. Henry IV. now dealt out his inadequate rewards to Dunbar, and his family (*d*). But, they were not happy, as they were fugitives; nor were they safe, among the Northumbrians, who lamented the Percys (*e*). When the peace, between the contiguous kingdoms, was restored, and continued, by frequent truces, the usefulness of the Earl of Dunbar became of less value to Henry IV. The expatriated earl even became a troublesome neighbour, where he resided, in Lincolnshire (*f*): And, he was thus induced to think of endeavouring to regain what he had lost, at home, by his imprudence. Nor, did he find his restoration so difficult, considering that, James I. was then a prisoner, in England, and Albany, the regent, governed, by an odious sway. Walter Haliburton of Dirleton, who had married Albany's daughter, was the mediator of this reconcilement, in 1409. But, it was not effected, without sacrifices, in his property, and name (*g*): Yet, was he not restored to his ancient influence; nor, was his earldom placed, beyond the reach of forfeiture.

Peace

(*c*) Walsingham, 238. (*d*) Rym. viii. 322-3-4.

(*e*) See the Countess of Dunbar's Letters to Henry IV.; complaining of their distresses, since they left their country; they were surrounded by the pestilence; yet, they could not retire to their own castle of Colbrandspath, as they had incurred the hatred of the followers of Percy. Pink. Hist. i. App. vii. They received some relief. Rym. viii. 400. George, the eldest son of the Earl of Dunbar, retained the possession of the castle of Colbrandspath; the Englishmen, at Berwick, took the vessels, which were carrying him supplies; and Henry IV. endeavoured to grant him redress. Ib. 410.

(*f*) In 1407, the earl, and his followers, in some dispute with the tenants of the dean and chapter of Lincoln, at Nanenby, slew John Bleeweif. For this, they were all indicted. And, on the 10th of May 1407, Henry IV. granted the earl, his son Gawyn, thirty-eight of his men, with their wives, who had joined in the fray, a pardon, for their crimes, which were thus committed. Ib. 481.

(*g*) The Earl of Douglas would not consent to Dunbar's restoration, till he had obtained the castle of Lochmaban, and the whole lordship of Annandale, for ever, in lieu of the castle of Dunbar, and the earldom of March, which the Douglasses had possessed, since the expatriation of Dunbar.

Fordun,

Peace could not last long, between contiguous kingdoms, which were governed, during such times, by such men. They were at war in 1410. In this year, Patrick Dunbar, one of the Earls sons, took, by a hardy stratagem, Fast-castle, on the northern shore of Berwickshire (*a*). The Earl of Dunbar was one of the commissioners, who were appointed, in 1411, to negotiate a truce with England (*b*). In January 1414, the king of Scots, who was still a prisoner in England, the Lord of the Isles, who was one of the treasonous subjects of Scotland, and the Earl of Dunbar, who lived upon the borders, were all included, in the truce, between England and France (*c*). Such falacious cessations, necessarily, produced constant warfare, between conterminous people. In 1417, the Earl of Dunbar joined the army, which the regent Albany led to the borders; for the purpose of besieging Roxburgh, and Berwick, and making an incursion into England: But, Dunbar, and Douglas, are said to have counselled the regent to retire, on the rumour of the approach of an English army: And he certainly led back his army, without effecting any one of his apparent objects (*d*). This was the last exploit of the Earl of Dunbar, who was now well stricken in years. He died, in 1420, when he was upwards of eighty-two, of the disease, which was known, in that age, by the name of the *quhew*, which from several symptoms, we may suppose, to have been a contagious fever;

Fordun, l. xv. c. 21. The regent of Albany, on this occasion, granted the castle of Lochmaban, and the lordship of Annandale, to Archibald, the Earl of Douglas, and his heirs-male; whom failing, the whole was to return to George, the Earl of Dunbar, and his heirs-male, on the resignation of the same earl, and his heir. Robertson's Index, 164. The regent had already granted many parcels of the Earl of Dunbar's forfeited lands, in the Merse, to several persons. Ib. 140, 147—149. Haliburton now obtained forty librates of the lands of Brigham, in the Merse, which belonged to Dunbar. The restoration of the earl must have been in the beginning of 1409; as he witnessed a charter of the same Haliburton, at Dirleton, on the 8th of June 1409. Ib. 166.

(*a*) Fordun. l. xv. c. 21; Holinshed, 257. Gawyn Dunbar, another son of the Earl, with William Douglas of Drumlanrig, in 1411, broke down the bridge of Roxburgh, and burnt the town, which the English had long possessed. Fordun. l. xv. c. 23.

(*b*) Rym. viii. 682: The first treaty being disconcerted, a second was more successful. Ib. 703. In December 1411, the regent Albany appointed George Dunbar, the heir of the Earl, and John Busby, the Duke's chaplain, to negotiate the temporary liberation of Murdoch, the regent's eldest son, who had been taken, in the battle of Homildon, as we may remember. Ib. 708.

(*c*) Rym. ix. 93. A direct truce between Scotland and England, was attempted, in August 1414. Ayloff's Calend. 306. In 1415, the same persons were again included, in a truce, between England, and France. Ib. 264. The same characters, with the Earl of Dunbar, were, in October 1416, included again, in the truce, between England, and France. Ib. 392.

(*d*) Bord Hist. 385. Their advice, which was given to the regent, whether insidious, or not, was undoubtedly too readily followed: For this expedition was generally derided, as the *foul-raide*. Fordun. l. xv. c. 24.

with

with an attendant dysentery (*e*). He married Christian, the daughter of Sir William Seton, who brought him six sons, and two daughters (*f*). George, Earl of Dunbar, who thus died, in 1420, though the genealogists suppose him to have deceased in 1416, was certainly an eminent noble, who involved himself in misery, and ruined his affairs, by two imprudent acts; the marrying of his daughter to the heir-apparent of the throne, while under age; and his own revolt against his sovereign, who had not injured him, when he found himself overreached, by more unprincipled politicians.

When the *second* George, Earl of Dunbar thus succeeded his father, he must have been aged almost fifty (*g*). In 1423, and in 1424, the Earl, and his brothers, were much employed, in negotiating the freedom of James I. (*h*). The Earl of Dunbar had the honour to meet the king, at Durham, on his return to Scotland (*i*). The Earl, attending his coronation, on the 21st of May 1424, was one of those eminent men, who were knighted, on that joyous occasion (*k*). He was one of the conservators of the seven years truce, which James concluded at Durham (*l*). Yet, was he arrested, at the parliament of Perth, on the 21st of March 1425, with Murdoch, Duke of Albany, Archibald, Earl of Douglas, William, Earl of Angus, and twenty persons of less rank (*m*). The three Earls must have been soon liberated; as they sat, with others, in the parliament of

(*e*) Fordun. l. xv. c. 32. As George, Earl of Dunbar, was upwards of thirty, when he received the earldom, from his father, in 1369, he must have held the earldom fifty-two years; and must have been upwards of eighty-two, at his death.

(*f*) Dougl. Peer. 441; Christian, the countess, is mentioned in the contract, between Henry IV. and the Earl of Dunbar. Rym. viii. 153. Five of their sons, George, Gawyn, Colin, Patrick, John, are mentioned by a charter of Robert II. in 1390. Robertson's Index, 126. David, their sixth son, is mentioned, in Rym. x. 292, as a prisoner, during 1423. David Dunbar had the honour to fall, in defending, with equal spirit, and loyalty, James I. when he was assassinated. Fordun. l. xiv. c. 27. The two daughters of the Earl, and Countess, were Janet, and Elizabeth. It is curious to remark, that Douglas, and the other peerage writers, have forgotten, that this Earl of Dunbar had a daughter, Elizabeth, who, as she had been affianced to the Duke of Rothsay, was called the Duchess of Rothsay, by Henry IV., occasioned the revolt of her father, and the ruin of his family.

(*g*) In 1390, he obtained from Robert III. a grant to him, as heir of the Earl of Dunbar, of his ward, relief, and marriage, for the earldom of March, and the lordship of Annandale. Robertson's Index, 126. He appears, in various public transactions, during the last twenty years of his father's devious life. He seems to have held his father's castle of Colbrandspath, during his father's residence, in England, from 1400 to 1409. In 1411, he acted, as a commissioner, for liberating the regent's son: And in 1415, he again was employed to obtain the freedom of the same person.

(*h*) Rym. x. 286, 299-301-308-9, 327-8.

(*i*) Ib. 309.

(*k*) Fordun. l. xiv. c. 2; Abercrombie, ii. 269.

(*l*) Rym. x. 332.

(*m*) Fordun. l. xvi. c. 10.

Stirling, in May 1425, on the trial of the Duke of Albany, and his associates, in treason (*n*). Patrick, his heir, was one of the new hostages, who were given, in July 1425, for the ransom of James I. (*o*). During several years, the Earl was appointed either to make, or to preserve the frequent truces with England (*p*). And, the Earl of Dunbar had the honour to be one of the sponsors for James II. who was born at Holyrood-house, on the 16th of October 1430 (*q*). Yet, after all those services, owing to whatever cause, the Earl of Dunbar was imprisoned, within the castle of Edinburgh, in 1434 (*r*). In the parliament, which was summoned, at Perth, in January 1435, George, Earl of Dunbar was accused, not for any treason, committed by him, but, for holding his earldom, and estates, which had been forfeited, during the late reign, for his father's guilt. In vain did the Earl plead, that his father had been pardoned, and restored, by the regent Albany; it was answered, that a forfeiture having been incurred, for treason, could not be pardoned, by a regent: And the parliament, in compliance with this absurd reasoning, adjudged George de Dunbar, Knight, to have forfeited his earldom, and estates, which were now invested in the king (*s*). Nothing can be found in the conduct of this Earl, which could justify this harsh, not to say unjust proceeding. He was a gentleman of moderate abilities, and of unassuming manners; he had concurred, zealously, in obtaining the king's restoration, and had served the king very faithfully: And this rigorous proceeding can only be allowed to stand, for its justification, on the slight motive of the whispers of courtiers, who, with less merit, stood panting for his forfeiture. Yet, James I., whose fair fame is foully stained, by Dunbar's forfeiture, conferred on him, and his heirs, a pension of four hundred marks, out of the earldom of Buchan, but not the earldom itself, as some suppose. After that grievous condemnation, the Earl, and his Son retired, with their families, into England,

(*n*) Fordun. l. xvi. c. 10.

(*o*) Rym. x. 348. The Earl's heir was relieved, from this thraldom, by the Earl of Sutherland, in November 1427. Ib. 381.

(*p*) In June 1429, George, Earl of Dunbar, and his brother, Sir Patrick, were two of the ambassadors, who were sent to treat with England, about infractions of the truce, and to negotiate a final peace. Ib. 417. He was employed, on the same business, in January 1430. Ib. 446. And, he was appointed one of the Scotish conservators of the five years truce, which was made with England, at Edinburgh, in December 1430. Ib. 491.

(*q*) Fordun. l. xiv. c. 24.

(*r*) Id. The Earl of Angus, the Chancellor Crichton, and Hepburn of Hailes, were sent to take possession of the castle of Dunbar, which was readily surrendered to them: Hepburn was left, as constable, to keep the castle. Id.

(*s*) Black Acts, fo. 23; Parl. Record, 26.

where

where they resided, in obscurity, which formed a sad contrast to the ages of splendour, that their dignified fathers had uniformly enjoyed (*t*). They appear, however, to have inherited the barony of Kelconachar, in Fife, which, as it had been held under the bishops of St. Andrews, seems not to have been involved in the forfeiture of the honours, and lands, which were held, *in chief* of the king (*u*). Thus ended the long line of the Earls of Dunbar, who were as dignified, for their connections, as they were respectable, for their opulence; and who, for so many generations, enjoyed such vast estates, and so much influence, in Berwickwickshire.

The estates of that family, and the earldom of *the March*, were now invested in the crown. The whole was of course delivered to the management of *a stewart*, who collected the revenues, and administered justice, within its jurisdiction. But, it was not quiet: The Hepburns, and Homes, contended for superiority, in turbulence (*x*). The earldom of March was, at length, conferred, by James II. on his second son, Alexander, the Duke of Albany, who was also made *warden of the East Marches*. It will soon appear, that those most ancient Earls were but ill exchanged, for the king's kinsmen (*y*).

Almost the whole events of the turbulent reign of James III., who succeeded his father, on the 3d of August 1460, turned upon the misconduct of his brother, the Duke of Albany. The king was born, in 1452, his brother Alexander, in 1453, and his brother, John, the Earl of Mar, about the year 1455. And they lost, in 1463, the benefit of their mother's counsels, when Mary of Gueldre died, a woman of a masculine spirit, but a widow of suspected chastity (*z*).

(*t*) Rym. x. 618-628-9.

(*u*) About the year 1457, bishop Kennedy gave a charter to Patrick Dunbar, the heir of the late Earl, of the barony of Kilconachar, &c. Dougl. Peer. 442, who quotes Macfarlane's Col. of Charters. The peerage writer says, that the posterity of Patrick continued in possession of that barony, till the recent times of Mary Stewart, when the last of them died, without male-issue.

(*x*) In 1446, Sir Patrick Hepburn, of Hales, took the castle of Dunbar, by surprize; and Archibald Dunbar, in his turn, took the castle of Hailes. Abercromby, ii. 336. In the chartulary of Coldingham, there are some letters of James II. in 1446, "de rebellione Patricii Hebburn, militis, "occupantis castrum de Dunbar." Lord Home was, at the same time, probably, stewart of the earldom of March, and collected its revenues. Pitscottie, 133.

(*y*) The Duke of Albany, as he enjoyed that trust; and those estates, before August 1455, must have had a grant of them from his father, when he was scarcely two years old, as he was born, in 1453. The parliament, which sat in August 1455, declared void all grants of offices, in fee, "exceptand the wardenry of *the Merche*, the quhilk owr soverene lord has given til his sone "Alexander Erle of Merche, and lord of Ananderdale." Black Acts, Ja. II. c. 47.

(*z*) Lord Hailes' Remarks, 141. contains a defence of the chastity of Mary of Gueldre; Lord Elibank's Remarks, ch. viii. who seems to recognize the influences of truth.

James III.

James III. who was a prince of beneficent temper, without talents, and without ambition, and yet is represented by history, in contradiction to record, as *a tyrant*, was little calculated to struggle, during rugged times, with profligate brothers, and turbulent nobles. His affairs, while he was yet an infant, were conducted, with equal prudence, and success, by James Kennedy, the virtuous, and able bishop of St. Andrews. His brother, the Duke of Albany, being sent to Gueldre, for his education, in 1464, was, during peace, carried a captive into England (*a*): But, Bishop Kennedy sent to Edward IV. a herald, carrying a request of deliverance in one hand, and a declaration of war, in the other: And, the Duke was immediately released, with apologies, for his capture. That excellent prelate died, in 1466, to the irreparable loss of the king, and the disquiet of the nation. James III., at the age of fourteen, fell into the management of the Boyds, a family, who set no bounds to their ambition; and were ruined, by the envy of the nobles. They, however, negotiated a prudent match for the king, with Margaret, the princess of Denmark, who brought him, as her dower, the Orkney, and Shetland Isles, in 1469, when he was of the age of seventeen, and she was sixteen. The Boyds were subverted, by a forfeiture in parliament, during the same year. The feeble James, who came of age, in 1473, now fell into the management of another faction, who were equally interested, and less scrupulous, than the former. On the 10th of March 1472-3, was born to the king, a son, who was named James; and who, when he had scarcely arrived at the age of sixteen, contributed to the dethronement, and demise of his father, on the 11th June 1488.

James II. in an evil hour, for the quiet, and stability of his own family, very early gave establishments to his younger sons. When Alexander, his second son, was scarcely two years old, he was made Duke of Albany, *Earl of March*, Lord of Annandale, *warden of the East Marches* (*b*). And, he was appointed, in 1472, when he was still under age, Governor of Berwick, and Lord Lieutenant of the Borders (*c*). While he was still under one and twenty, he performed every act of ownership over his own estates, as if he had been of the most mature years (*d*).

(*a*) He was sent thither, it seems, by the death-bed desire of his mother, Mary of Guildre. Pitscottie, 126, says, "he was sent to France, to learn the *leed*, with other letters." He had a safe conduct, from Edward IV., dated the 20th April 1464; wherein his whole titles are recited. Rym. xi. 520.

(*b*) Rym. xi. 520; Parl. Rec. 147.

(*c*) Black Acts of Parl. James II. ch. 47; Pitscottie, 133.

(*d*) Before the year 1471, he appears to have granted a lease of the *customs*, and *tolls*, of Annandale. Parl. Rec. 163. In October 1472, when the Duke was scarcely nineteen, he granted the lands of Longformacus to James Sinclair. Dougl. Baronage, 249. who quotes the archives of that family.

And, during the same early period, he married his second cousin, Catherine Sinclair, the daughter of William, Earl of Orkney, and Cathness, by Margaret Douglas. The king's third brother, John, Earl of Mar, was also brought very prematurely into public life, having early received his private establishments. And, with the same imprudence, both those brothers were allowed to sit, in the parliament of May 1471, the one, at the age of eighteen, and the other at sixteen (*e*). Both Albany, and Mar, sat in some subsequent parliaments, before they were of lawful age (*f*). The parliament, and the nation, had soon cause to repent the imprudence of admitting such persons, at such immature periods of life, to vote in the national councils.

As those infant princes had long acted, without controul, they at length set the laws at open defiance (*g*). Albany, and Mar, with the Earl of Angus, and Lord Gray, who were at the head of those nobles, that caballed with them, secretly assembled, at Edinburgh, in 1478, in order to drive from the king's presence his subordinate servants, the amusers of his privacy, rather than the advisers of his councils (*h*). In this treasonous meeting of heady youths, none was so outrageous,

(*e*) Parl. Rec. 159-60: And, on the 11th May 1471, both those princes set their seals to a confirmation, in parliament, to William Earl of Orkney, who had received the earldom of Cathness in exchange for the Orkneys. Ib. 164. When this parliament adjourned, "my Lord of Albany," at the age of eighteen, was appointed, by the Estates, one of the committee of government, during the recess. Parl. Rec. 159-60.

(*f*) Ib. 168, 198-9. In 1477, Edward IV. granted a licence to the Duke of Albany to buy English longbows, "pro suis jocis et ludis." Ayloff's Cal. 284. Nobles of less influence were admitted to sit, in parliament, under age; and livery of the lands of such nobles was also made to them, while much under age. Such was the constitutional practice, in Scotland, however absurd, in its theory, and dangerous, in its effects. We have seen above how Albany employed himself, in 1477; yet, are we told that, in the same year, he obtained a divorce from his wife, a princess of the blood; because she was his second cousin.

(*g*) Doctor Henry supposes, that the cabals of the princes began as early as 1477. Hist. v. 293. Other historians say, their intrigues began two years later; but probability, and record, evince, that the earliest of their meetings were, towards the end of the year 1478: On the 22d of May 1479, Albany was accused, in parliament, of treason, for fortifying his castle of Dunbar against the king, and for committing other treasonable acts. Parl. Rec. 252. Now, this accusation was subsequent to his escape, from the castle of Edinburgh, and after his flight to France.

(*h*) Lesley, 307. The Earl of Angus, as he was born, in 1454, was one year younger than Albany, and one year older than Mar. In 1468, when he was only fourteen, he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Lord Boyd, who was then one of the rulers of Scotland. On the 26th of June 1470, the king gave him livery of his lands, *notwithstanding his non-age*. Godscroft, 219 In 1479, the king erected the Earl's lands, and castle of Tantallon into a free barony. Crawford's Officers of State, 54. Crawford quotes the charter, in the Public Records, in order to show how much.

rageous, and loud, in accusations against an indulgent king, as the king's brother, the Earl of Mar, an intemperate boy of three and twenty. But, when the king's ministers heard of that cabal, they caused the king's brothers to be arrested: the Duke of Albany was committed to the castle of Edinburgh; and the Earl of Mar was confined in Craigmillar castle. Albany, as his keepers were not very vigilant, made his escape to his fortlet of Dunbar; and Mar almost immediately died, though by what means was not, at such a time, very accurately ascertained (*i*). The death of this prince rather stifled than dissipated this conspiracy, which was thus ready to break out (*k*). Albany, after retreating to his castle, which he fortified against the king, thence retired to France (*l*). The Duke was immediately accused, in parliament, of the various crimes of murder, and treason, which affected his life, and the forfeiture of his estates, and offices (*m*). Yet, perhaps, there was no real purpose to convict him of crimes, which, as they were sufficiently known, could have been easily proved. As the ministers knew, that the king had no delight, in capital punishments, their object seems to have

much Angus was *in the favour of the king*; but, why Angus should so soon set himself at the head of that faction, that affronted the king, Crawford cannot divine. Id. Andrew, Lord Gray, on the 31st of October 1471, was retoured heir to his grandfather. Crawford's Peerage, 180. He was a nobleman of very great parts, saith this peerage writer. After Lord Gray had assisted, in hanging the king's servants, at Lauder bridge; after Lord Gray had drenched his hands in the blood of his murdered sovereign, James III. he was, in the subsequent year, appointed justiciary of Lothian, and afterward justice general of all Scotland; an office, which he held till his death, in February 1514. Ib. 189. The cabal, who complained of the king's conduct, were formed of youths of four, five, and six and twenty years of age.

(*i*) As Buchanan, and his followers, talk, with their usual malignity, of "Mars' keepers having "opened a vein;" we may easily suppose that, from the violence of his temperament, under confinement, that he may have burst a blood vessel: The reign of James III., whatever they may say, was not a reign of blood, as we may learn from the Parliamentary Record.

(*k*) Such is the intimation of Buchanan, who acknowledges that there was such a meeting, for the end of changing the king's servants, by force. Buch Man's Edit. 347. Lesley, 319-20. But, such a meeting, for such a purpose, was an act of treason, at that time, as it is at present. The silence of the Parliamentary Record, as to the conviction of the Earl of Mar, shews that, Buchanan, and Lesley were both mistaken, in supposing that the Earl was put to death, by order of government.

(*l*) Lesley, 309; Henry's Hist. v. 294. The best account of the obscure reign of James III. is that of Doctor Henry, who has most research, and most candour.

(*m*) On the 22d of May 1479, a warrant was issued to summon the Duke of Albany to answer, in parliament, for fortifying the castle of Dunbar against the king, contrary to the acts of parliament; for the treasonable violation of the truce with England; *he being warden of the Marches*; for being guilty of the cruel slaughter of John Scougal; and for other treasons, and crimes, committed against the king. Parl. Rec. 252-3.

been only to institute a prosecution of treason, in order to terrify the Duke, and to overaw his faction (*n*). After his flight into France, some of those lords, who had been engaged, in the late conspiracy, entered into a secret correspondence with the exiled Earl of Douglas, who was then expatriated in England, and with the English Government, which did not dislike such an intercourse (*o*).

Meantime, the Duke of Albany was favourably received by Louis XI., a congenial character, from whom he obtained an adequate establishment. In that age, little did the various princes know of each other, or of the true state of their several countries. Amidst this uncertainty, the profligate Albany took to wife, in the subsequent year, Anne, the third daughter of Bertrand, Count D'Auverne, knowing that he was already married (*p*). Albany lived long enough, with this injured

(*n*) Lord Evandale, the chancellor, soon compelled the castle of Dunbar to surrender; some of the garrison made their escape to the English coast: and on the 7th of October 1479, twenty-one of the prisoners, who were chiefly men of Berwickshire, were convicted of treason. Ib. 252. On the 11th of June 1479, George Home, of Wedderburn, Patrick Home, of Polworth, Andrew Home, and others, were accused before parliament of treason, in holding the castle of Dunbar against the king; and for breaking the truce with England. Ib. 255. The charge of treason against the Duke was often recalled before the parliament, through several years, as low down as the 11th of March 1482, without any attempt to carry the charge up to a conviction. Ib. 254-71. The notice in Carmichael's Tracts, 61-2. of Albany being forfeited, on the 4th of October 1479, is a mistake, which has been since copied, by other writers.

(*o*) Border Hist. 440; Parl. Rec. 274.

(*p*) Anne, the third daughter of Bertrand Count D'Auvergne, married, first, on the 16th of February 1480, Alexander Stewart, Duke of Albany, who died, in 1485, of a wound, which he received, at a tournament; and, secondly, she married, in 1487, Louis Compte de la Chambre. L'Art de Verifier les Dates, third edition, t. ii. 371. The historian of the Jameses, p. 92, supposes, that Albany had *buried* his *French wife*; but we see above, that she outlived him. From the contract, which Albany made, with Edward IV., on the 11th of June 1482, for marrying his daughter Cicilie, we may perceive, that Albany was perfectly aware, that he had then *two wives living*; for he agreed to marry the lady Cicilie, "gyf the said Alexander can mak himself clere fro "all other wemen." Rym. xii. 156-7. Such a profligate, as Albany, could have easily dispatched a couple of concubines; but, two wives cannot be so easily thrown off. The Scotish historians, however, intimate a divorce, by John Otterburn, the official of Lothian, from the lady Catherine Sinclair, his second cousin, in 1477-8. I have obtained from the Records, at Edinburgh, a copy of the certificate of that divorce, under the hand, and seal of George Newton, notary, and clerk of the official, which was laid before the parliament, on the 13th day of November 1516. This certificate sets forth Albany's divorce to have taken place, on the 9th of March 1477, that is 1477-8, before James Otterburn, the official of Lothian. This notorial certificate, which was very little examined, by that parliament, is liable to just suspicion of some fraudulence. (1) It is plainly inconsistent with the genuine record, in Rymer, before-mentioned. (2) We hear nothing, from the contemporary writers of Albany's divorce, or even dissatisfaction. (3) He was, at that period, engaged in the most dangerous

injured lady, to have a son by her, who was also called Alexander; and though of doubtful birth, assumed the title of Duke of Albany, on his father's death, in 1485; and became regent of Scotland, during the minority of James v.

The Duke of Albany, tired of his concubine, and of quiet, in France, went to England, in 1482 (*a*). The Duke now endeavoured, by every traiterous art, "to incense Edward to a war with Scotland;" protesting, "that he knew "the king, his brother, was fallen into such low esteem, even with those he "cherished, and into such hatred with all mankind, that, if assaulted by the "English, he would be constrained, by the submission of his crown, to intreat "for safety (*b*)." Yet, Albany carried his "treasonous malice" one step

dangerous intrigues; and was joined therein, by the Earl of Orkney, his wife's father, who would have resented the divorce of his daughter, on so frivolous a pretence, as her being his *second cousin*, and being equally with himself the grand-child of Robert III. (4) The notorial certificate states him to have been divorced by John Otterburn, the official of Lothian, on the 9th of March 1477-8, as we have seen above: And it is now objected, that he was *not* official of Lothian, at that time: He was certainly official of Lothian, in January 1467-8, in November 1469, as we know from the Parliamentary Record, 152, and 157; and he continued official, on the 16th of March 1472-3, as we learn, from Rymer, xi. 750: And, he is described, in a safe conduct, dated 21st April 1473, Rymer, xi. 775, as Mr. John Otterburn, *archdeacon of Candida Casa*, when he had ceased to be official of Lothian: For, he was present, in parliament, on the 23d of July 1473, when he was appointed on the committee of causes, by the simple designation of Mr. John Otterburn. Parl. Rec. 174. He prohably died, soon after, as we see nothing more of him, in any document. On the other hand, William Elphinston, the celebrated bishop of Aberdeen, who had certainly been official of Glasgow, on the 6th of May 1471, (Parl. Rec. 159.) is stated, by the antiquary Crawford, to have been appointed *official of Lothian*, upon the death of Muirhead, the bishop of Glasgow, in 1474, (Officers of State, 48.) and we see William Elphinston sitting in parliament, among the clergy, *as official of Lothian*, on the 1st of June 1478: (Parl. Rec. 218.) (5) It thus appears, from those several facts, that Newton's notorial certificate of Albany's divorce is obnoxious to the charge of forgery.

(*a*) The duke was brought over in the Michel Carvel, which was commanded by James Douglas, a renegado Scotsman. On the 9th of May 1482, Edward IV. took this vessel, "which of late "conveighed oure cousin the Duc of Albany into this oure realme," into his service; he ordered her to be fitted out, with all things necessary, under Douglas's command; and he sent him on an eight weeks cruize along the coasts of Scotland; with a view to the insidious intrigues, which were then carrying on, between himself, and Albany. Rym. xii. 154. The English kings, in those times, were a sort of *vikingr*, who sent out their ships to seize whomsoever, and whatsoever, they could catch on the seas. Henry IV. acted, as a *vikingr*, when he seized Prince James, the heir-apparent of the Scotish crown, *during a truce*, in 1405: Edward IV. acted, as a *vikingr*, when he detained this very Duke of Albany, when going to school, during a peace, in 1464: And, Elizabeth acted, as a kind of female *vikingr*, when she sent out a fleet, during peace, to make capture of the Scotish queen.

(*b*) Such is the representation of Habington, Hist. Ed. IV. 201, and, indeed, of the general strain of the English chroniclers, who considered Albany, as an oppressed prince.

further.

further. He entered, with Edward, into a formal contract, by the name of "Alexander king of Scotland," to *do homage for his kingdom* to the English king; to break the confederations between Scotland and France; and to transfer, for ever, the *town* of *Berwick* to England, within fourteen days, after he should be conducted to Edinburgh, by the English army (*c*). Those artful intriguers saw clearly, that some additional stipulations were still necessary. On the subsequent day, Edward engaged to aid Albany, in obtaining the realm of Scotland, which the duke was to receive, as the gift of the English king; Edward promised to warrant the possession of Scotland to Albany against his brother, the king; and Edward, moreover, agreed to give Albany in marriage his daughter Cicilie, who had already been contracted to the heir of James III., if Albany should be able *to clear himself from all other women* (*d*). Edward, and Albany, evinced the sincerity of their several purposes, by the vigour of their conduct, in carrying into effect their insidious conspiracy. Edward equipped a well appointed army of two and twenty thousand men, which he placed under the command of his brother Richard, the well-known *Duke of Glocester* (*e*). We thus see, upon the same stage together, three of the most subtile princes of that age, who each endeavoured to over-reach the other two, in their selfish

(*c*) Rym. xii. 156, attests the baseness of Albany, and the insidiousness of Edward, by the contract, which they thus made, on the 10th of June 1482, at Fotheringay castle, a place fatal to Scotish princes. Berwick town was, in fact, delivered to the English army, on the 24th of August 1482, under that contract.

(*d*) Rym. xii. 156, has recorded this scandalous contract: By it, Albany agreed, that the English king, in addition to Berwick town, and castle, should retain Lidsdale, Eskdale, Eusdale, Annandale, with the castle of Lochmaben. The contract between Edward IV., and James III., for the marriage of Cicilie to the heir of Scotland, was made, at Edinburgh, on the 26th October 1474. Rym. xi. 825. Part of the dowrie of the Lady Cicilie had been accordingly paid; and James was always ready to fulfil this commodious contract, when Cicilie, and the prince of Scotland, should arrive at their appropriate ages of marriage.

(*e*) James III, and Edward IV., had lived together, since 1474, on the most friendly terms. And, on the 17th of March 1477-8, Edward IV. had given a safe conduct to James to travel through England to the shrine of St. John, with a *thousand attendants*. Rym. xii. 53. But, on the 12th of May 1480, the Duke of Glocester was appointed to command against Scotland. Ib. 115. This is the first record notice of any enmity. But, the expatriated Earl of Douglas intrigued, meantime, in England. Albany was accused, in parliament, as early as May 1479, of breaking the truce with England, and committing hostilities, though "he was the warden of the marches, "for the time." Parl. Rec. 252-3. The cabal, at the head of which was Angus, continued to carry on treasonable correspondence with England, since 1478: And, Lord Lyle was prosecuted, in parliament, for this treason, in March 1481-2. Ib. 274; Lord Kaimes's Tracts, 441; Border Hist. 440. In that age, it was the common practice of intriguers, in opposing the king, to make inroads into England, for the purpose of inciting war, and distressing their government.

purposes.

purposes. The English army, thus equipped, and commanded, was appointed to assemble, at Alnwick; early in July 1482; with design to march forward, for executing the concerted project of seizing Berwick, and dethroning the Scotish king: Albany accompanied Glocester, "who was studious to have him "in sight, least, if apart, saith Habington, with sale of the English army, he "might purchase his own peace (*f*). We may thus perceive, that the English chroniclers knew the real character of Albany, while the Scotish historians seem to have been unacquainted, either with his practices, or his principles.

Whilst the English army, under Glocester, and Albany, thus assembled, within a day's march of Berwick, James III., who appears to have known something of their objects, marched towards them, with fifty thousand men, from Edinburgh to *Lauder*. Little did he know, however, that the former associates of Albany were within his camp: Artless, as he was, he could not forsee, that an association of nobles were now ready to act, in concert, with his insidious brother, and his open enemies. At the head of those nobles, were the Earl of Angus, whom he had often obliged (*g*); the Earl of Cathness, whose daughter had been dishonoured, by Albany; Lord Gray, who was plotting, in subserviance to Angus; and Lord Lyle, who had been lately tried, for corresponding with the Earl of Douglas, and other expatriated traitors, in England. In prosecution of their purpose, the conspirators met, probably, on the 14th of July 1482, in *the church* of *Lauder*, at *midnight*. It did not require a long deliberation, to adopt a preconcerted resolution. They determined to put to death the king's subordinate servants, in the royal presence (*h*). The noble conspira-

(*f*) Hist. Ed IV. 203.

(*g*) Angus, who was now eight and twenty, is extolled, by Buchanan, as "the brave *leader* "of the associate crew," l. xii. 42. The appropriate historian of the Douglases celebrates Angus, as the great actor, in this remarkable tragedy; being "a very rare example of their *carefulness of the* "*commonwealth*, joined with all *modesty*, *love*, and *dutifulness* towards *their king*." Godscroft, 227, thus shows to discerning eyes how well qualified he was to be the biographer of such men, during profligate times.

(*h*) They hanged Cochran, and Rogers, with some other servants of James III., over *Lauder bridge*. Lesley, 309. But, he is mistaken in supposing, that James Hommil was also there put to death: For, after the king himself had been murdered, at Stirling field, James Hommill, *scissor*, who merits the praise of steady attachment to an indulgent master, was prosecuted, by the same faction, in the parliament of October 1488, with Ramsay, and other servants of James III., for endeavouring to bring in the English, to the king's aid. Parl. Rec. 331. Crawford's Lives of the Officers of State evince, that the objects of that treasonous outrage were not employed, in the offices of government, which were executed, by very different men: The highest place, that any of those subordinate men appropriately held, was the situation of master of the works. The king had a right to appoint the ministers of his own amusements, whatever envy might be created, or affected, by the appointment of such persons, for such an object.

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tors are said to have reproached the king, for amusing himself, with the instruments of peace, that were now converted to the uses of war. They certainly conducted him, as a prisoner, to the castle of Edinburgh, which was committed to the charge of his uncle, the Earl of Athol. The revolt of the nobles, and the imprisonment of the king, were the signals, and the motives, for the disbanding of the army. And the dispersion of the king's host laid open the whole frontier of the kingdom to the hostile entrance of the public enemy, as well as to the secret designs of the private conspirators.

During those transactions, at *Lauder*, in July 1482, which was thus involved in the scandal of such foul misdeeds, Glocester, and Albany, marched from Alnwick to Berwick, at the head of the English army. The town, as it could make little resistance against such a force, and such treachery, was easily won: But, the castle was vigorously defended, by Patrick Hepburn, Lord Hailes. Glocester now resolved to march with Albany to Edinburgh; leaving four thousand men, under Lord Stanley, to beleaguer Berwick castle (*i*). Glocester, seeing no opposition, burnt many towns on his progress, through the Merse, to terrify, and alarm (*k*). They soon entered Edinburgh, without obstruction; finding the king within the castle, and the merchants ready to give presents to Glocester, and his Officers, who are said to have spared the town, on the recommendation of Albany (*l*) The king's Government, with Lord Evandale, the Chancellor, at their Head, had assembled, at Hadington, with a small force, in the rear of the English army; and the people, though they had been betrayed by Angus, Gray, and other nobles, being roused, by the blaze of Berwickshire, began to gather around their capital, and king. Glocester did not feel himself perfectly secure, at Edinburgh; Albany had not been received, with

(*i*) Habington's Hist. Ed. IV. 203.

(*k*) Ib. 204: Hall, indeed, has preserved a very useful specification of the towns, which were, on that occasion, burnt, and destroyed: Edrington, Paxton, Fishwick, Hutton, Mordington and its bastel, Edram, East-Nisbet, Kellaw, and Kemergham, the two Swyntons and the bastel, Simprin, Crossrig, and many others. Hall's Chron. fol. 54. b. It is unnecessary to point the indignation of Berwickshire towards Albany, and Angus, as the principal incendiaries of so many towns, within its limits.

(*l*) Ib. fol. 55. Hall informs us of some curious particulars: Garter, king at arms, went to the cross of Edinburgh, where he admonished James III., to keep all his contracts, and perform all his promises to Edward IV.; to recompence the English subjects, for the spoil and damage done to them, contrary to his league, before the *first* of *August*; and to restore the Duke of Albany to his offices, and estates; on the pain of being destroyed, by the high, and valiant prince, Richard Duke of Glocester. But, the king would make no answer. This transaction, as we see above, was in July 1482. The records, in Rymer, before quoted, cast ineffable ridicule on this heraldic challenge: How much more dignified was the silence of the captive king!

the acclaims of the country: And, all parties perceived, that this was a fitter moment, for negotiation, than for the irritation of fire, or the hazard of battle (*m*).

The Scotish ministers, deriving a sort of spirit, from the situation, in which they were placed, by treasonous intrigues, conducted themselves, with adequate address, talents, and firmness. They sent, as envoys to Glocester, Andrew, the bishop elect of Moray, and John, Lord Dernelie, to answer his several demands, which had been made, at the cross of Edinburgh, by the Garter-Herald (*n*). They transmitted, at the same time, to Albany a free pardon, for all his offences, and a full restoration to all his estates, offices, and his country (*o*). Albany appears now to have retired, from Glocester's camp, at Lethington, and to have joined the king's government, at Edinburgh, where he could be of most use to himself, to Edward, and to Glocester (*p*). But, a peace was still to be made, with England. The embarrassment of Edward IV., arising from his double contracts, for marrying his daughter

(*m*) The continuator of Harding intimates, that Glocester gave peace to Scotland; because the peers did not join Albany. Stow, 432, relates, that Albany made the agreement with the Scotish government, by the consent of Glocester; and that Albany thereupon bound himself to Glocester, by his oath, and a written obligation, to fulfil the contract, which he had made with Edward IV., at Fotheringay. Yet, it appears, clearly, from the dates of the documents, throughout this negotiation, that Glocester, with his army, soon retired from Edinburgh, to a safer camp at Lethington, behind the Tine, near Hadington: He was certainly encamped, at that place, on the 3d of August 1482, Hall, fol. 65. a. who mistakingly calls the place *Levingtong*. On the contrary, the Scotish ministers of state were, undoubtedly, resident at Edinburgh, on the 2d of August 1482. Rym. ii. 161. And, it was from those two places, that the whole negotiation was carried on; the king being then within the castle of Edinburgh, not so much for his captivity, as his safety: If he had been an imprisoned king, his ministers could not have acted for him, or in his name.

(*n*) Hall's Chron. fol. 55. There was really no difficulty, but in the English demand, and Albany's contract, to relinquish Berwick, which the Scotish government struggled to retain.

(*o*) Rymer, xii. 160, has recorded this "obligation for the security, and indemnity of Albany," which was given by the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Dunkell, the Chancellor, Lord Evendale, and Colin, Earl of Argyle, at Edinburgh, on the 2d August 1482. He was thus restored, on condition, that he keeped his true, and faithful allegiance to his brother, James III., the king, and his successors, and to the good rule of the country, *keeping his band to them*, and *the rest of the lords of the realm*; they engaged, that the king should freely give a remission to him, and all those he should name, for their being in England, and *aspiring to the throne of Scotland*, except those, who had been specially excepted in the king's proclamation, in the last parliament, [the Earl of Douglas, and his followers. Black Acts, 66.] And the Scotish ministers further engaged to Albany, to obtain for him, and them, a ratification of this obligation, by the king, and the three Estates, in the next parliament.

(*p*) Hall states the fact.

Cicilie, to the prince of Scotland, and to Albany, his uncle, was easily removed. The city of Edinburgh had the honour of removing that difficulty: The provost, the guild-merchants, and the corporation, engaged to repay Edward the money, which he had advanced, in contemplation of Cicilie's marriage with the prince of Scotland; provided he should declare, by a certain day, that he would rather have the money, than the marriage (*r*). A persevering struggle now ensued, about *Berwick*. The Scotish statesmen proposed, for the mutual peace of both the kingdoms, that the town, and castle, should be razed. But, Glocester, firmly avowing his resolution to remain, in Scotland, till its delivery, and Albany interposing, in fulfilment of his contract, Berwick was, on the 24th of Auguſt 1482, resigned for ever (*s*). A truce was thereupon entered into, between Glocester, and Albany, which was to preserve the two kingdoms from war, by land, and sea, during somewhat more than a twelvemonth (*t*). On the conclusion of this enterprize, Hall very justly re-

(*r*) This curious "writing, and letters of Band," was dated the 4th of August 1482, and was executed, at Edinburgh, before the the Duke of Glocester, the Duke of Albany, the Bishop of Dunkeld, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Stanley, Maister Alexander Inglis, Archiden of Sanct-Andreu; and uther divers. Rym. xii. 162. We thus perceive, that mutual fear had produced mutual confidence. Edward IV., as we are told, by Hall, and Habington, after the deliberation of his gravest counsellors, resolved to relinquish his contract, and to receive his money. On the 10th of October 1482, he directed Garter King, to signify this resolution. Ib. 161-65-67. But, this circumspect officer was frightened, at the magnitude of the charge, wherewith he was entrusted, when he reflected, that he had *the band* of the city of Edinburgh, for 6,000 marks. He applied to Williame Heryot, knyght, and maire of the citee of London, "to exemplifie and transsume the "said letters of band, word for word, withoute chaunge, in suche wise, that as grete feithe aught "to be given to such a transsumpt, as to the said letters originalles, both in judgement, and out "of judgement: The tenour of the saide originall letters is such as followeth: *Be it kend to all men*, "be thie present letters, Ws, Walter Bartrahame, provest of the tone of Edinburgh, and the hale "fellowship of merchands, burgesses, and communitie of the same toune," &c. Ib. 164. Those, who are curious, in tracing the progress of language, have here an opportunity of viewing specimens of the London, and Edinburgh, English of the year 1482. If I did not distrust my own impartiality, I should say that, in my opinion, the lord *provest* of Edinburgh wrote better English, than the lord *maire* of London. The citizens of Edinburgh, who were devoid of the captiousness of the Edwards, and Glocesters, and Albanys of the age, paid the money, on the production of suche a *transumpt*. But, how the Garter King was able, to convey 6,000 marks, through the double danger of the Scotish, and English borderers, without piliage, I pretend not to know.

(*s*) Hall, 56 b.

(*t*) In the same page, Hall has preserved this treaty, with many other useful documents. It was dated on the 24th of August 1482: And the truce, which was appropriately called, "an abstinence "of warre," was to begin, on the 8th of September then ensuing, and to "endure tyll the 4th of "November, next folowyng."

marks:

marks: Glocester, who well perceived, that the Scots granted more to his demands, for relief of their own necessities, than to gratify him, or the king, his brother, "lyke a wyse counseyler, toke his advantage, when it was offered; "and, especiallie, because *these thynges made for his long desyred purpose* (*u*)." The subtilty of Albany, at the end of all those treacherous transactions, over-reached the cunning of Glocester, and the artifice of Edward: He had contracted to deliver to the English king, on his being restored, Anandale, and Lochmaban castle: But, as he regained those important possessions, as his own property, by his pardon, and indemnity, he retained them, and relinquished Berwick. Yet, Glocester, who knew the character of Albany, somewhat over-reached his artful coadjutor. When he perceived the cold reception of Albany, at Edinburgh, the condition of the king, the spirit of the country; when he reflected that, by restoring so unprincipled a politician to a situation, from which he could embarrass his brother's government; he naturally concluded that, when he himself should acquire the English crown, which was even then within his grasp, he would find Albany, if he were king, with his ability, enterprize, and knavery, a most dangerous neighbour. By thus investigating the true motives of all those insidious parties, we see distinctly the reason, why James III., who had been virtually dethroned, and actually imprisoned, by the treasonous sedition of Angus, was permitted to retain his tarnished diadem (*x*).

The unhappy king still remained, in Edinburgh castle. Yet, as Albany was restored, Angus rewarded, and the ministers of state performed, in the king's name, their usual functions, at Edinburgh, the king was virtually free. But, he was to be relieved, at length, from durance, by a ceremony, which degraded him, and elevated his brother: Albany, with the provost, and citizens,

(*u*) Hall. Habington, Hist. 202, had remarked, when Glocester set out for Scotland, how he had then fixed his eyes on the English crown; "and began, like a cunning physician, to examine "the state of the king's body, which, though apparently strong, he observed, had evil symptoms "of death in him; being overgrown with fat; and both, in his diet, and lust, subject to disorder."

(*x*) During those negotiations, for the restoration of Albany, Angus, conscious that, he had committed murder, and treason, appeared not on the disgraceful scene, while he saw, from his concealment, his associate, Albany, regain his old pre-eminence. On the 11th April 1481, he had been appointed, by the weakness of James, and the intrigue of Albany, to be warden of the *east* marches. Parl. Rec. 267. After his horrible sedition, at Lauder, in July 1482, he was appointed, by the influence of Albany, the warden of the *west* marches, on the 6th of August 1482. Crawford's Officers of State, 54, who quotes the charter, in the public archives. In this manner, then, did this most insidious statesman obtain the command of the whole intrigue, management, and power of the borders. Yet, what all those artful men thus obtained, were gained from the losses of the nation.

of Edinburgh, marched against the castle, whose enchanted gates flew open on their magical touch. The embrace of the two brothers confirmed the freedom of the one, and the restoration of the other. And, they rode together, from the castle, throughout the extent of the city, to Holyroodhouse, amidst the loud acclaims of a deluded multitude (*y*). Yet, in this real mummery, wise men could distinguish the simplicity of James, from the artfulness of Albany. In addition to the vast estates, and offices, which Albany had regained, by his restoration, the king now made him Earl of Mar, and Lord of Garrioch, for his *loyalty*, *affection*, and *services*, though the Chancellor knew, that Albany had come, with an hostile army, to dethrone the king (*z*). And, the gratitude of James gave the citizens of Edinburgh, what they had amply merited, their *golden charter* (*a*).

The king about that time seems to have resumed the idle purpose of making a pilgrimage to the reliques of St. John, at Amiens. Nothing can more strongly mark the feebleness, rather than the ferocity of his character, than this design, while Edward IV. undermined his throne, and Albany stood ready to push him from his seat (*b*). As Albany now engrossed all power, and directed all measures, we may easily suppose, from the duplicity of his character, that he may have advised his brother to perform a pilgrimage to Amiens, that he might accuse him of abdicating his government.

At length, a parliament assembled, at Edinburgh, on the 2d day of Decem-

(*y*) Pitscottie; Lesley, 310; Dr. Henry, v. 302. James III., saith an old chronicler, "was "halden, in the castell of Edinburgh, fra the Magdalyne day, [22d July], quhill Michaelmas," [29th September], 1482. Pink. Hist. i. 504.

(*z*) Henry's Hist, v. 303, quotes the preamble of the charter, to Albany, from the Register; but forgot *the date*.

(*a*) Arnot's Hist. Edin. 13, who quotes the charter, which is dated the 16th of November 1482; but, Arnot disparages his own acuteness, by his misconceived account of those singular events. Maitland is still more absurd, in his statements of the same events. Hist. Edin. 8, 9. James III. had given so many privileges, formerly, as well, as at present, to Edinburgh, that he was well entitled to common justice, from her two historians. Ruddiman had, indeed, tried to blunt the malignity, by confuting the falsehood of Buchanan, who was studious, throughout this reign, to display his own perversity, and to record his merited disgrace. Notes on Buchanan, i. 445; Pref. to the Diplom. Scotiæ, xxvi. But, the historians of Edinburgh equally shut their prejudiced eyes against the real merits of its citizens, and the grateful beneficence of the king.

(*b*) Rym. xii. 170, has recorded a safe conduct, dated the 23d of November 1482, for James III., to enable him to perform his intended pilgrimage; Edward IV., in this document, avows his respect for James III., while he was plotting his ruin.

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ber 1482, after a change had taken place of the king's ministers (*c*). In this parliament, sat pre-eminent Albany, and Angus, as his coadjutor (*d*). On the ninth day of the sitting of the Estates, they recommended to the king, that Albany should be appointed Lieutenant-General of the realm (*e*). It is easy to perceive the motives, which induced the parliament to deliver, in this manner, the king, and nation, into the artful hands of that insidious prince, The truce, which had been so recently made, did not preserve the quiet of the contiguous kingdoms. Angus, as we have seen, was, at that troublous time, warden of the east, and of the west marches, whose duty it was, to maintain their tranquillity. But, unhappily, for the king, and people, it was one of the artifices of faction, during that corrupt age, to create disturbances on the borders, in order to distress both, by foreign war. The Estates did not see, that Albany, and Angus, had promoted hostilities, to alarm the country; and thereby to gain their ambitious objects. And the Estates ordained preparations for war; yet, directed, that every measure of peace might be zealously pursued (*f*).

Albany seems now to have used the means, which were thus put into his hands, to seize the king's person, and to overpower his government. He was, in fact, governor of the kingdom, as lieutenant general: But, still pursuing his late projects of usurpation, nothing could satisfy his overweening ambition, but the kingship itself, in exclusion of his affectionate brother. During the holy days of Christmas, 1482, Albany appears to have attempted to carry into effect his odious design. The king, who then resided, at Edinburgh, seems to have had some intimation of his brother's purpose; and by retiring into the castle, and rousing the citizens, who were attached to their beneficent sovereign,

(*c*) Lord Evandale, who had been Chancellor, from 1460, resigned his office, soon after the restoration of Albany; and was succeeded, by John, bishop of Glasgow. Crawford's Officers of State, 38-9.

(*d*) Parl. Rec. 282. (*e*) Ib. 292.

(*f*) On the 11th of December 1482, an act was made, that peace should be taken with England, if it could be had, with honour; that the alliance, and marriage, which had been formerly agreed on, should be renewed, if the king will consent; and for those ends, the lion-herald was directed to repair to Edward IV., from the king, from Albany, and from the whole Estates. Parl. Rec. 291. An act was, at the same time, ordained, for making preparations for war. Ib. 292. The parliament adjourned, on the 14th of December, to the 1st of March thereafter. Ib. 293. Proposals had, indeed, been lately made, for marrying Margaret, the king's sister, to Earl Rivers; and a safe conduct was granted for her, on the 22d of August 1482, (Rym. xii. 163), and renewed on the 4th of December 1482. (Ib. 173). But, there was no result. And there seems, from the silence of Rymer, to have been no safe conduct granted to the lion-herald, in pursuance of the parliamentary recommendation.

Albany,

Albany was disappointed (*a*). This unscrupulous prince, immediately retired to his castle of Dunbar, to consider of more efficacious means, to gain his villainous purpose (*b*). To this secure retreat, was he followed, by his usual coadjutors, the Earl of Angus, Lord Gray, and Sir James Liddel of Halkerston: And, these three persons, he thence dispatched, as *his special envoys*, to Edward IV. to treat, and conclude, with the English king, concerning *what had been formerly agreed upon between them*, at Fotheringay castle (*c*). The odious objects of that agreement, as we have seen, were the dethronement of the king, the invasion of the country, and the subduction of the sovereignty to a foreign power. The envoys of Albany, who did not now state himself to be king of Scots, immediately, repaired to London, where they were warmly received, by the unscrupulous Edward. He soon appointed proper commissaries for such nefarious objects (*d*). Such willing negotiators did not sleep upon their welcome business (*e*). And they entered into a treaty, for explaining, enlarging, and enforcing the several points, which had been, in 1482, agreed on, at Fotheringay; stipulating for mutual annity, and several assistance, towards conquering Scotland, for Albany,

(*a*) The Scotish historians so misconceive, and so mistake every action of this well-intentioned sovereign, that it is only from original documents, that we can see a glimpse of the truth, through the mist, which their ignorance, or design, raise before our eyes. On the 3d of January 1482-3, James wrote, from Edinburgh, to Sir Robert Arbuthnot, of Kincardinshire, the progenitor of the Viscount Arbuthnot, "that he had been certainly informed, certain persons, to great numbers, "were gathered treasonably to have invaded our person, this *last thursday*:" And, "he, therefore, "prays him, to come to his assistance, as you love the welfare of our person, *succession*, realm, and "lieges; and you shall have special thanks, and reward of us." The original letter is quoted, by Nisbet, in his Heraldry, ii. Appx. p. 89; But, the fact is too important, to be here obscured, by the ancient orthography. The king, we thus see, was plainly apprehensive of a second attack, from Albany, at the head of a greater body of insurgents.

(*b*) He was within the castle of Dunbar, on the 12th of January 1482-3, only *nine* days after the date of the king's letter to Arbuthnot, as above. Rym. xii. 172.

(*c*) Id. Rymer has recorded Albany's full power to his envoys, with the true object of this singular mission. It was even treasonable to go into England, in that age, without the king's consent: It was still more treasonous, to negotiate, with a foreign power, for the king's dethronement: And, those three envoys knew, that they were acting traiterously.

(*d*) His full power to the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Scrope, and Sir William Parre, to treat with Albany's envoys, is dated on the 9th of February 1482-3. Rym. xii. 173.

(*e*) The convention, which they made, was dated two days after their power, viz. on the 11th of February 1482-3. Id. Albany's envoys are said, in the convention, to have been "born, and "enherited within the reaume of Scotland;" and to have treated, "as wele for their owne proper "interresse, as for the part of the said *Duc*, and his friendis and wele willers." Id.

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and France, for Edward (*f*). Such, then, were the significant, but treasonous stipulations, of this convention, between Edward IV. and Albany, which was thus negotiated, in February 1482-3, by Angus, Gray, and Liddel! It distinctly exhibits to the reader's eye, the various motives of the several parties: And we thus perceive, that Angus connected himself with Albany, as a secondary means, but not as a final end; that the restoration of the forfeited Earl of Douglas was his genuine object; that to this end, he had committed sedition, and murder, at Lauder; and for this end, he followed James III., as an evil genius, with the dagger of revenge concealed in his bosom, till he gave the unfortunate king his death-blow, on Stirlingfield.

(*f*) (1) They stipulated, for friendly intelligence, and convenient aid, against all persons, that would attempt the contrary; (2) that between the subjects, and well willers, of either party, there should be abstinence of werre, provided Albany should specify to Edward, his *subjects*, and friends, and also his opponents, near the borders, to the intent, that such advantage may be taken against them, as shall be fit for both the parties; (3) that during this truce, Albany should daily endeavour *to make a conquest of the crown of Scotland*, to his proper use, so that he, and his friends, the nobles, may *do the greatest service against the occupiers of the crown of France*; (4) that the king of England, aiding Albany, towards the conquest of the crown of Scotland, Albany shall not cease from this purpose, for any offers that may be made him, by his brother, the king of Scots, nor live under his allegiance; (5) that within forty days, after Albany shall have acquired the crown of Scotland, he shall annul the alliance of France with Scotland; (6) that Albany, having obtained the crown, shall declare war against France, for the conquest of it to England; (7) Edward, agreed to help Albany, with adequate force, to conquer the crown of Scotland, and "in case there "should happen any great day of *rescus* of *the Duc*, or any other necessary defence for him, the "king of England should help him, with such force, as his own friends, and *God's grace* should "suffice," that is, if Albany should be besieged, in his castle of Dunbar, Edward agreed to send his wardens, Glocester, and Northumberland, to his aid; (8) that neither Albany, nor his supporters, *should ever claim the castle, and town of Berwick*; so that Edward, and his heirs, should possess them, for ever; (9) that Albany being king, and at *freedom of marriage*, should marry one of Edward's daughters, without any charge to him; (10) that Albany, and his friends, when it shall please Edward to write, for the restoration of James, Earl Douglas, they shall provide, that he be immediately restored, according to the convention, which had just been made, between Earl Douglas, and the Earl of Angus, with the other envoys of Albany; (lastly), Angus, Gray, and Liddel, agreed that, if Albany should die, in the meantime, they never should live under James, king of Scots, as his subjects, but under the king of England; and shall retain their castles, strengths, and houses, only, for the king of England; and all this Angus, Gray, and Liddel *promised on their faiths, honneurs, and knighthod.* Rym. xii. 173-76. has recorded this scandalous convention. There was a separate article, by which the envoys of Albany stipulated that, during the truce, the borders of Scotland should not be strengthened, "by any bylding of lyme, and stone," nor any disturbance given to the occupiers of the lands of Glocester, on the one side, and of Albany, and Angus, on the other side. Id.

Albany

Albany remained, meantime, in Dunbar castle, conscious of a thousand crimes, while he saw his countrymen rising against him, in pursuance of the king's summons. While he was thus stung with guilt, and perplexed with opposition, he heard, that Edward IV. had died, on the 9th of April 1483 (*g*). As his last hope, for the consummation of all his ambitious projects, from all his crimes, was now gone, he fled to England; having first garrisoned his castle of Dunbar, with Englishmen, from Berwick. His negotiations at London, had not altogether escaped the notice of his brother's ministers: And they were aware, that he had introduced hostile troops, from Berwick, into his castle of Dunbar. On the 15th of May 1483, summonses were issued against Albany, and his envoy Liddel, to answer various charges of treason, in Parliament. The three Estates began to hear those accusations against them, on the 27th of June 1483: And, after deliberating till the 8th of July, they found them both guilty of the imputed treasons (*h*). The Earl of Angus, and Lord Gray, who were, as we have seen, equally guilty of the same treasons, were not impeached; owing to whatever cause. They were present, in that parliament; they sat, as judges, on the trial of Albany, their employer, and Liddel, their coadjutor; and they were two of the committee of parliament, which was appointed, to pursue the defenders of Albany's castle, and to impeach all those, who were anyways concerned, in his manifold treasons (*i*). Such facts would be incredible, if they were not stated, on the parliamentary Record. Angus, and Gray, had even the unparalleled effrontery to sit, as judges, in the subsequent parliaments, on the trials of their own associates, in the same treasons, though such culprits were, indeed, only "traitorly rascals," when compared with those prodigious traitors (*k*).

Albany now joined the expatriated Earl of Douglas, in England, where they constantly incited Richard's malignity, to invade their injured country (*l*). They made an inroad themselves, with five hundred men, from the western border. And riding forward, on the 22d of July 1484, to Lochmaban fair, they were encountered, by the country gentlemen, who put themselves at the head of the Annandale yeomanry; and who took Douglas, and repulsed Albany. Other inroads were incited, by that attainted prince: But, the truce of Notting-

(*g*) On the 22d of June 1483, the Duke of Gloucester, the murderer of Edward's sons, seized his crown, as is sufficiently known to every one: What a retribution, for the treachery of his conduct to the unhappy king of Scots!

(*h*) Parl. Rec. 295-301. And the titles, and estates, and offices, of both were forfeited to the crown.

(*i*) Parl. Rec. 294-5. (*k*) Id.

(*l*) They were with Richard, at York, on the 25th of June 1484. Rym. xii. 228.

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ham, on the 21st September 1484, quieted the contiguous borders, during the three subsequent years (*m*). The embarrassments of Richard required him, to cultivate peace with Scotland; and his late treaty, as well as his real interest, dictated the expulsion of the expatriated traitors of North-Britain. The turbulent Albany, whose miscreancy was known to Richard, was thus constrained to seek for solace in the bosom of his French concubine. He died, in 1485, in consequence of a wound, which he received in a tournament, at Paris; and which prevented the disgrace of dying, on "the block of shame (*n*)." It is unnecessary to observe that, he left behind him, neither titles, nor office, nor estate, and, indeed, nothing but two sons, and the tradition of his villanies.

As the attainder of Albany had transferred his whole estates to the crown; the parliament of October 1487 annexed his forfeitures to the royal demesns (*o*). Yet, the unhappy king was not to enjoy long those rich annexations. The partizans of Albany, and of Douglas, with the Earl of Angus at their head, continued their intrigues, and their machinations against him, till James III. fell before them, on Stirlingfield. He lived in a profligate age. His contemporaries, Edward IV. and Louis XI. were profligates: It is difficult to decide, whether the English Gloucester, or the Scotish Albany were the greatest miscreants. Yet, inquiry will find that, of the princes of Europe, during that period of crimes, James III. was the most innocent, the most harmless, and the most beneficent, though he has been misrepresented, by history, as a tyrant. But the Estates of Scotland pronounced his best eulogy, when they advised him, after a reign of lenity, to punish, in pity to his people, those traitors, who disturbed their quiet, and endangered his own safety (*p*). He fell a sacrifice to the machinations of a treasonous faction, and his usual weakness, on the 11th of June 1488. It is, perhaps,

(*m*) Rym. xii. 235-43.

(*n*) Lesley 326; L'Art de verefier les Dates, ii. 371, of the *third* edition.

(*o*) Parl. Rec. 323-4: There was then annexed to the crown, the earldom of March, the baronies of Dunbar, and Colbrandspeth, with the fortalice thereof, the lordship of Annandale, with the castle of Lochmaben. Id.

(*p*) The last ten years of his reign were continued scenes of treason, and rebellion; yet, was there not punished one person of the rank of a gentleman. Even the Earl of Douglas, who had been proscribed, by so many parliaments, for his manifold treasons, when he was taken in the act of invading his country, in 1484, was only sent to a monastery, for repentance, rather than for punishment. The very parliament, that convicted Albany's partizans, in February 1484-5, signified to the king the expediency of doing justice on those, and other traitors. Parl. Rec. 313; Black Acts, fol. lxx. So much was James III. inclined to lenity, that the Estates, on the 24th February 1484-5, beseeched him, not to give pardons, during two years, to persons convicted of felony, and other crimes. Id. Yet, such was his tenderness, or facility, that he did not keep his promise. Henry's Hist. v. 306.

a still greater tribute to the lenity of James III., that the common people, after his sad demise, long lamented his fall, and loudly called on parliament, to punish his assassins (*q*).

But, the first parliament of his infant successor more busied itself, in rewarding the successful insurgents. In October 1488, the supreme rule of several districts, during the king's nonage, was invested in various persons: To Lord Hailes, and Alexander Home, the heir of Lord Home, were assigned the Merse, Lothian, the wards of Hadington, Linlithgow, and Lauderdale: The Earl of Angus had the sheriffdoms of Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peblis, and Lanark. Among those insurgents, was Lord Home's grand-son, who had conducted the spears of Berwickshire against the king to Stirlingfield (*r*). Alexander Home was, moreover, made great chamberlain for life, on the 7th of October 1488 (*s*). On the 15th of February 1490-1, was appointed by parliament, Alexander Home, the great chamberlain, to bring in the king's rents, and other dues, within the earldom of March, the lordships of Dunbar, and of Cockburnspeth, and within the forest of Etterick, and Stirlingshire; he having the houses of *Newark*, and *Strivelin*.(*t*). In this manner, then, was Alexander Home made dictator of Berwickshire, and a ruler of the land. The blood of this ambitious person was derived, as we have seen, from the Earl of Dunbar, and of King William, by a bastard daughter. It became afterward diluted, by meaner marriages: It was enriched, during the reign of Robert III. by the marriage of Thomas Home with Nicolas Pepdie, who brought him the lordship of Dunglas (*u*). This family continued to hold Home, Greenlaw,

(*q*) The Parliamentary Record, 373, states that interesting fact, on the 20th February 1491-2.

(*r*) Ib. 337.

(*s*) The patent, in the Records, to Alexander Home, for that office, is quoted, by Crauford's Officers of State, 323: He was then *Master* of Home. And he had other rewards, which ensured him an extensive sway.

(*t*) Parl. Rec. 364: Alexander Home had, already on the 26th of August 1489, been made warden of the *East* Marches, captain of Stirling castle, governor of the king, tutor of his brother, the Earl of Mar. Officers of State, 323, which quotes the great seal record. Crauford adds, that he was, "in effect, prime minister all the reign of James IV., being afterward made warden of the "*West* Marches." Id. This intimation ought to be restrained to the minority of the king.

(*u*) Crauford's Peer. 220. Of that marriage was born Alexander, the heir of Thomas, who died in 1402; and David, who obtained of the Earl of Douglas, for his services, the lands of Wedderburn, in Berwickshire, in 1414. Id. Here, then, was the origin of the Homes of Wedderburn. In a few descents arose the Homes of Tyningham, and of Spot, of Ayton, and of Fastcastle. Id. On the 11th of June 1479, were accused in parliament, as partizans of Albany, in treasonably holding the castle of Dunbar against the king, George Home, of Wedderburn, Patrick Home, of Polworth, Andrew Home, and one and twenty other inhabitants of Berwickshire, who appear to have been often called, but never convicted. Parl. Rec. 255-71.

Whiteside,

Whiteside, and other lands, in Berwickshire, under the Earls of March, till the forfeiture of their chief, in January 1435: When that earldom was annexed to the crown, the Homes acquired independence, by becoming tenants of the crown, instead of being vassals of the earldom of March. On the emigration, indeed, of the Earl of Dunbar, in 1400, the Homes, and Hepburns, attached themselves to the Earl of Douglas, who acquired, for a time, the earldom of March: And they even fought with him against their chief, at the battle of Homildon, on the 14th of September 1402 (*x*). Sir Alexander Home fell, at the battle of Verneuil, on the 17th of August 1424, fighting under the Earl of Douglas. The Homes, as they had, at length, risen on the fall of their chief, and as they followed the fortunes of the Douglases, were often appointed conservators of the peace with England (*y*). Sir Alexander Home succeeded his father, Alexander, in 1456. And, he was appointed, by the prior, *Baillie* of the several lands, belonging to the convent of Coldingham, an office, to which the Homes annexed great importance, and for which they fought, with great perseverance (*a*). Yet higher honours awaited him: In 1465, he sat, in *the Estates*, among the *barons* (*b*): And, in 1473, he was created a *lord of parliament* (*c*). When Albany took possession of his earldom of March, in 1474, he had a thousand disputes to settle, with the Homes, and the Hepburns, who tenaciously retained whatever they claimed: But, such was his superiority of birth, of vigour, and of subtilty, that he prevailed over rugged men, before he began, in 1478, to contend with the king. Lord Home sat, in parliament, for the last time, in October 1479 (*d*); owing to whatever cause, of age, or of disinclination. Whether he assisted Angus, Orkney, and Gray, to assassinate the king's menial servants, at Lauder, in July 1482, is somewhat doubtful (*e*).

(*x*) Bower; Fordun. l. xv. c. 14. (*y*) Rym. xi.

(*a*) Macfarlane's MS.; chart. 65, lib. 13. (*b*) Dougl. Peer. 344; Parl. Rec. 149.

(*c*) Ib. 174, 191. On the 10th of July 1476, a cause was moved, in parliament, by Sir John Swinton of Swinton, against Alexander Home, John Home, his brother, David Home of *the Spot*, and others, for an error, in serving a *brieve* of inquest, on the lands of Cranshaws. Parl. Rec. 206—10. It exhibits a curious trait of manners, during a rude age, to see Alexander, *Lord Home*, Robert Lawder of Edrington, Adam Blackader of that *ilk*, and the lion-king, appointed by James III., on the 2d of February 1477, to conduct to Edinburgh the persons, who were conveying, from Edward IV., 2,000 marks, as an instalment of his daughter Cicilie's portion. Rym. xii. 41.

(*d*) Parl. Rec. 251; 282.

(*e*) Pitscottie, 123, says, he was present: The silence of Lesley is more persuasive, that he was not assisting: He was probably aged, at that disgraceful epoch; and, having had disputes with Albany, may have stood aloof from such treasonous mischief, which was more fit, for younger men: He certainly was not present, in Albany's parliament of December 1482. Parl. Rec. 282.

Lord Home out-lived James III. long enough to behold his grandson, Alexander, act a leading part, in the odious tragedy on Stirling-field; and to be rewarded, for his crimes (*f*).

Lord Home's eldest son, Alexander, died before him; leaving, among other children, a son, Alexander, who raised himself to eminence, among the great, during a guilty age (*g*). As the Homes had long been the *baillies* of Coldingham priory, they naturally looked forward to the propitious day, when they should possess the priory, and its property, as their own. But, James III. unconsciously disappointed their hopes, in 1484, by annexing the priory, with its pertinents, to the royal chapel of Stirling. And, the Homes now brought a great accession of strength to the traiterous nobles, who plotted the ruin of that unhappy king. After the *pacification* of Blackness, that rebellious faction sent their envoys to Henry VII., with whom, then resided Ramsay, Lord Bothwel, the ambassador of James III. (*h*). Henry VII., who regarded appearances, more

(*f*) We may infer, from the Parl. Rec. 361, and 367, that Lord Home died between February 1490, and April 1491: His grandson, Alexander, was served heir to him, in 1492. Dougl. Peer. 344. Lord Home's son, Alexander, who died, in 1488, obtained the office of *stewart* of the *stewartry* of March. Id.

(*g*) In the parliament of February 1483-4, sat at the head of the *barons*, (Lord Home being absent), Alexander Home *de Eodem*. Parl. Rec. 303. From the context of this record, Alexander of Home appears to have been the grandson, and not the son of Lord Home; and to have succeeded his father, as *master* of Home: And, as *master* of Home, he sat in parliament, in pursuance of the king's writ. He again sat in parliament, in May 1485. Ib. 316. Alexander Home, and George Home of Ayton, were two of the commissioners, who met the English envoys, at Hadenstank, on the 8th of October 1484, to settle border disputes. Rym. xii. 246. In April 1485, Alexander Home was one of the Scotish commissioners, who were sent to treat, about the truce. Ib. 267. On the 4th of August 1493, a safe conduct was granted to Alexander, Lord Home, the Great Chamberlain of Scotland, John Home of Ercilton, Patrick Home of Polworth, Alexander Home, *in le Donne*, Gerard Home, and others, to go on a pilgrimage into England. Ib. 548.

(*h*) On the 6th of April 1488, the Scotish ambassador, John Ramsay, Lord Bothwel, celebrated his Easter with Henry VII. Leland's Collect. iv. 240. In May 1488, Henry VII. granted a safe conduct to Robert, the bishop of Glasgow, George, the Bishop of Dunkeld, Colin, Earl of Argyle, the Chancellor, who had disgraced himself, by joining the rebels, Patrick, Lord Hales, Robert, Lord Lyle, Matthew, master of Dernley, and *Alexander, the master of Home*. Ib. 340. Rymer, mistakingly, states this safe conduct to be "pro *ambassatoribus Scotiæ*." Id. And an incautious inquirer would thus suppose them to have been *the king's* envoys: But, the context of the story shows them to have been the rebel's agents. Lesley, 327; Ferrerius, fol. 399. And the pope's remission, for the atrocious acts of the rebels, extended to the temporal, and *spiritual* lords. Abercromby, ii. 482. Bishop Blackader of Glasgow, and Bishop Brown of Dunkeld, were connected with the Homes, and Hepburns, on that odious occasion,

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than Edward IV., appointed only inferior agents, to sound those insidious envoys (*k*).

How much Alexander Home, who succeeded his father, in 1491, as Lord Home, was rewarded, for his crimes, we have already seen. He, moreover, obtained from the infancy of James IV. various lands, in the constabulary of Hadington, in *feu-farm*, which seems to have been contested with him in parliament: In December 1494, the lords auditors, however, determined, that Lord Home ought to retain those lands, as the last lawful possessor (*l*). Lord Home, from this epoch, seems not to have been specially employed by James IV.: And he was too well endowed, by his sovereign, to engage in acts of turbulence, or to act in scenes of adventure. His rival, Patrick Earl of Bothwell, was the chief negotiator of the king's marriage with Lady Margaret of England, in 1502 (*m*). And, in the subsequent year, the whole earldom of March, and lordship of Dunbar, except the castle, with Colbrandspeth, were settled on the Lady Margaret, as a part of her jointure (*n*). After the sad demise of James IV., on Floddon-field, the widowed Margaret enjoyed all those estates till her decease, in June 1541. Alexander, Lord Home, who, probably, was now well stricken in years, died, in 1506; and was succeeded by his son, Alexander, who was returned heir to his father, on the 26th of October 1506 (*o*). The third Lord Home succeeded to his father's office of Great Chamberlain, to his estates, and to his power in the state (*p*). The wisdom of Henry VII., and the marriage of Margaret, long ensured a commodious peace with England, though the irascible borderers sometimes gave, and received mutual blows. In 1513, inroads began: And, a sharp skirmish took place, at Millfield, on the southern margin of the conterminous Tweed; where Lord Home, the warden of the eastern marches, was obliged, after a stout resistance, to find his safety in flight; having lost his banner, and left his brother, George, a prisoner, in hostile hands (*q*). James IV., eager to revenge that repulse, marched a large army, including the flower of Berwickshire, to Floddon-field, where he was defeated, and slain. Lord Home, who, with Huntley, led the right wing of the Scotish army, is accused of betraying his valorous king, on the fatal 9th of September 1513: But, the

(*k*) Rym. xii. 340. (*l*) Parl. Rec. 453.

(*m*) By that marriage-contract, the town, and castle, and bounds of Berwick, were confirmed to England for ever. Wallis's Hist. Northumb. ii. 81.

(*n*) Rym. xiii. 63, on the 24th of May; and on the 29th of May 1503, the Lady Margaret's attorney, Robert Shireburn, the dean of St. Pauls, obtained seisin of the whole, from the sheriff of Edinburgh, at the market-cross of Dunbar. Ib. 66-7.

(*o*) Dougl. Peer. 345. (*p*) Id. (*q*) Lesley, 361; Holenshed, 1483—7.

death

death of so many Homes, who fell on that afflictive field, confutes, sufficiently, the calumny of ill-informed history. The valour, which was displayed by the king, and his nobles, on that disastrous day, is not more honourable, than the resolute firmness, wherewith "the amazing news," were received, by the Scotish people.

Margaret, the youthful widow of James IV., became regent, during the infancy of their son, James V. At the convention of Stirling, on the 19th of September 1513, Lord Home, the Chamberlain, was present, when the coronation of the king was directed; and he was appointed one of the queen's council, when her authority was recognized (*r*). He was again present in the convention of Perth, in October 1513, when he was declared one of the queen's standing counsellors (*s*). Dacre, the English warden, caused his marauders, to ravage Lord Home's estates: And the Lord Chamberlain, in his turn, pursued the invaders, with inferior forces, into Teviotdale, whence he obliged the spoilers to retreat (*t*). Lord Home, soon after, obtained, from the convention of Perth, that the heirs of those, on the borders, who might be killed, in defending the kingdom, should be freed from the payment of relief, for their wardship, or marriage (*u*). This immunity, thenceforth, settled into a general practice, as it was so often necessary to incite the enmity of the borderers, and to urge their perseverance. Such was Lord Home's personal influence on the public councils, that he was appointed, in March 1513-14, the chief justice on the southern side of the dividing Forth (*x*). Meantime, an event occurred, which was attended with lasting consequences. On the 26th of April 1514, appeared before the Scotish parliament, two ambassadors, from Louis, the

(*r*) Parl. Rec. 525.

(*s*) Ib. 529: The Lord Chamberlain took upon him, on that occasion, "the rule of *the Merse*, "and to preserve it, from all reifs, slaughters, and other attempts: And he engaged to convene "the headsmen of Teviotdal, Lidisdale, Eskdale, Ewisdale, and Anandale, in order to induce "them, to undertake the good rule of those frontier districts." Id. Lord Home, and the Earl of Angus, the son of him, who will be always remembered for his misdeeds, at Lauder bridge, were, at that epoch, the most influential men of Southern Scotland.

(*t*) Dacre's Orig. Letter of the 13th of November 1513.

(*u*) Parl. Rec. 536: This ordinance was passed, at the request of the warden, and the border chiefs, in imitation of a similar act, which was made, at Twizelhaugh, in Northumberland, before the battle of Floddon. Id. *Fast castle*, Lord Home's chief fortlet, was directed, on the 10th of January 1513-14, "to be provided with men, artillery, and victual." Ib. 539-40. And, it soon became the scene of much struggle.

(*x*) Orig. Letter, Dacre to Henry VIII. Calig. b. iii. 25.

French

French king (*y*). They now laid before *the Estates* two points, for consideration; the renewment of the ancient league with France; and the restoration of the attainted Duke of Albany's son. After some disputation, both those proposals were unanimously adopted (*z*). Sir James Hamilton, and the Lion-Herald, departed to France, in April 1514, to invite the Duke of Albany to Scotland, in pursuance of the late parliamentary resolution. After some adjournments, the estates again assembled, on the 12th of July 1514: But, they seem to have done little, besides sending two of the clergy into England, to negotiate for peace. On the 28th of July 1514, the envoys, who had been sent to France, returned with excuses, for the detention of Albany, while the French king was, secretly, treating for a pacification with England; which was concluded, in the subsequent October. In the midst of all those intrigues, the queen mother, by marrying the Earl of Angus, on the 6th of August 1514, sacrificed her passion for rule, at the shrine of love: She thereby lost her right of government, her guardianship of the king; and, she incidentally involved

(*y*) Parl. Rec. 536. The two envoys were de la Bastie, who figured, in the Scotish history, during that minority, and met his grievous fate, in Berwickshire; and James Ogilby, a Scotsman.

(*z*) The expressions of the record are: "The said lords commoning, and *disputan* upon the said "tua articles, and thereafter ryplie avisit, all in ane voice deliverit, as to the first." Parl. Rec. 536. The proceedings of parliament seem here, to correct the general tenor of Scotish history, with regard to those points. The renewment of the ancient league with France was so natural, while England pursued the Scots, with enmity, that it was readily adopted; as indeed it was, under every minority. It seems to have been forgotten, by all parties, that the late Duke of Albany stood attainted of treason, at his death, in 1485; and of course, could not transmit his blood, his title, or estate to any heir: His eldest, and his lawful son, claimed nothing from him. It is usually said, by historians, that both public, and private messengers, had been sent to the French son of that duke, to return to Scotland; particularly, that Lord Home, the Chamberlain, had sent the lion herald to carry him a special invitation; But, without considering the improbability of an individual doing this, during the sitting of parliament, the record shows, that the Earl of Arran, and Lord Fleming, having been ordered, by the late king, to serve in the armies of France, had voluntarily suggested to the French king, after the disaster, at Floddon, the fitness of sending the young Duke of Albany, with assistance to Scotland. The estates now consented, "that the Duke "of Albany should come home to Scotland, for helping the realm against the enemy, to do service "to the king, the queen, and country, with all munitions for war; and that Sir Robert Stewart, "and all other Scotsmen, serving in France, should return, for defence of the kingdom." Id. We may thus understand, that there was here nothing said of reversing the late duke's attainder, or of his son being declared the second person, in the kingdom, or of his being regent. Neither Arran, nor the queen, suspected that, in a few months, the parliament would place Albany above both their heads, whatever might be their several pretensions. It seems certain, however, that when the son of the late Duke of Albany landed, in Scotland, from France, he assumed the port, perhaps the power of regent.

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the nation in inextricable anarchy. Lord Home had engrossed, in the meantime, vast power, and tried to amass great property (*a*). The venality of Lord Home conducted him, by various steps, during an anarchical age, to his ultimate ruin (*b*).

A parliament, meantime, met at Strivelin, on the 24th of February 1514-15 (*c*). As the three estates were balanced by contending interests, they could not agree on any efficient measure: And they adjourned, till the arrival of Albany, in the subsequent April (*d*). On the 15th of May, was meanwhile made a three years truce with England: Yet, on the same day, the English entered the border, and ravaged the banks of the Rule water (*e*). At length, arrived the long-looked for Albany, at Ayr, on the 17th of May 1515, with eight ships, some troops, and much ammunition: On the 26th, he came to Edinburgh, where he was received "with sundrie concerts, pageants, and "plaies, by the citizens, who wished to do him honour (*f*)." A convention of nobles soon after met, at the same city, when Albany assumed the government of the realm, which he promised to rule, by their advice (*g*). The Estates assembled, at Edinburgh, on the 12th of July 1415, who appear to have been called, in the king's name, but by Albany's authority (*h*). His powers, whence-

(*a*) Margaret, in writing her brother on the 23d of November 1514, assured Henry VIII., that Home had assumed all the power; and had seized the escheat of a bastard, which was estimated at £10,000 Scots. Orig. Letter, Cot. Lib. b. i. 164. He acted thus, as Chamberlain. Yet, in January 1514-15, Lord Home rejected a proposal of Arran, to seize Angus: And, in May 1515, Lord Home was induced, by the artifices of the queen dowager, and Lord Dacre, to join her party, in favour of England: And, she agreed to give him 3,000 marks, with other advantages, on condition of his supporting her, and Angus, her husband. Orig. Letter, Cal. b. ii. 226.

(*b*) In the winter of 1514-15, Lord Home supported Andrew Foreman, a native of the *Merse*, and bishop of Moray, in his pretensions to the see of St. Andrew's: And Home sent his brother to Edinburgh, with an armed force, to proclaim Foreman's bulls. John Hepburn, the prior of St. Andrews, one of Foreman's competitors, is said to have revenged himself, by instigating Albany against Home. Pitscottie, 224-5.

(*c*) Parl. Rec. (*d*) Id; Lesley, 375. (*e*) Holenshed, 302.

(*f*) Ib. 303. Lord Home met Albany, at Dunbarton, on the 18th of May, with a body of horsemen, who were all clad, in *Kendalgreen*, the *badge* of the Homes: As the Great Chamberlain was but a little man, Albany said to his favourites, of Home, "*minuit presentia famam.*" Godscroft, 243; Crawford's Officers of State, 324. This intimation implies, however, that his fame had passed into France; with, perhaps, some hint of his venality: This intimation proves, also, that Home had not invited Albany.

(*g*) Holinshed, 303.

(*h*) Id; Black Acts: The recital supposes, that Albany was already *tutor* to the king, and *governor* of his realm: But, it appears not, by whose authority he acquired those powers.

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soever derived, were now confirmed: And, those emblems of authority, the sceptre, and sword, were delivered to him, when mutual oaths were taken, to strengthen a brittle chain of unnatural connection (*i*). Henry VIII., considering Albany, as an agent of France, opposed his power (*k*). During this session, a plot, by the dowager queen, her husband, Angus, and Lord Home, to carry off the king, was discovered: But, the regent, marching hastily to Strivelin castle, which was readily surrendered to him, secured, with it, the royal person (*l*). This seems to have been the signal for civil war: Albany collected a large force on the Burrough-moor of Edinburgh; and his opponents gathered troops, and fortified their castles, on the borders: But, the regent seems to have prevailed: Two of Lord Home's fortlets, Fast castle, and Home castle, were taken: The former, he retook, and razed: And, though he obtained Blackader castle, from Albany's friend, and was promised help, by Henry VIII.; yet, was he obliged to look for safety in England, when the regent advanced to the Tweed, in hostile array.

The regent, after ravaging the lands of Home, and razing the castle of Blackader, returned to Edinburgh, where he disbanded his army, without performing any exploit, which could raise his fame, as a soldier, or statesman. Home gratified his malignant revenge, by making some incursions into Scotland. Albany now tried his artifice on Home, since his force had failed: He caused the French ambassador, De Planis, to offer an amnesty, and to send a pardon to that potent chief, with a request of a conference, on some important points.

(*i*) Holinshed, 303.

(*k*) Dacre, the English warden, artfully instigated Lord Home against the regent, Albany; as appears by his letter, of the 1st August 1515, to the English Privy Council: And, in return, the servants of Henry VIII. instructed Dacre, "to nourish the enmity, between Home, and "Albany." Orig. Letter Calig. b. ii. 281. Lord Home, as provost of Edinburgh, was ordered, by Albany, to arrest Sir George Douglas, the brother of Angus: But, Home refused, pretending, that the parliament had not decreed his arrest; and it was more the duty of a herald: Sir George retired to *the Merse*; and Home, at the same time, to *Newark* castle, in Selkirkshire. Id. Albany's servants pillaged Home's residence in Edinburgh; and Patrick Panter, the secretary, for his attachment to Home, was committed to Inchgarvey strength, while his goods were spoiled. Dacre's Letter to the English Council, 7th August 1515. Calig. b. ii. 301. Angus retired to Teviotdale, to concert with Home, projects of defence, and purposes of enmity to Albany. The regent attempted, in vain, to gain the queen, and Angus.

(*l*) That act of vigour was performed, on the 3d of August 1515. But, the illustrious plotters had fled, first to the borders, and afterward into England; Lord Home having conducted the dowager queen, from Linlithgow palace to Blackader castle. Holinshed, 303; Orig. Credence. Calig. b. ii. 85. They were all well received, by the warden Dacre; and Home, and Angus, now swore, "that they would never treat with Albany, without the knowledge of the English king."

Home, disappointed by Henry VIII., agreed to meet Albany, in the castle of Dunglas. He was instantly arrested: And, when the treacherous regent insisted on a temporary banishment to the continent, the Chamberlain consented to a proposal, which he could not withstand: Yet, was he committed to Edinburgh castle, which was then under the charge of the Earl of Arran, who had married the sister of Home (*m*). And, such was the universal laxity of morals, during so wretched an age, that the prisoner, Home, prevailed on the commander, Arran, to escape, with him, to the congenerous borders (*n*).

In March 1516, Home, and Angus, feeling themselves neglected, by Henry VIII., and perceiving themselves excluded, from future aid, by the pacification with France, made their peace with Albany. They were now restored to their country, to their honours, and to their estates (*o*). They remained, for a while, quiet. But, when Henry VIII., with his usual imprudence, and dictation, applied to the Scotish parliament, in July 1516, to dismiss Albany, from the regency, Lord Home joined in the general vote of positive refusal (*p*). Home, and Angus, continued united, in the same views, and the same efforts, which greatly contributed to the distraction of an unquiet land (*q*). But, Lord Home had now run his devious race of many changes: He, and his brother, William, were inveigled, by the artifice of Albany, to Edinburgh, in September 1516. After some imprisonment, they were convicted, in parliament, of many crimes, which, as they had been pardoned by the regent, on a public principle of general quiet, were crimes no more (*r*). Lord Home was executed, in pursuance of his doom, on the 8th of October 1516; and his brother, William,

(*m*) Orig. Letter of Dacre, and Magnus, to Henry VIII., dated the 18th of October 1515. Calig. b. vi. 110.

(*n*) Id. Angus, Home, and Arran, now signed a bond, engaging to deliver the young king, and his brother, from suspicious hands; to assist each other; and not to make any agreement with Albany, without the consent of all the contracting parties. Ib. 124, where there is a copy of the confederate bond. In the subsequent November, Home imprisoned the lion king, in one of his border strengths, till Albany should release his mother, whom the regent had imprisoned, in Dunbarton castle. Lesley, 379; Calig. b. ii. 173.

(*o*) Dacre's Letter to Henry VIII., of the 12th April 1516. Calig. b. iii. 31. Dunglas castle, an old possession of the Homes, was restored by Albany to their chief, on the 9th of June 1516. Scotstarvit's Calendar.

(*p*) Rym. xiii. 550.

(*q*) Orig. Letter to H. VIII. of the 29th of August 1516. Calig. b. iii. 260.

(*r*) Border Hist 505. The parliamentary Record, as it is defective, at that period, does not recite the accusation of the Homes. That they had committed treason is certain, as Lord Home's Letters evince: On the 24th of August 1515, he wrote to Dacre, the English warden: "Gif "ever your master wald tak his tyme of Scotland, now, or never." Orig. Letter. Calig. b. ii. 151.

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on the subsequent day (*s*). Lord Home was of age, probably, at this sad catastrophy, rather under forty. He was a person of very considerable sway; but of more bustle than energy; more vain, than efficient; and more ambitious, than successful: He was so often duped, that we might infer his want of penetration (*t*). His title, his large estates, and his many offices of great importance, were all forfeited, by his attainder; and his honours, and property, remained in the crown, till 1522.

After Lord Home's death, Anthony de la Bastie, a Frenchman, was appointed, by Albany, the *warden of the marches*, and captain of Dunbar castle, when the regent went to France, in June 1517 (*u*). This French warden was very assiduous, in repressing the disorders of the Merse, and Lothian. But, he soon fell a victim to the revenge of the Homes. While he was in the execution of his duty, he was beset near Langton, in the Merse, by David Home of Wedderburn, and his associates, who, pursuing their victim, assassinated De la Bastie, on the 19th of September 1517, with circumstances of uncommon savageness (*x*). Arran appears to have retained possession of Home castle. When the conflict took place, at Edinburgh, in April 1520, between the parties of Arran, and of Angus, for pre-eminence, David Home, the same assassin, brought *the border thieves* to assist Angus, in driving the regent's deputies from the government. Home, with his *ill-doers*, retook the castles of Home, and of

(*s*) Their heads were placed on the tolbooth of Edinburgh. Lesley, 383.

(*t*) Dacre, the Warden, who had much intercourse with him, spoke of Lord Home to Wolsey, as a nobleman of *mean talents*. Orig. Letter, 18th February 1516. Calig. b. ii. 298.

(*u*) Lesley, 384.

(*x*) Lesley, 387; Pitscottie, 201. On the 19th of February 1517-18, the parliament convicted David Home of Wedderburn, his three brothers, and their associates, of the assassination of Darcy de la Bastie. The Earl of Arran was sent with a band of soldiers, and some artillery, to enforce the doom of parliament. The Homes surrendered their strengths: And, according to the Scotish custom, were soon pardoned. Lesley, 388-9. Arran, and the council, were, perhaps, well pleased to get rid of de la Bastie, who acted as a sort of deputy to Albany. Soon after his assassination, the dowager queen, at the desire of the assassin, wrote the warden Dacre, for the return of George Home, and David Home: When he expressed his surprize, at this request, she said, that while de la Bastie lived, the Homes could obtain no favour, in Scotland. Calig. b. i. 239, 243, 244. David Home of Wedderburn had married a sister of the Earl of Angus, the queen's second husband. In 1519, David Home again acted the assassin; and murdered Blackader, the prior of Coldingham, with six of his family; and William Douglas, the brother of Angus, seized the priory. Lesley, 392; Dacre's Letter to Wolsey, 19th October 1519. Calig. b. iii. 16. In September 1523, James v., when only eleven years old, being asked, by some of the peers, what he would do with the Frenchmen, whom Albany had left in Scotland, archly said, *He would give them to David Home's keeping*. Threlkeld's Letter to Dacre. Calig. b. vii 9.

Wedderburn, which they maintained against the authority of the king, and regent (*y*).

Albany returned from France, in November 1521. On his approach to the capital, Angus, and his partizans, fled to the borders, the common refuge of lawless men. When the parliament assembled, on the 26th of the subsequent December, Angus, with his adherents, Home of Wedderburn, and Cockburn of Langton, with other Mersemen, were accused of treason (*z*). But, they were probably saved from conviction, by a compromise, for which a negotiation had already commenced (*a*). This intrigue ended in the restoration of the Homes. In August 1522, the king, the regent, and the three Estates, restored George Home, the brother of the attainted lord, to the title, the lands, and the offices, which had thereby become invested in the crown. This restoration was confirmed by the parliament of June 1526 (*b*); and ratified by the parliament of March 1540-1 (*c*). The regent, Albany, was probably induced, to promote that restoration, in order to detach the Homes from Angus, and from the English party; and to gain them to himself: While the Homes, and Angus, remained in union of design, and interest, they completely commanded the whole Merse, and the eastern border. The great office of the late Lord Home being given away, and his estates dissipated, the Homes were no longer formidable to the government, nor injurious to the nation, while the powers of mischief fell into other hands.

Lord Home now continued steady, in his attachment to Albany, and in his opposition to Angus, and the English faction, till they completely predominated,

(*y*) Lesley, 394; Parl. Rec. 556: Angus, having thus possessed the capital, was some months after joined by George Home, the brother of the late Lord, and the assassin David Home, when they took down, and buried, the heads of Lord Home, and his brother William. Lesley, 395.

(*z*) Lesley, 396.

(*a*) Angus, George Home, and others, who met, within the English border, empowered Douglas, the well-known bishop of Dunkeld, who was on his way to London, to manage their joint interests, at the English court. Their instructions of the 14th December 1521 are, in Calig. vi. 204. Dacre informed the English council, that Albany offered peace to the Douglasses, and their partizans, on condition, that Angus would consent to a divorce from the Dowager queen; and that George Home, commonly called Lord Home, *would resign such of his own, or his wife's lands, as had been given away.* Calig. b. vi. 205.

(*b*) Parl. Rec. 563.

(*c*) Ib. 641. Though the offices were thus restored, in name, yet it is certain, that Lord Home's office of Chamberlain of Scotland was, immediately after his execution, given to Lord Fleming, whose family long retained it; and many of Lord Home's lands, having been given away to others, could not be restored to George Home, after he had thus acquired the title of Lord Home.

when they made Home feel the danger of fidelity. In October 1522, Albany embarked, at Dunbarton, for France. At this period, the Earl of Arran ruled Teviotdale, the *Merse*, Lothian, Linlithgow, and Stirlingshire (*d*). Such was one of the feeble effects of an inefficient regency, which was distracted, by the adverse efforts of the English and French interests. The return of Albany from France, in September 1523, was marked, by the collecting of a large army, for the invasion of England. His impotent attack on Wark castle, and his disastrous retreat, through the *Merse*, only show his incapacity as a commander, and the distraction of his regency (*e*). He finally departed from the country, which he could not rule, on the 20th of May 1524. The Earl of Angus, the most powerful of the nobles, and the chief of the English faction, now governed Scotland, during the minority of James v. An opposition of force, rather than intrigue, still continued. In January 1526, Lord Home, with his followers, repaired to Linlithgow, where he intended to join the dowager queen, and Arran, against Angus, her husband: But, their attempt was crushed, as well by the superiority of character, as by the power of Angus (*f*). Home appeared not in the parliament of the subsequent June: But, he was summoned to answer various charges of treason, which seem to have amounted, merely, to a charge of opposition to Angus, the governor. Lord Home, promptly, appeared in parliament: And, having denied the accusation, when it was made, by the public prosecutor, he was acquitted, by the king, with the advice of the Estates (*g*). The object was thus obtained, of inducing Home to depart from his opposition, and to join with Angus. The grant, which was, immediately, made to him of his brother's forfeited title, and estates, evinces how much the trial of Home, on that occasion, had been collusive (*h*). This intimation is sufficient to show the anarchical nature of Angus's administration (*i*). Under such a domination, the youthful king was extremely impatient: And, various projects were unsuccessfully tried, to free him, from thraldom. One of these,

(*d*) The dowager queen's Letter to the Earl of Surrey, in October 1523. Calig. b. vi. 379.

(*e*) Pink. Hist. ii. 228—30.

(*f*) Several letters, in Calig. b. ii. 114, 249-50, illustrate that representation.

(*g*) Parl. Rec. 559.

(*h*) Ib. 563: This was merely a confirmation of Albany's restoration of George Home, in 1522. Id.

(*i*) Patrick Blackader, the archdeacon of Dunblane, and cousin of Blackader, the prior of Coldingham, who had been murdered, by David Home of Wedderburn, in 1519, obtained a safe conduct from Angus to come to Edinburgh; yet, was he assassinated by the *Homes*, and Douglases, at the very gate of the metropolis. Godscroft, i. 86-7.

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was conducted, by the laird of Buccleugh, in July 1526, who, with the aid of Home, and his followers, made an unsuccessful attempt, at Melros, to liberate the king, from the too powerful gripe of the dominator Angus (*k*). The king, in June 1528, freed himself, by his own efforts, after every endeavour of others had failed. Lord Home repaired to the king, at Stirling; and accompanied him to Edinburgh, on the 6th of the subsequent July (*l*). The king, soon after, advanced with some forces, to Coldingham, with design to drive Angus into England. Angus retired, on his approach: And, the keeping of the place being now assigned to Home, and his brother, the abbot of Jedburgh, Angus returned upon them, the same night, and obliged the king to find his safety in Dunbar (*m*). Treason was now busy, to restore the pre-eminence of Angus: And, when the parliament assembled, in December 1528, Janet Douglas, Lady Glamis, his sister, was accused, with her abetters, of treasonable practices (*n*). This is the same lady, who was convicted by parliament, in 1537, of treason, and executed (*o*); and who is yet supposed, by the Scotish historians, to have been innocent, upon general presumption, in contempt of recorded fact.

The king now found it convenient, and deemed it necessary, to make his famous expedition to the borders, in 1529, when Lord Home, and some unruly chiefs, were imprisoned. By this act of vigour, an unusual quiet was established, for some time, along the southern marches. But, in 1533, he seems to have been induced to repeat a similar act, with similar success (*p*). There was now little domestic disturbances, along the borders, for several years. Yet, were they disturbed, at length, by foreign invasion. In August 1542, Sir Robert Bowes, accompanied by Angus, and his brother, Sir George Douglas, entered Scotland, with design to ravage the borders, and to sack Jedburgh: But, they were met, at Hadenrig, and completely repulsed, by the Earl of Huntley, and Lord Home (*q*). In the subsequent October, they did good service, in op-

(*k*) Lesley, 419-21. (*l*) Lord Wm. Dacre's Letters to Wolsey. Calig. b. i. 7.

(*m*) Northumberland's Letter to Wolsey of the 9th of October 1528. Calig. b. vi. 459.

(*n*) Parl. Rec. 585-6: Her abbetters were, John Home of Blackader, Hugh Kennedy of Girvanmains, and Patrick Charters. But, though they were all often called, they seem to have been never convicted; on account, probably, of some compromise. Id.

(*o*) Parl. Rec. 624.

(*p*) In 1433, several of the *Homes*, and Kers, were imprisoned, at Glasgow, and Dunbarton, on account, no doubt, of some disorders, on the borders. Lady Dacre's Letter to Dacre. Calig. b. vi. 135. Lord Home, in March 1540-1, obtained another confirmation of his title, and estates, which was sanctioned by parliament, and entered on the record. Parl. Rec. 641.

(*q*) Lesley, 455.

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posing and harassing the more formidable army, which Norfolk now led into Scotland (*q*). At the present period, it happened, as it had done for ages, that the torch of domestic treason lighted the forward steps of the invading foe.

During the infancy of Mary Stewart, Lord Home, as he was now stricken in years, seldom appeared, either in parliament, or in the field. In March 1542-3, indeed, Lord Home was one of the Estates, who declared the Earl of Arran, to be the second person of the realm, and tutor to the queen; and who swore to support him, in discharging that important office (*a*). Lord Home was present, also, with the queen, and regent, in a council, at St. Andrews, in June 1545 (*b*). His heir, the master of Home, was present, in the parliament of Linlithgow, in October following. The Estates having granted a thousand horse, for three months security of the borders, the chiefs of the *Merse*, and Teviotdale, engaged to prevent domestic disorders, and to punish the misdoers, within the Merse, Teviotdale, Lothian, Tweedale, and other southern districts (*c*). Lord Home appeared in parliament, for the last time, on the 16th of August 1546 (*d*). A skirmish, on the 9th of September 1547, which preceded the battle of Pinkie, proved unfortunate for Lord Home, and his heir; the former died of a hurt, which he then received, and the latter was taken prisoner: And Home castle was soon after captured on the return of the protector Somerset, from his expedition to Edinburgh (*e*).

He was succeeded, by his eldest son, Alexander, who was probably now at the age of forty; as he had, for some years, managed chiefly his father's political affairs. He obtained reputation in the campaigns of 1548-9 (*f*), when

(*q*) Lesley, 457; Hall, fol. 253-4.

(*a*) Parl. Rec. 648. (*b*) Keith's Appx. 50.

(*c*) The Berwickshire lairds, who entered into that agreement, the sure mark of a feeble government, and dormant law, were, Alexander, the master of Home, John Home of Coldingknows, George Home, of Eyton, George Home, of Wedderburn, John Home, of Blackader, Alexander Home, Patrick Home, of Polworth, and other chiefs of the Merse, and Teviotdale. Parl. Rec. 688. We may thus perceive what a potent clan the Homes were, in that age. On October the 5th, the parliament resolved, in organizing the cavalry, for the border service, that 500 horse be chosen, by the master of Home, and his friends, and mustered by him, at Lauder. Id. The payment of those horsemen, who were engaged, by the master of Home, was enforced, by a fresh ordinance. Ib. 689.

(*d*) Ib. 726. (*e*) Border Hist. 560-62: Keith's Appx. 55.

(*f*) Beague's Hist. of those campaigns; the same author, 80-1, gives an account of the retaking, soon after, of Home castle, by stratagem, at which he makes Lord Home assist. Somerset, in his advance, through the *Merse*, to Edinburgh, took, and demolished Dunglas castle, another strength of the Homes. Border Hist. 560. It was restorsd, by the subsequent peace. Ib. 71.

many

many blows were received, and given; and when the English hoped for conquest, and the Scots fought for their defence (*g*).

The Homes, who cannot be praised for their steadiness, while they generally saw their own interests, sat in the reformation parliament of August 1560 (*h*). Lord Home again sat with the extraordinary lords, in a council, at Edinburgh, in December 1561 (*i*). He appears, however, not to have been friendly to Elizabeth, at least not attentive to her ambassador (*k*). Lord Home was present in the convention, at Stirling, on the 15th of May, which ratified the queen's marriage with Lord Darnley (*l*). Lord Home steadily attended the extraordinary councils of the busy year 1565: He was, particularly, present in the convention of the 1st of August, when measures were to be taken against the Earl of Moray, and the other insurgents (*m*). After the queen of Scots had recovered from her dangerous illness, at Jedburgh, in November 1566, she proceeded to Kelso; whence, she passed to Home castle; and went thence to Langton, and to Wedderburn; thereafter took a view of Berwick; and remaining a night, at Coldingham, she went forward to Dunbar, performing this tour on horseback, through the Merse (*n*).

But, the time was come, when Lord Home was to display his versatility. On the 19th of April 1567, he was one of the many nobles, who disgraced

(*g*) Alexander Lord Home was appointed the warden of *the East Marches*: and, on the 31st of May 1559, acted as one of the Scots commissioners, who negotiated the treaty at Upsetlington. Rym. xv. 617-21.

(*h*) In that miscellaneous convention, sat Alexander, Lord Home, George Home of Spot, David Home, of Wedderburn, and John Home, of Coldingknows. Keith, 146-7.

(*i*) Ib. Appx. 175.

(*k*) The malignity of Randolph represented to Cecil, on the 20th March 1564-5: "The Earl "of Lennox joineth with those *in most strict familiarity, that are noted greatest enemies to all virtue;* "as the Earls of Athol, and Cathness, Lords Ruthven, and *Home*." Keith 272.

(*l*) Ib. 277. On the 3d of June 1565, Randolph again mentioned *Lord Home*, to be among those, who were friends to the queen, and Darnley; and *had shamefully left the Earl of Moray*: It was expected, that *Lord Home* would be created *Earl of March*. Ib. 283. It was, we thus see, a great crime, in the contemplation of Randolph, and Cecil, to be attached, by his allegiance, to his lawful sovereign, rather than to Moray, the corrupt agent of a foreign queen.

(*m*) Ib. 305-9: When Tamworth, the English messenger left Edinburgh, on the 19th of August 1565, he refused a safe conduct, which was signed by Darnley, *as king*, and having thus no safe conduct, he was stopt, at Dunbar, by *Lord Home*, who carried him prisoner to *Home castle*, where he was, for some days, detained. Ib. 311. As Lord Home was appointed, in 1565, warden of the East Marches, it was, in this character, probably, that he arrested Tamworth. Crawford's MS. Collect.; Keith's Appx. 170.

(*n*) Ib. 353.

themselves

themselves, by signing a bond, which encouraged Bothwell to outrage, and marry the queen of Scots (*o*). Lord Home disgraced himself still more, by associating with the insurgent nobles, who assembled, at Stirling, in the subsequent month, against their sovereign; because she had been encouraged, by their misconduct, to marry Bothwell (*p*). And Lord Home, on the 16th of June 1567, when he signed an order, for imprisoning his legitimate queen, in Lochlevin castle, superadded to his disgrace, as a noble, the infamy of a rebel (*q*). None of those wretched characters, with whom he acted, on that disgraceful day, reflected that, they were involving their country in civil wars, and were encouraging foreign inroads into their borders, and promoting the hostile siege of their capital, by their ancient adversaries. Throughout the revolutionary year 1567, he adhered, uniformly, to the rebellious faction, which dethroned Mary Stewart; placed her infant son upon her throne; and gave her tarnished scepter to her bastard brother, as viceroy (*r*). In return, the regent Moray gave Lord Home the sheriffdom of Berwick. Lord Home went one step further out of the line of his duty, after the escape of the unhappy queen from Lochlevin castle. He led six hundred followers, from the Merse, against his sovereign, who had given him marks of her beneficence, but had not made him *Earl of March*, into the battle of Langside (*s*). In this decisive conflict, Lord Home received several wounds. He is said, by leading the border spearmen against less practised warriors, to have turned the fortune of the field (*t*). Lord Home assiduously attended, throughout 1568, Moray's parliaments (*u*): He hoped to ensure the regent's gratitude, which did not exist in his ambitious heart. And, being disappointed, Lord Home made another change of principle, and of practice (*x*): In 1569, he deserted

(*o*) Ib. 382. (*p*) Ib. 394. (*q*) Ib. 406.

(*r*) Ib. 434-7.—440-50. Lord Home was present in council, on the 23d of August 1567, when an order was issued, requiring John Home, of Blackader, David Home, of Wedderburn, George Home, of Ayton, John Home, of Coldingknows, and other leading gentlemen of the Merse, to appear before the Privy Council, to give their advice, concerning the administration of justice, and the establishment of quiet, within the limits of *the East Marche*, as they would answer at their uttermost peril. Keith, 459, intimates what is probable in itself, that the above order was issued, with design, to overaw the inhabitants of the Merse, who, it should seem, did not adhere to Lord Home, in approving the insurgent administration of the bastard Moray.

(*s*) Ib. 479, from Calderwood.

(*t*) Lord Home was wounded, in the face, and in the leg. And Alexander Home, of Manderson, was killed. Parl. Rec. 809. Lord Home's brother-in-law, the Laird of Cessford, fighting by his side, helped him up, when wounded. Keith, 478.

(*u*) Parl. Rec. 806-7; 815-16-17.

(*x*) Robertson's Hist. i. 304, says, that Lord Home had been seduced by Lethington: But, his lordship had asked the command of Dunbar castle, which the regent gave to the baillies of the same town.

Moray's faction, and joined the queen's friends. In 1571, he was taken prisoner, in a skirmish with Morton, in the suburbs of Edinburgh, when both fought, for their respective factions. He seems, soon after, to have found refuge with Lethington, and Kirkaldy, in Edinburgh castle, which this hardy soldier defended, till Sir William Dury came from Berwick, and obliged it to surrender, in May 1573: They, at last, submitted to Dury, on condition; and yet, were they, by Elizabeth's command, given up to the regent Morton, who ordered Kirkaldy to be executed (*y*). Lord Home was convicted, in parliament, on the 27th of October 1573, of treason. Lord Home died, in August 1575, as appears, by the *retour* of his heir; and a remission for his crime, was granted, by the parliament of Stirling, in July 1578.

Lord Home was succeeded by his son Alexander, a minor (*z*); but was never restored to his father's offices. In 1580, when king James sailed to Denmark, in order to marry the princess Anne, Lord Home was named among those nobles, who might be relied on, for supporting the public peace, in the king's absence. During the troubles, which were often raised, by the ambitious restlessness of Francis, Earl of Bothwell, Lord Home gave his active aid, in defeating his seditious purposes (*a*). And, for this service, he was rewarded with a grant of the dissolved priory of Coldingham (*b*). Being a papist, in his religion, he seems to have thereby drawn upon himself the excommunication of the kirk; and, he was thus constrained, to make a degrading apology, according to the

(*y*) Birrel's Diary, 21. Lethington took poison to prevent a public execution; being convicted, as one of the slayers of Darnley. In Jonstoni Heroes, 35, it is said that Home died in 1573. Crawf. Peer. 222, states, mistakingly, his death, in 1576, and quotes the same book, for his authority. Dougl. Peer. 346. uncritically mistates the same fact. When the regent went to the Borders, in 1573, to establish order there, he appointed Sir James Home, of Coldingknows, the warden of the East Marches. Spottiswoode, 272.

(*z*) Id.

(*a*) Spottiswoode's Hist. 403. In 1582, says Mr. Solicitor General Purvis, in his Exchequer MS. it was found, that the Earl of Home did count, for the earldom of March, at 1741. yearly, which doth differ from the present rental, by 20l. Neither has the one, nor the other, counted these 60 years, except for Graden, and the kirk of Dunbar; the cause of not compting, for some of those years, being conceived to be, because a part of those feu duties was allocated to Archibald Hay, his Majesty's chirurgeon, who is dead, long since. As to the particular rental, before set down, as contained, in the rental of 1502, it is conceived, that the Earl of Home has no right now to those feu duties; as any right, he had to the same, was by way of lease, which is expired long since, and which was set, for payment of the foresaid 174l. assigned to Alexander Hay.

(*b*) Crawf. Peer. 222: In November 1600, the parliament passed an act, confirming *the thirds* of Coldingham to Lord Home. Unprinted Act. By resignation, from the Duke of Lennox, and a charter, from the king, he obtained the sheriffwick of Berwick, on the 2d of October 1592. Charter in the Pub. Records.

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odious practice of a fanatical age (*c*). When king James, soon after, thought it convenient, to obtain the friendship of the Roman catholic princes, in order to secure his accession to a richer crown, he, with his usual imprudence, sent Lord Home, in 1599, on a suspicious embassage to Rome (*d*). The parliament of November 1600 confirmed to him *the thirds* of Coldingham priory (*e*). In 1603, he accompanied King James to England; he was created Earl of Home, on the 4th of March 1605 (*f*): and dying, on the 5th of April 1619, he was succeeded, by his son, James, in his title, and estates, but not in his offices. His successor died, in 1634, and was succeeded by Sir James Home of Coldingknows, under an entail of the estates, and title, to heirs male (*g*). The new Earl was one of those nobles, who, in 1633, signed a submission to the king, concerning their superiorities, and teinds (*h*). During the civil wars, which succeeded, he is said to have been *very loyal* (*i*). He survived those terrible times: And, the restoration parliament passed a new ratification, in favour of the Earl of Home (*k*). Dying in 1666, he was, successively, followed, by three sons; by Alexander, who died, in 1674; by James, who died, in 1688; and by Charles, who did not concur in *the revolution*, and opposed *the union* (*l*).

(*c*) On the 17th of May 1594, "Lord Home maid hes repentance, in the new kirk, befor the "assemblie upon hes knies." Birrel's Diary, 33. He was, thereupon, absolved from the sentence of excommunication. Home appears to have taken the field, in 1593, for the support of his religion. Spottisw. Hist. 397; Keith, 434-37.

(*d*) Robertson's Hist. ii. 255. (*e*) Unprinted Act.

(*f*) Crawf. Peer. 222. He resigned the sheriffship, in 1616. On the 28th of June 1617, the parliament again passed a ratification to the Earl of Home. Unprinted Act.

(*g*) Dougl. Peer. 346. On the 4th of August 1621, the parliament passed "a new dissolution "of Jedburgh and Canoby, in favour of the Earl of Home." Unprinted Act. He obtained from Charles I. a grant of the barony of Duns.

(*h*) Glendook's Stat. 4.

(*i*) Dougl. Peer. 347. On the 11th of June 1640, there was a reference by parliament, for the Earl of Home, and his Countess, to the commissioners, for the common burdens. Unprinted Act. There was, at the same time, a ratification, in favour of the Earl of Home, of his infeftment of the *barony of Duns*. Id. There was also a ratification of the contract, and disposition to him, of the living, and estate of Home. Id. Lord Maitland protested against the Earl of Home's ratification. Id.

(*k*) Unprinted Act of the 1st of January 1661.

(*l*) Dougl. Peer. 347. On the 9th of October, 1678, at the privy council, Mr. Charles Home, brother to the Earl of Home, for his accession to the clandestine marriage of the heiress of Aiton, to the Laird of Kymmergham, and disobeying the council's orders, and for not appearing, was imprisoned in the castle; he having no fortune, wherein to fine him; and after two days, was, at his brother's intercession, liberated. Lord Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 17. See of Charles Lord Home, Lockhart's Mem. 214; Proceedings of the Convention, 1689. He died, on the 20th August 1706.

In the meantime, the earldom of March remained, in the crown, from the attainder of the Duke of Albany, by the parliament of James III. (*m*). It was again revived, in 1579. The earldom of March, and the lordship of Dunbar, were now conferred, by the impolicy of James VI. on Robert Stewart, the second son of John, Earl of Lennox. He had chosen the church, for his profession, in an age, when it was the most gainful. He was appointed the provost of the provostry of Dunbarton; he was, in 1542, elected the bishop of Cathness, the revenues whereof he enjoyed, while he lived, though he was never in priest's orders. Taking part with his brother, the Earl of Lennox, against Arran, the favourite of king James, the bishop was forced into banishment, which lasted two and twenty years. He returned, to concur, in *the reformation:* And his brother, the Earl of Lennox, succeeding Moray, as regent, gave him the priory of St. Andrews, the revenues whereof he enjoyed during his long life. The abuses of old were not more corrupt, than such grants, to such a man. In 1576, the earldom of Lennox fell upon him, in addition to his priory, and his bishoprick: But, to oblige king James, he soon resigned that earldom to his grand nephew Esme Stewart; and obtained, in consideration of his facility, the earldom of March, and the lordship of Dunbar (*n*); yet, without any additional revenues. The earldom of March now remained, in the crown, upwards of a century. And, in April 1697, it was conferred, on William, the second son of the first Duke of Queensberry, whose descendant now enjoys it, though the earldom be merged in the dukedom (*o*). In this manner, then, was the ancient earldom of March revived, in the house of Stewart; and still continues in the family of Douglas. We have, at length, seen what foundation there was, for Camden's remark, how much more the *Merse* is celebrated, for its *Earls*, than its *places*.

In the intervenient time, this shire, by the accession of James VI. to the English throne, in 1603, enjoyed, for somewhile, unwonted quiet. At the end, however, of six and thirty years, the inhabitants of Berwickshire were involved by faction,

(*m*) It was, indeed, conferred by James IV. on his wife, the princess Margaret, as a part of her dower. She appears to have sold to her son, James V. her demesn of Dunbar, as a portion thereof. Pink. Hist. ii. 351. She died, in June 1441, after a devious life of ambition, and love, when the earldom of March came again into the actual possession of the Scotish king.

(*n*) Chart. Pub. Rec. Spottiswood's Hist. 308; Dougl. Peer. 443. He died, on the 29th of March 1586. There is prefixed to Pitscottie's History a poetical dedication, "to the most "reverend father in God Robert Stewart, bishop of Cathness, and commendator of St. Andrews," where he long resided.

(*o*) Crawf. Peer. 310; Dougl. Peer. 443.

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and fanaticism, by interest and idleness, in the general agitations, which shook their country to the center. The year 1638 saw preparations for civil war begin. The subsequent year felt hostilities commence. The strong holds of Scotland were seized by the insurgents; their generals Lesley, and Munro, marched to Dunglas, and Kelso; and the king's army, at the same time, advanced, from York to Berwick. The Scotish leaders encamped their bands, at Duns, where armies had assembled of old, under very different auspices. And the borderers are said to have exulted, when they saw their native hills again traversed by hostile spears; as they delighted in the tumults of war, and hoped for the plunder of both sides. But, a peace was made, on the 18th of June 1639, at Huntley field, near Berwick, between the contending parties, which did not contribute to the continuance of peace, on either side (*p*). In the beginning of the subsequent year, hostilities were renewed. And, in August 1640, the English army, under Conway, marched, northward, to Newcastle; while the Scotish forces, under Lesley, proceeded southward, to Duns; and promptly passed the Tweed, at Coldstream. An inroad into the Merse, from Berwick, was soon after repelled, by Lord Hadington, who, however, a few days afterward, lost his life, by the blowing up of the fortlet of Dunglas. A new pacification was made, at Rippon, on the 26th of October 1640, with little more effect; because the one party was weak, and the other was subtle. In November 1644, the Scots, having agreed to support the English parliament, passed the Tweed, at Berwick, into England, with an army of 20,000 men, on the 15th of January 1644-5 (*q*). After so much agitation, it was not easy to restore quiet, in Scotland. In December 1647, the Scots complained of the English parliament, for making peace, without their consent. On the 10th of the subsequent March, the Scotish rulers resolved to raise a fresh army, in favour of the king (*r*); the town of Berwick being already seized, by their adversaries. The Scotish army entered England, by the western road; and were defeated, by Cromwell, on the 17th of August 1648, at Preston. He marched speedily into the north.

(*p*) See Nalson's Col. i. 239.

(*q*) After the subduction of the king, whom they delivered to the English parliament, on receiving their arrears of 400,000 l. sterling, repassed the Tweed, into Scotland, on the 11th of February 1646-7.

(*r*) By the Act of the 4th of May 1648, for levying that army, Berwickshire was directed to raise 1200 infantry, and 100 cavalry. The Earl of Home was appointed colonel of the infantry; and colonel John Home was to command 80 of the horse. Printed Act, by Evan Taylor, 1648. The number of cavalry, according to the proportion of the levy, in 1644, is mentioned, as being too small.

And

And on the 21st of September 1648, he forded the Tweed, at Norham, into the Merse; taking up his quarters in Mordington house. Nine days after, he entered Berwick; the governor having evacuated the town (*s*). This success induced the parliament to appoint Cromwell commander in chief, in Ireland: And his triumphant conquests, in Ireland, moved the same authority, in June 1651, to nominate, with extraordinary powers, the same successful general, chief commander, in Scotland. Cromwell, a second time, passed the Tweed into the Merse, on the 22d of July 1651: The Scots, adopting the sound policy of Robert Bruce, laid waste their country, and retired before him: Yet, the moment, that the Scotish general departed from that policy, Cromwell decided their fate, on the 3d of September following, at Dunbar. Home castle was soon after taken, and demolished, for ever, with some circumstances, which have preserved the event, in the traditions of the country (*t*). Nothing could cure the deep-rooted enthusiasm of the Scotish people, but conquest. And, in April 1653, an Act was passed, by the English commons, incorporating Scotland into one commonwealth with England. Berwickshire now partook of the degradation of conquest. It rejoiced, at the restoration: Yet, did it feel the infelicities of the fanatacism of the governed, and the harshness of the government, during the subsequent reign, to both which some of her sons sacrificed themselves. It did not concur warmly in the revolution (*u*). And, it derived, at length, as we have seen, the full benefits of the union.

Meanwhile, the localities of this shire have furnished titles to various men of full as much celebrity as either of those lords, or as any of those earls. James Fitzjames was created Duke of Berwick, in 1685, on the accession of his father to the throne. John Churchill, who rose, by his address, and valour, to be Duke of Marlborough, and Prince of Mindelheim, was created Lord Eymouth, in 1682 (*a*). From Huntley, and Gordon, a great family derived the titles of earl, marquis, and duke (*b*). The Maitlands owe to Thirlstane, the Merse, and Lauderdale, the titles of baron, in 1590, of earl, in 1624, and of duke,

(*s*) Cromwell wrote from Berwick, on the 2d of November 1648, to Lenthal, giving an account of his proceedings, in Scotland.

(*t*) Stat. Acco. iii. 292.

(*u*) During the reign of William, there was a considerable encampment of the king's troops, at Langhopebirks, in Langton parish, at the desire, as it is said, of Lord Marchmont, to overaw Lord Home. Stat. Acco. xiv. 583.

(*a*) Crawf. Peer. 141; Dougl. Peer. 255. (*b*) Crawf. Peer. 173; Dougl. Peer. 295.

in

in 1672 (*c*). Home gave the title of baron, and earl, to the family of Home, as well as the surname to a numerous clan, in this shire. George Home, who, by his talents, and dexterity, acquired the earldom of Dunbar, was also created, in 1604, Lord Home of Berwick (*d*). Polworth, and Greenlaw, gave the title of baron, to Sir Patrick Home; who was also created Earl of Marchmont (*e*). Halyburton furnished the title of baron, in 1401, to Sir Walter Halyburton, who had the honour of being one of the many hostages for James I. (*f*). Mordington furnished the title of baron, which became extinct, after five descents, to James Douglas, the second son of the tenth earl of Angus (*g*). There is another family, in this shire, which claims priority of age, to any of those nobles. The Swintons are feigned, by flattery, to have taken root, in Berwickshire, under the Celtic reign of Malcolm Canmore. Yet, is the family of Swinton certainly ancient. The progenitor of this stock was Arnulf, a military follower of David I.; who obtained, from the king's munificence, a grant of the lands of Little Swinton, with a reservation of *service* to the monks of St. Cuthbert (*h*). Arnulph, and his posterity, according to the practice of the age, were, from their lands, called *de Swinton*, which has continued the surname of this respectable race (*i*).

(*c*) Dougl. Peer. 391—6. *Mautlant* was the original name of this family. Crawf. Peer. 250. *Thirlstane*, their original property, was the estate, in the age of David I., of Hugh Morville, the constable, whose posterity retained it, below the reign of William, the Lion, when it passed, by marriage, to the Maitlands. MS. Extracts from the Title Deeds of Lauderdale.

(*d*) Crawf. Peer. 113. (*e*) Ib. 315-16. (*f*) Ib. 182.

(*g*) Dougl. Peer. 448.

(*h*) Chart. Coldingham: That reservation of service was afterward changed, by a new charter, to a payment of forty shillings to the monks, and services to the king.

(*i*) There were of old two places, near each other, which bore the name of *Swintun*: The one to the north-east; where the village, and church now stand, was granted, by Edgar, to the monks of St. Cuthbert, at Coldingham: The other Swintun, which was given to Arnulf, is the place, that was called of old Little Swintun; and is so distinguished by the charters of the 14th century. Alan de Swyntun witnessed a charter of Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, between the years 1198, and 1199. Roberts. Index, 156. In 1273, Alan, dominus de Swinton, obtained from Roger, the prior of Coldingham, a remission "de secta curiæ." Chart. Colding. 61. And, Alan de Swinton granted to the prior and monks of Coldingham, a piece of land, which was called *Kirk-croft*. Ib. 34. David I.'s charter to his *Miles*, Hernulf, or Arnulf, during the life of his son Earl Henry, is printed in Dougl. Bar. 127; yet, though it be very curious, it does not establish any connection between *Arnulf*, the *Miles* of David I., and Udard, the son of Liulf, the son of Edulf, who are mentioned, in that charter; The charter rather proves, that there was no connection in blood.

Berwickshire,

Berwickshire, which has produced its full share of great men, has also supplied learned senators to the College of Justice (*i*).

Berwickshire has also given some eminent prelates to the Scotican church. David de Bernham ruled the see of St. Andrews, from 1233 to 1253 A. D. (*k*). Gilbert Greenland was appointed to the episcopate of Aberdeen, in 1390 (*l*). Robert Blackader was elected to the same see, in 1480 (*m*). Andrew Foreman, a son of the laird of Hutton, a frequent envoy, who had the honour to negotiate the marriage of Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry VII., with James IV., was promoted to the see of Moray, in 1501, and, after some struggle, to the archiepiscopate of St. Andrews, in 1514; enjoying, at the same time, several abbeys, *in commendam* (*n*). George Shoreswood, of the family of Bedshiel, after executing many trusts, was elected to the see of Brechin, in 1454, and was Chancellor of Scotland, at the demise of James II., in 1460 (*o*). The house of Spottiswoode, in this shire, has furnished several distinguished men to the church, the law, and the armies of their country. John Spottiswoode was elected to the archbishoprick of Glasgow, in 1610; was translated to that of St. Andrews, in 1615; and died, at the age of 74, Chancellor of Scotland, on the 27th of December 1639 (*p*).

(*i*) John Maitland, the commendator of Coldingham, was appointed to that trust, on the 2d day of June 1568. Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane followed him to the Bench, in 1581, and died, in 1595. On the 5th of June 1618, John Maitland, Viscount of Lauderdale, was also appointed to that high trust. All those appointments took place, before the civil war gave rise to a great change, in 1641. The only lawyer, from this shire, who acted under Cromwell, was John Swinton of Swinton. After the Restoration, during a period, which furnished Scotland with so many eminent lawyers, John Home of Renton was appointed a senator, on the 18th of June 1663. He was followed, by Sir Roger Hogg of Harcarse, who left to his profession learned *decisions*. And, he was succeeded by Alexander Swinton of Mersington, on the 19th of June 1688, who was continued, after the Revolution. In 1693, Sir Patrick Home of Polworth was appointed an extraordinary lord of the Session. Sir Andrew Home of Kimmergham was raised to the bench, in 1714, and died in 1730. Henry Home, the celebrated Lord Kaims, was appointed to that eminent trust, in 1752, and died, in 1783. He was followed by George Carre of Nisbet, in 1755, and died, in 1766. John Swinton of Swinton was raised to that great charge, in 1782, and died, in 1799.

(*k*) Keith, ii. and note (d). (*l*) Ib. 66. (*m*) Ib 68. (*n*) Ib. 86-7.

(*o*) Crawf. Off. of State, 36.

(*p*) Ib. 103; Keith, 26. The archbishop's son, Sir Robert Spoittiswoode, the President of the Court of Session, may be said to have died, for the law, amid the illegal violences of 1646. His grandson, John Spottiswoode, of the same, was one of the first professors of law, in the University of Edinburgh, and an useful publisher of juridical works. Of this respectable family was General Spottiswoode, who died, in the government of Virginia, under George II.

Berwickshire,

Berwickshire may boast of its learned men, and its eminent poets. John Duns-Scotus, who died, in November 1308, would alone justify that boast, if the English, and the Irish, did not, severally, claim the *Subtle Doctor*, as their own (*q*). The numerous race of the Homes has produced critics, poets, historians, physicians, and lawyers (*r*). Doctor James Hutton, the great gealogist of his time, though born, in 1726, at Edinburgh, inherited his father's lands, in Berwickshire, which he contributed to improve, and energize. This county has the honour of having produced Thomas of Ercilton, the earliest poet, William Dunbar, the best poet of Scotland, and Grizel Baillie, the daughter of Patrick, Earl of Marchmont, one of the sweetest of her lyrists. Of the ancient family of Nisbet, in this shire, was Alexander Nisbet, who died in 1725, after writing, with learning, and elaboration, on *heraldry*. The Ridpaths have derived their name from one of the places of this county: And, George Ridpath, who died minister of Stitchel, in 1772, made collections for the history of Berwickshire; and left for publication *The Border History* of the two congenerous nations (*s*). To those slight notices may be added what is honourable in itself, that four of the present professors of Edinburgh University were contributed, by the vigorous people of Berwickshire.

§ VII. *Of its Agriculture, Manufacture, and Trade.*] When the Anglo-Saxons came in upon the Romanized Ottadini, during the fifth century, they found the district, between the Tweed, and Lamermoor, very little cultivated. Six centuries of hostility, and rudeness, did not add much to its improvement. At the recent beginning of the Scoto-Saxon period, in 1097, the various area of Berwickshire was covered with forests, sheltered by woods, and disfigured by wastes (*t*). Yet, is there reason to believe, that woods did not abound, in the lower

(*q*) Lord Hailes' An. ii. 267; L'Advocat; Tanner, 238.

(*r*) Patrick Hume published, in 1695, a *learned Commentary on Paradise Lost*. Lord Kaimes, the celebrated son of George Home, was born, within this shire, in 1696. Hume of Godscroft a poet, and historian, died about the year 1620. He was contemporary with several poets of the same name. David Hume, the metaphysician, and historian, though he was born, at Edinburgh, in 1711, proceeded from the house of *Ninewells*. Francis Home, who wrote on *the virtues* of *Duns-spaw*, in 1750, and on the principles of agriculture, in 1757, distinguished himself, as a physician. Mr. Professor David Hume, proceeding from the same house of *Ninewells*, in our own times, has distinguished himself as a learned writer on the *Scotish law*, which he ably teaches.

(*s*) It was published, in 1776, by his brother, Philip Ridpath, the minister of Hutton.

(*t*) David I. granted to the canons of Dryburgh the lands of Cadisley, with the pasturage "infra *forestam* meam." Foundation Charter, Dug. Monast. ii. 1054. The *grange* of Cadisley is mentioned, in the Chart. Dryb. No. 75. Walter, the son of Alan, granted to the same canons

lower parts of the Merse; owing to whatever cause: In the parishes of Hutton, Whitsome, Ladykirk, Swinton, Coldstream, and Eccles, we do not trace, on the maps, any name of a place, which derived its designation, from *a wood*. In the middle, and heights of the country; in Lauderdale, on the sea-coast, many names evince the existence of woods, at the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period (*u*). The profligate John Hardying, who made a tour into Scotland, under a safe conduct of James I., speaks of the Lammermore *woddes* and *mossis* (*x*). Thus wooded, in those ages, was every part of Berwickshire, except some parts of the Merse.

At the beginning of the 12th century, Berwickshire was not very populous. During this, and the subsequent century, many persons of consideration, English, Normans, and Flemings, settled within its limits, under grants from the crown (*y*). The lower orders of men were chiefly *vileyns*, and *drengs* (*z*).

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the lands of *Herdsley*, near Cadisley, saving the way, which led "ad *nemus*." Cadisley, the Kedslie of the present times, is in the parish of Lauder, in Lower Lauderdale. Peter de Haig of Bemerside granted to the same canons a part of *the forest* of Flat-*wood*. Ib. 98-99. Alexander Baliol gave to the same canons half of the *forest* of Gledis-*wood*, lying on the Tweed, below the influx of the Leeder water. Ib. 100-1-2-3. There was of old an extensive forest, which spread over the ample country, between the Leeder and the Gala: David I. granted the monks of Melros pannage, and pasturage, in this forest, with the right of taking wood, for building, and burning. Chart. Mail. No. 57—89. Thomas de Gordon gave to the monks of Kelso the free use of his *woods*, "stoch et ramail," stock and branches, "ad edificandum stagnum suum," to build their mildam. Ib. 121. Malcolm IV., William, and Alexander II., granted the *woods*, *forests*, and warren, to the monks of Coldingham in their *schire*. Chart. Cold. 3-5-6. Edward I. confirmed those rights. Ib. 37. Ralph of Bonkil gave to the monks his *woods*, and *moors*, in Coldinghamshire. Ib. 119. On this agricultural subject, see Nicolson's Hist. Lib Apx. vii.

(*u*) In Blaeu's maps, No. 7. and 8, and in Armstrong's map of Berwick, the following names of places may be collected, which show the former existence of woods, in the parishes mentioned: In Coldingham parish, there are Swine-*wood*, Hund-*wood*, Green-*wood*, Lient-*wood*; in Cockburnspath, *Wood*-end, Padockslen-*wood*; in St. Bothan's, Quick-*wood*; in Langton, *Wood*-end, *Wood*-head, Chaceley-*wood*, Stobs-*wood*; in Longformacus, Hadaes-*wood*, *Wood*-end, Trotter-*shaw*; in Buncle parish, *Wood*-end; in Weststrother, *Wood*-head, Spotts-*wood*; in Merton, Glades-*wood*, Bont-*shaw*-cot; in Gordon, Huntly-*wood*; in Earlston, Hunt-*shaw*; in Leger-*wood*, Stoby-*wood*, Boun-*wood*; in Lauder, *Woods*-head, *Wood*-hall, *Wooden*-cleugh, Hepe-*shaw*; in Cranshaws, *Birk*-cleugh; in Channelkirk, Head-*shaw*; in Duns, where there was a *forest*, and a *wood*, *Birken*side.

(*x*) Chronicle, fo. ccxxxvii.

(*y*) See Caledonia, i. bk. iv. ch. i. David I.'s charter of Swinton is addressed to his sheriffs, and barons, *French* and *English*. Dougl. Bar. 127.

(*z*) Andrew, the son of Gilbert Fraser, gave the monks of Kelso some lands in the lordship of Gordon, with Ada, the son of Henry del Hoga "nativo meo, cum tota sequela sua." Chart. Kelso,

The practice of vileynage, which had so long existed here, disappeared, during the Stewartine period of the Scotish history.

When the lord obtained his grant of a *territory* from the king, the acknowledged proprietor, he built a castle, a church, a miln, a kiln, and a brew-house, for the accommodation of his followers. They sat down around him, having each a house, a toft, some arable land, a meadow, and a right of commonage, for a number of beasts, on the waste of the lord (z). Such, then, was the rural economy of Berwickshire, during the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, with the slight varieties, which would naturally arise, from different circumstances.

Kelso, No. 123. Earl Waldeve, during the reign of Malcolm IV., gave to the same monks, Halden, and William, his brother, and all their children, and their posterity. Ib. 127. A dispute, with regard to *the drengs* of Horndean, was settled by Earl David. Diplom. Scotiæ, No. 10-11. There are a dozen charters, in the Chartulary of Coldingham, with regard to the donations, manumissions, sales, and releases of the *Nativi*, and their issue, belonging to the prior of Coldingham. Edgar conveyed to those monks, "Paxtun, ita ego habui cum *hominibus*, terris, et aquis." Anderson's Independ. Apx. No. v. Thus early, then, were *the men* conveyed with the lands, in Berwickshire! The *drenchs*, or *drengs*, which are mentioned, in Earl David's Charter, were tenants in pure vileynage. Kelham's Domesday, 200. See Mad. Exhcequer, in the Index, in art. *drengs*, and *theins*.

(z) Hugh Morville granted to the canons of Dryburgh, half a carrucate of land, in the *territory* of Newton, [Newton-Don], with common of pasture, in the same territory, for nine oxen, and one horse. Chart. Dryb. No. 151. Gilbert, the son of Aldan of Home, granted to the monks of Kelso, in the *territory* of Waderley, during the 12th century, 5 acres "ad toftum et croftum," and other 5 acres of arablelands "in campo," with common of pasture, for 100 sheep, and 40 cattle, with their lambs, and calves, till three years old. Chart. Kelso, No. 298. Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, during the reign of William, the lion, granted to the canons of Dryburgh, Elvinsley, with two bovates of land, in Ercildon, and a toft and a croft, with common of pasture, for 100 sheep, 12 oxen, 12 swine, and 2 horses. Chart. Dryb. No. 82. Richard de Mauteland granted to the same canons, during the reign of Alexander III., the lands of Snawdon, which Walter de Gilming held, "in *feodo* meo de Thirlestane," with the common of pasture, for 400 sheep, 60 cows, 20 horses, with their followers of three years old. Ib. 89. During the 13th century, Andrew, the son of the late Gilbert Fraser, granted to the monks of Kelso a carrucate of land, which he had bought, in the territory of Wester Gordon, and three acres of meadow "in *dominico* de Gordon, with common of pasture for 40 cattle, 100 ewes, or as many wedders, together with a *vileyn*, and *his issue*. Chart. Kelso, No. 123. The same monks held, at Gordon, half a carucate of land, pertaining to the church, with common of pasture, for 5 score young cattle, and 400 wedders, wheresoever the cattle, or sheep, of the lord of the manor pastured, without the corn, and meadow-land. Ib. 19. At Horneden, the same monks had similar rights. Ib. 23. Add to all those intimations, that by virtue of a canon of the thirteenth century, every parson, or vicar, was entitled to common of pasture, throughout his own parish. For expositions of all those measures of land, see Caledonia, i. 807—9

The *leases* of those times were for long terms, both in England, and Scotland; being for fifty years, and for life (*a*). The monks of Kelso granted a lease, for twenty years, to Thomas Batail, burgess of Berwick, of a carrucate of land, in Bondington; paying three marks of silver; and sustaining, and meliorating the houses (*b*). In 1233, Thomas de Thirlestane, and Agnes, his spouse, leased the lands of Hedderwick, in their territory of Thirlestane, to the monks of Kelso, during ten years, for forty marks of silver, to the proprietors in hand paid (*c*).

The rent, and value of land, in different parts of this shire, must have been various, from the nature, and locality of the thing. At the end of the thirteenth century, a carrucate of land, which the monks of Kelso enjoyed, at Gordon, with the common easements, rented for two marks. A carrucate of land, in Home, with four tofts, and the common easements, in the manor, rented for six marks yearly (*d.*) The half of Ulfkilston, in Lauderdale, used to rent for twenty marks, yearly (*e*). At Greenlaw, a carrucate of land, which the vicar used to hold, rented for two marks. At Greenlaw, the monks of Kelso had, also, two bovates of land, with a croft, and a toft, near the church, and five acres, in another part; which all rented for one mark and a half, yearly (*f*). Such are the notices, which would lead a judicious reader to infer, that lands, and tenements, during the 12th and 13th centuries, were cheap, and that money was scarce.

The husbandry of this shire, during those centuries, consisted more, perhaps, in the feeding of flocks, and the rearing of cattle, than in the production of corn, by the labours of the plough (*g*). A practice was much followed, in that

(*a*) Caledonia, i. p. 794. (*b*) Chart. Melros, No. 47.

(*c*) See the Chart. of Kelso, throughout.

(*d*) Chart. Kelso, 20, 26. (*e*) Ib. 26.

(*f*) Chart. Kelso, 22. At Mellerstane, a carucate of land, with the usual easements of the territory, rented at one mark yearly. Id. At Foggo, two carucates of land, with a miln, rented, yearly, for ten marks. Ib. 23. At Bondington, in the vicinity of Berwick, near St. Laurence church, two carrucates of land, with two tofts, and the usual easements, rented, yearly, for six marks. Ib. 24. In 1276, John de Lindsay, burgess of Berwick, engaged to pay to the monks of Newbotle 21 s. 4 d. sterling, for a burgage tenement, in the Southgate of Berwick. Ib. 208. At the end of the thirteenth century, one mansion, with three scope, in Huddingate, of Berwick town, rented for ten marks. Ib. 25. The monks of Kelso had at *Tweedmou*, a certain edifice, with a spring, and three acres of land, which rented, yearly, at 20 s. Ib. 24. At Spertildon, a brewhouse let for 6 s. a year. Ib. 22.

(*g*) The monks of Kelso had a grange, at Spertildon, which they laboured with two ploughs; they had, in the pasture, 1000 ewes, 490 wedders, 40 plough cattle, and a proportion of swine. At the same

that age, which is sometimes adopted, at present: From the granges, on the Tweed below, were sent to the Lamermoor above, the flocks, and herds, of the husbandmen, who delighted to have, during the summer, their pasturages, or *schealings*, or *scalingas*, on the heights (*b*). The kings, the bishops, the barons, the monks, had all large studs, for the breeding of horses, exclusive of

same place, they had sixteen or more cottages, for their *herdsmen*, and labourers, with their families. Ib. 21. This document explains, very distinctly, the whole economy of those times, as to the disposition of a *grange*. Whence, we may infer, that the farm was rather subsidiary to the sheep; that hands were plenty, and labour cheap.

(*b*) the word *scalinga* has puzzled all the antiquaries. I was myself misled, by Cowel, who explains it to mean a *quarry, a pit for stones*, or *rather slates*, for covering houses. Caledonia, i. 794. It is apparent that, Camden did not know the Latin word for the *scheales*, and *shealings*, of which he gives an account, as existing in Gillesland, during his time. He describes the herdsmen upon the wastes of Northumberland, and Cumberland, as a sort of *Nomades*, who lived in huts, dispersed from each other, which were called *Scheales*, and *Schealings*. Brit. 1594. p 613. It is only from the context of many charters, that the meaning of the *scalingas* can be ascertained to mean pasturages, in rather a secondary sense. Gospatrick, the Earl of Dunbar, granted to the monks of Kelso, "scalingas de Bothkill per rectas suas divisas;" and this grant was confirmed by Malcolm IV. Chart. Kelso, 377. That the *scalingas* of Bothkil mean the *schealings* of Bothkil, is ascertained, by a charter of Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, to the same monks, during the reign of William, the lion, in which the same place is called Bothkil-*scheles*. Ib. No 71. In the vicinity of Bothkil there are the names of several places, which terminate, in *sheals*; as Win*sheel*., Hen*sheel*, Gamil-*sheels*, Bawsheel, &c. Blaeu, No. 8. The *Scalingas*, which were granted, in Berwickshire, by charters of the 12th and 13th centuries, lay all in the Lamermoor. Several manors, in the Merse, appear to have had *scalingas*, or *shealings*, in the Lamermoor, belonging to them, for summer pasturage. In the 12th century, William de Veterepont granted to the monks of Kelso, "quosdam "*Scalingas*, in Lambermore, que pertinebat ad Hornerdane." Chart. Kelso, No. 317. Now Hornedene is in the lower parts of the Merse. The same practice prevailed, in East Lothian, on the northern declivity of the Lamermoor. The men, who cultivated the Earl of Dunbar's lands of Pinkerton, during the 12th century, had their *scalingas*, or schealings, in the Lamermoor. In the charter of Malcolm IV. to Walter, the son of Alan, *scalingas* are mentioned, as *pertinents* of the lands granted; Walter was to hold the same, as freely, and honourably, "in villis, in *scalingis*, in "campis, in pratis, in pascuis." Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl. 10. *Scalinga* is merely the Latinized form of *schealing*, which is derived from *scheal*; and is only the A. Sax. *scel*, *sceele*, *scyle*, a separation, or division, though Ruddiman tries to derive this word from the *French*, or the *Italian*. It was of importance, to settle the real meaning of the word *scalinga*, as the charters of the 12th, and 13th centuries, cannot be understood, without knowing the import of every word in them; and this understanding opens to our intelligent eyes the agricultural practice of those times. In June 1478, the Lords in parliament decreed, that Walter Stewart, of Cluny, had done wrong, "in castin doune "of the *schelis* in the lands of Farsach, belonging to the bishop of Dunkeld;" and adjudged, that the said Walter should "make the said *schelis* up again." Parl. Record, 228. Dugdale did not understand the meaning of this word: For, he repeatedly writes it *scalings*, for *schealings*. Dug. Bar. ii. p. 96—97.

those

those, which ran wild, in the forests (*i*). During those centuries, the husbandmen raised oats, wheat, barley, pease, and beans (*k*): And they made hay (*l*). Much of the oats, wheat, and barley, were manufactured into flour, meal, malt, and ale: Every manor had its miln: The king had many milns: And every lord of a manor had his malt-kilns, and his brewhouses, for supplying a salubrious beverage to his people (*m*). Every house, in the towns, and villages, appears, in those days, with a garden, for raising culinary herbs (*n*). In such a country, their fuel must have been originally wood, afterward, peats, and, in the progress of improvement, coals; as we may learn from the cartularies (*o*).

Such, then, was the georgical economy of Berwickshire, during the Scoto-Saxon period. The rural affairs of those times were, obviously, conducted with

(*i*) In 1247, Patrick the Earl of Dunbar, sold to the monks of Melros his stud, "totum *equicium* meum, quod habuit in feodo de Lawder." In a prior age, the worthy Cuthbert, while a youth, tended his flocks on the Leeder: "S. Cuthbertus juvenis custodiam pecorum habuit juxta "Loder flu. in montibus altis," [the Lamermoor.] Lel. Col. ii. 327.

(*k*) Caledonia, i. 796. In 1300, the price of wheat was 7 s. sterling a quarter, and of oats 3 s. 6d. a quarter. Ib. 797.

(*l*) We may perceive, in the chartularies of Kelso, and Coldingham, that *hay* was then made, for winter provender: Hay had even then become subject to tithes; and there is a letter to the monks of St. Bothan, desiring them to pay 12 d. or one pound of peper, "pro decimis *foeni* ejusdem "prati in Byli." Chart. Colding. 21. *Hay*, and mills, paid tithes, in England, as early as 1225. Prynne, iii. 71.

(*m*) Caledonia, 796-7. Chart. Kelso, No. 4.

(*n*) Peter de Haig, of Bemerside, granted to the monks of Dryburg, two bovates of land, and one messuage, "et horto," in his territory of Bemerside. Chart. Dryb. No. 97. Nicolas Mayses granted in 1307, to the monks of Kelso his right "in illo cottagio, cum *horto*" which Tyock, the wife of Andrew, held of him, in Bondington, near Berwick. Chart. Kelso, No. 41.

(*o*) Caledonia, i. 793. Ada, of Fawnys, granted to the canons of Dryburgh a *petary*, in the territory of Fawnys. Chart. Dryb. No. 145. Sir Adam Gordon granted to the same canons another *petary*, in the same place. Ib. 146. Richard de Fawnys granted to the same canons a *turbary*, in Fawnys. Ib. 149. This grant was confirmed by Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar. Ib. 150. *Fawnys* is now *Fans*, in Earlston parish. The monks of Kelso had two petaries, in the territory of Gordon, where they dug their peats. Chart. Kelso, 20. Thomas de Gordon conferred on those monks, "quandam partem *petarie* meo, que vocatur *Brun-moss*, in territorio de Gordon," with land, for the conveniency of working the moss; and also the liberty of pulling *heath*, wherever they can, in the several territories of Thornditch, and Gordon; and to take wood from his woods: In consideration, of their agreeing to bury him, in their cemetery of Kelso. Ib. 121. William de Hetley granted to the monks of Kelso leave, and power, "construendi et habendi super terram meam de "Melocstane *pontem* ultra rivulum de Blackburn," to carry their peits, and other goods, beyond the said bridge. Ib. 135-6.

so much skill, and comfort, as to justify the praise of Alexander III., for the *gamon*, and *glee*, which were enjoyed under his plenteous reign. But, his demise, without issue, or a successor, ruined all. Bloody, and wasteful wars, for the succession of the crown, ensued. What agriculture could the husbandman have, during hostile ages, when the great operations of perpetual warfare consisted, in frightful devastations (*p*). The events, which constitute the history of Scotland, during those rugged times, and of which Berwickshire had its full share of frequent waste, and woe, evince how impossible it was, for the tillers of the soil, to pursue their useful labours, upon any settled principles, even down, almost, to our own times (*q*).

It is a more agreeable task, to trace the beginning of its agricultural improvements, than to recapitulate the progress of its miseries. The legislature laboured in vain, during those wretched ages, when it tried, by salutary laws, to animate a ruined peasantry. It was only, at *the Union*, that the star of agricultural

(*p*) The value of the rental of Berwickshire, at the demise of Alexander III., in 1286, and of David II. in 1371, was, in the proportion of £622 to £372. Caledonia, i. 816. In 1467, there was an inquisition made, under the authority of Parliament, of each man's rent, in each shire. In Berwickshire, the inquisitors were, the prior of Coldingham, and the laird of Nisbet. Parl. Rec. 151. I presume, it is vain, to inquire after the result of that inquisition into every man's rent.

(*q*) John Ray, the botanist, who made a *simpling* journey, along the east coast, to Scotland, in 1660, made the following remarks: He was, at Berwick, on the 16th of August. "The river "Tweed is here joined with a stone bridge of 15 arches. Here hath been a very goodly castle, "which is now demolished. The upper town is encompassed with a wall, which is not very "strong; within this wall is a large ground, or green, whereunto the inhabitants bring their cattle, "and let them stay all night, and in the morning drive them out again to pasture. The lower town "is very strongly fortified, with a broad, and deep ditch of water, and against it an impenetrable "bank of earth, faced with freestone against the ditch. This town is still kept with a strong "garrison. Here, we saw in the cliff, by the shore, a cave, called the Burgesses cave, not worth "the remembering, and a hole in the rock, through which a boat may pass, at full sea, called the "Needle's Eye. We observed little, or *no fallow grounds*, in Scotland; some *ley ground*, we saw, "which they manured with sea wreck. The men seemed to be very lazy; and may be frequently "observed, to plough in their cloaks. It is the fashion of them to wear cloaks, when they go "abroad, but especially, on Sundays. They have neither good bread, cheese, nor drink. They can- "not make them, nor will they learn. Their butter is very indifferent, and one would wonder how "they could contrive to make it so bad. They use much pottage, made of coalwort, which they "call *kail*, sometimes broth of decorticated barley. The ordinary country houses are pitiful cots, "built of stone, and covered with turfs, having in them, but one room; many of them no "chimneys, the windows very small holes, and not glazed. The ground, in the valleys, and "plains, bears very good corn, but especially bears barley, or bigge, and oats, but rarely wheat, "and rye." See Select Remains of the learned John Ray. Lond. 1760. 185-89.

meliorations

meliorations began to twinkle (*r*). But, the year 1723, the epoch of the Society of Improvers, at Edinburgh, was also the epoch of georgical improvements, in every shire (*s*). The year 1730 is stated, however, as the true era of efficient, and lasting improvements, in Berwickshire. Mr. Swinton, of Swinton, is recorded, as having then begun "to drain, marle, and inclose his whole lands, "which are still the best fenced estate, in the Merse (*t*)." He was immediately followed, by Mr. Home of Eccles, in this useful pursuit. But, 1746 is marked, as the year, when the late Henry Home, Lord Kaimes, began to improve his paternal estate, by the introduction of turnip husbandry, for the sustentation of cattle; and the cultivation of potatoes, by the plough, for the food of man. He was followed, in those useful practices, by other country gentlemen, who extended his noble example (*u*). Among those improvers, was conspicuous, Mr. Fordyce, of Ayton, who has the merit of adding a new plant, the Scotish cabbage, to the husbandry of Berwickshire (*x*). Mr. Lumisden of Blanerne, after adopting all former improvements, by his practice, introduced the Essex oats, the Siberian barley, and carrots, as an article of husbandry (*y*). To all those, must be added the late Doctor Hutton, the geologist, who, after studying practical agriculture, in Norfolk, and in Flanders, began to improve his estate of Sleighouses, near Duns, in 1755 (*z*). Yet, had all those examples been vain, if the farmers had not generally concurred, in adopting the most useful practices, and in considering improvement, and profit, as in effect the same. This spirit was active, in 1776, when Wight, the agricultural tourist, cast his intelligent eyes upon Berwickshire (*a*). The high state of georgical meliorations, in Berwickshire, is plainly owing to the minute division of the territorial property: There are no overgrown estates here: And thus, is Berwickshire distinguished, by a state of property most friendly, in essential respects, to the true interests of genuine agriculture (*b*). In addition to the benefits of inclosing, and the advantages of draining, the means of fertility were marle, and lime:

(*r*) In Lord Belhaven's *Advice to the Farmers*. By the union, a great, and ready market was opened, in England, for the cattle, and othe products of agriculture, though the fact seems to be, that the price of wool greatly fell, when the export of it, by sea, was prohibited.

(*s*) Maxwell's *Select Transactions* of this Society, 1743.

(*t*) Bruce's Agricult. View, 103. (*u*) Ib. 104. (*x*) Id. (*y*) Id.

(*z*) Ib. 105; Phil. Trans. Edin. v. 45.

(*a*) Agricultural Survey, vii. 277—354. "This county, says he, opens a fine view to a specu-"lative farmer; as, here, every sort of improvement goes on sweetly."

(*b*) Home's Report, 19-20: The medium amongst the yearly rentals of estates may be taken, he says, from £300 to £1200 sterling; and one estate only exceeds £5000.

The

The practice of marling continued till the year 1758: This slow fructifier was succeeded, by the more active energizer, lime, which was itself somewhat superceded, before 1780, by the excellent methods of the turnip husbandry, which had now become general.

Yet, is it, commonly, agreed that, all those efforts had been made, without ultimate success, if roads had not been established, and communications formed, as the first principle of all rural improvements. The two great roads, from Edinburgh to London, which pass through Berwickshire, the one by Greenlaw to Cornhill, upon the western extremity, and the other by the Press to Berwick, upon the eastern, were the first roads, that were placed under the useful regimen of turnpike laws: The first was made under an act, which was passed in 1759 (*c*); the other was formed, under an act passed, in 1787 (*d*): The roads, in Berwickshire, extend to upwards of 647 miles. Yet, were not they made, without opposition, by those, who did not, or would not, see the useful consequences, that would result to their country, from those improvements (*e*) The Coldstream bridge was opened, in 1766; the Pees bridge was finished, in 1789: And those two bridges, by facilitating communications, have contributed, in a high degree, to the improvement of Berwickshire, connected as they are with those great roads, which are kept in good repair; and which enable the husbandmen to send out their products, as well as to bring in both lime, and coals.

The climate of Berwickshire is rather unfriendly to those improvers, who have not been diligent, by plantation, to shelter the bare, and to warm the chill (*f*). By draining the moisture from the surface; by supplying more abundant, and better fuel; the lower orders have become much more healthy (*g*). Along the coast, and along the Tweed, the climate is mild; but, as one advances into the heart of the country, the air is felt to be cooler, every mile, as he proceeds, till

(*c*) 33 Geo. II. ch. 56. It was under this Act, that the bridge, near Coldstream, was erected. The celebrated Smeaton was the engineer; Robert Read was the mason: It was begun, on the 7th of July 1763; it was opened, for carriages, on the 28th of October 1766; and it was finished, in the subsequent December.

(*d*) 27 G. III. ch. 89:-Under this Act was erected the Pees bridge: By the 29 G. III. ch. 42, there were granted out of the forfeited estates, £1000, for completing the Pees bridge.

(*e*) In July 1792, the most violent tumults broke out, in Berwickshire, on account of those turnpike roads. Stat. Acco. xv. 182.

(*f*) Home's Report, 11. Before the year 1794, almost the whole, or two-thirds, at least, of the lands, in the lower district [the Merse] were inclosed; and a considerable part of the arable lands, in the higher district, [Lammermoor] were also inclosed. Low's View, 45.

(*g*) The Stat. Acco. throughout.

he has advanced upwards 1,000 feet above the sea-level; and it requires another elevation of 300 feet, before he can mount the heights, which form a part of a high ridge, that stretches from sea to sea (*h*); and is chilled, by a constant current of noisome winds, and by frequent rains.

Of old, as we have seen, every manor had its waste, or common, whereon the tenants were entitled to feed their flocks, in various proportions: But, this ancient state has long since been changed; no promiscuous pasturages now exist: And even the commons of Lauder, of Duns, and of Coldingham, have been at length divided, and in a great measure appropriated (*i*). Even the old distinctions, of *infield*, and *outfield*, have almost disappeared, though the infield is still the most productive, and the outfield requires the most manurance. By all those measures, the rents of farms have advanced, in the progress of improvement, from ten to fifty pounds, and from a hundred to eight hundred, and even to a thousand pounds, a-year. It has now become the firm persuasion of the shire, "that small tenants cannot contribute to the improvement of it, or to the "raising the rents:" Yet, are there intelligent men, who do not approve of over-grown farms, as they think they will not, in the end, prove either useful to the proprietors, or advantageous to the state. This sentiment is warranted by the fact: For, farmers of great skill, and stock, have emigrated, from the circumscribed bounds of Berwickshire to other counties, for carrying on their useful labours, without feeling "the *rack* of this rough world (*k*)."

It may be easily supposed of such husbandmen, that they well know, how to practise all the *artifices* of agriculturalists. There is a wonderful dexterity among the farmers, in this shire, saith Low, in turning their lands, from tillage to grass, and from grass to tillage, according to their fears of loss, or hope of profit (*l*). The rotation of crops they know how to manage, to the greatest advantage: Fallow is followed by turnips; barley prepares the ground for grass-seeds; and hay, or pasture, is followed by wheat: But, there is a

(*h*) Low's View, 11. (*i*) Ib. 50. (*k*) Home's Report, 30.

(*l*) General View of the Berwick Agriculture, 14. We may remember, that John Ray, the botanist, found, in 1660 the forefathers of those farmers, not very skilful, nor very willing, to learn. This marks a considerable progress, in the character of this useful race. John Ray, also, remarked, that the ploughmen *put on their cloaks*, when they went to plough. Mr. Home observes, in his Agricultural report, 100, that the labouring-servants "have put off the long clothing, tardy pace, "and lethargic look of their forefathers, for the short doublet, the linen trowsers, the quick step, "of men, who are labouring for their own behoof, and work up to the spirit of their cattle, and "the rapid evolutions of the threshing mill." Here, then, is another step, in the progressive advancement of a very useful class.

peculiarity,

peculiarity, in the rotation of crops here, which evinces the sagacity of the farmers, that there is really no fixed rotation, but each husbandman adopts such crops, as are most suitable to the occasion. This is the very essence of good husbandry, which Tusser himself would commend (*m*). The change, however, is very rapid, from tillage to grass, and from grass to tillage, without much regard to any settled rotation. In this county, the rearing of stock is a great object. Sheep are bred in vast numbers; cattle are fed to great advantage; swine are reared to some profit; but, of horses they do not raise a sufficient supply, for the various uses of their domestic economy. It is another mark of the great sagacity of the Berwickshire farmers, that each kind of their stock seems the best adapted to their several pastures, and pursuits (*n*). Here, those theorists, who are given to change, might learn a lesson, that it is not the best stock, which is to be desired; but, the best stock, for the clime, and pasturage.

The result of all those efforts of melioration, by the proprietors, and farmers, during seventy years of skilful diligence, may be estimated thus:

	Sterling.		
The yearly value of corn grown	£373,786	4	0
The yearly value of the pasturage	108,812	11	3
The whole value of the agricultural products	482,598	15	3
The whole expenditure, in rent, labour, subsistence, seed, contingencies, &c.	405,505	11	5
The farmers profit	77,093	3	10
The living of the farmers is stated at	82,600	0	0
The farmers income	159,693	3	10
The rents paid to the landlords	112,000	0	0 (*o*)

It used to be remarked, by the late Lord Elibank, of the Merse husbandmen, that they were begot in mud, were bred in mud, and abounded in muddy ideas. Never was sarcastic wit so ill applied! Among the intelligent people of

(*m*) Ib. 28. (*n*) Low's View, 19.

(*o*) Home's Report, 104-5-6. The above account, was drawn up, by that well-informed writer, in 1797. He adds that, out of twenty-seven purchases of land, within these twenty years, in Berwickshire, fifteen of them have been made, by tenants, from their profits. The very well-informed, and experienced Alexander Low, who sketched the "General View of the Agriculture of "Berwickshire, in 1794, wrote me, on the 19th of September 1807, that he thinks the rental of "Berwickshire may have doubled, since he drew up his account of it." MS. Letter.

the British dominions, there is not any body of men, who have clearer heads, more resolute hearts, or more diligent hands, than the husbandmen of Berwickshire. When the trustees for fisheries, and manufactures, sent Wight, to inspect the agriculture of that county, they showed him their farms, and explained to him their practices: And when he wrote them, for additional informations, they sent him answers, the clearest, and most candid (*p*). Such, then, are the characters of those respectable men, to whom the state owes great obligations, for having made so large a district produce an infinity of food, more than it had ever yielded, in any former period. They are reprehended, indeed, by fastidious moralists, for living too high (*q*): But, men of great skill, great capital, and great enterprize, have a right to live high; and their women, and children, have a fair pretence to partake of their good fortunes (*r*). Much has thus been done, for the agricultural improvement of Berwickshire; and perhaps little remains to be done, for carrying it up to possible perfection (*s*).

But, Berwickshire does not claim the honour, or enjoy the profits, which belong to a manufacturing country. In this shire, like every other, there must have always been a domestic manufacture, for private uses (*t*). Of this nature, are the woolen fabrics of the present day: The wool is sold, in the great, without the county. The manufactures of this shire, whatever they were of old, are said to have declined, with the rise, and progress of agriculture (*u*). There has

(*p*) Wight's Agricultural Tour, ii. throughout. (*q*) Statistical Accounts.

(*r*) Of their forefathers, John Ray, the botanist, remarked, in 1660, "that they lay out most "they are worth in clothes; and a fellow that hath scarcely ten groats besides to help himself "with, you shall see come out of his smoaky cottage, clad like a gentleman." Ray's Itinerary, 189. Here is another point of comparison. The present farmers appear like gentlemen, and no longer live in *smoaky cottages*, not from their *lazyness*, but their industry; not from their poverty, but their wealth; not from their ignorance, but from their skilful application of the most efficacious means.

(*s*) The agricultural reports of the county of Berwick have been lately drawn up, with great knowledge, and elaboration, by Mr. Low, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. Home: I lament, that the narrowness of my plan should prevent me, from borrowing their intelligent statements, and larger details, to a greater extent.

(*t*) In 1371, there existed a *fulling*-miln, at Lauder, which had, perhaps, come down, from the Morville's, of the 12th century; and was certainly forfeited by their representatives, Alan Le-Zuche, and John Baliol. Robertson's Index, 93. Now, Lauder has never been famous, for its manufactures. In 1473, there was, in Parliament, an action between Oliver of Lauder, and David Pringill, touching the thrilling [thirling, astricting] of the lands of Pilmur to the *miln of Lauder*. It was referred, by the lords auditors, to an inquest; but, the proceeding was stopped, by the king's letters: The lords referred it to the king, thinking that the inquisition ought still to be taken. Parl. Rec. 179.

(*u*) Home's Report, 107.

been

been a saltwork. There are several breweries, a distillery, and tanneries, which are all connected with husbandry. There is a white thread manufacture; and there are bleachfields. The manufacture of kelp, on the shores of Berwickshire, have taken the commodious place of the former salt-works (*x*). There are three paper-mills, which send out their products to other districts, and which return the undertakers, every year, £11,000 (*y*). There is, indeed, in this shire, a sickly manufacture of linen, which is made for sale, and not for family use (*z*). There are seventy-four corn mills, in this shire, which yield a rent to the landlord of £4,255; and the profits to the several millers, are estimated, at £12,765: The milns, which stand within ten miles of Berwick, and Eymouth, export their manufactures of corn to a great value (*a*).

The origin of the *sheriffs fiers*, in Berwickshire, which are, yearly, settled, at Candlemas, for the preceding crop, cannot be ascertained, amid the obscurities of anarchical times. Their commencement, however, must have been some time after the year 1627, which may be deemed their earliest epoch, in any shire. Notwithstanding all the attempts to acquire uniformity of weights, and of measures, Berwickshire has felt the various inconveniences of their dissimilarities, at the several periods of its embarrassments, and prosperity (*b*).

Neither is Berwickshire a commercial country, though it was the first to take the lead in traffic. Berwick-town had merchants, during the early reigns of

(*x*) Stat. Acco. iii. 18; xii. 46.

(*y*) Low's Agricult. View, 73; and Home's Report, 167.

(*z*) In the three years, which ended with 1789, the average produce was 21,295 yards, of the value of £1,628 sterling. In the three years, which ended in 1800, the average produce was 17,606 yards, of the value of £1,613.

(*a*) Home's Agricult. Report.

(*b*) In 1750, the corn measures of Berwickshire were adjusted to the Linlithgow standard. Scots Mag. 395. Yet, the *boll*, which is most generally used, for barley, and oats, is equal to one boll six pints Scots standard measure; or six bushels, one peck, and 2.4 cubic inches, English standard; and is a fraction more than two lipies greater than the Linlithgow, and Edinburgh boll. Till 1724, the boll of meal was rated, according to the old measure; yet, is it now eight stone Scots troy, which is equal to 140 pounds averdupois; being the same as the Linlithgow boll. According to a seven years average of *the fiers*, ending with 1795, the prices were, of wheat 23 s. 9 d.; barley 17 s. 9 d.; oats 13 s. 6 d.; pease 16 s.; and oatmeal 14 s. 6 d. a boll. On this subject, see the Statistical Account of Greenlaw, xiv. 514. The fiers of the Merse barley were first settled, in 1752, which seems to intimate, that barley began to be then an object of common cultivation. The fiers of the barley of Lamermoor were first adjusted, in 1788, which seems to show the more recent cultivation of it, in this high situation, which produces corn of less weight, and value, than the Merse below.

Malcolm IV.,

Malcolm IV., and David I. (*b*). Both at the commencement, and the conclusion, of the Scoto-Saxon period, Berwick-town was probably the principal port of Scotland: It brought in the wines, and groceries, and merceries, which the wants of a coarse people demanded; and it exported the rude produce of the flocks, and herds, during a pastoral, rather than a commercial age (*c*). It was, from ancient times, one of the *four burroughs*, which regulated the traffic of Scotland. After Berwick-town had ceased to belong to North-Britain, it continued to be a place of great consequence, for war, for treaties, and for trade (*d*). Edward II. had a *cambium*, or mint, at Berwick, as William, the lion, had had before him (*e*). In 1482, Berwick, and Carlisle, were made the legal staples, for the products of Scotland (*f*). Many ships seem never to have belonged to Berwick-town. In 1801, it had only 62 vessels, carrying 5,150 tons (*g*). The Berwick *smacks*, during late times, are praised, for their expedition, and safety, which are said to surpass any other vessels, in our island. (*h*). But, Berwick-town, though the natural, is not now the proper port of Berwickshire. The whole coast, from Berwick bounds, to Dunglas, is included in the customhouse district of Dunbar, which was established, in 1710 (*i*). This port, though it includes the creeks of Eymouth, Coldingham, and Cockburnspath, possesses only 20 vessels, carrying 2,321 tons; and thus may we perceive, how little shipping belongs to Berwick coast (*k*). But,

(*b*) David I. when he granted to the monks of St. Cuthbert various manors, along the coast of Berwickshire, confirmed to them "fracturum navium," the right in *shipwrecks*. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 17.

(*c*) See the Chartularies of those times: The religious houses, on the Tweed, employed their tenants, who owed them *carriage-services*, to transport their hides, and skins, and wool, and corn, to Berwick-port; and to bring back, with them wines, groceries, merceries, and coals: The tenants of the monks of Kelso were bound, to perform their services to Berwick. Chart. Kelso, 12, 13, 15. The road along the Tweed, from Melros, Kelso, and Dryburg, was founderous; but the performers of *those services* appropriated their loads, and their time, to the roads of summer, and of winter.

(*d*) Ayloff's Cal. Index, in vo. Berwick.

(*e*) Edward II. appointed R. de Sutton comptroller of the customs, et *cambij*, at Berwick-upon-Tweed. Abbrev. Rot. Origin. i. 227. From Edward II. the burgesses of Berwick had to firm the whole fishings of the Tweed, on both sides, from the Ord to the sea. Ib. 258.

(*f*) By 22. Ed. IV. ch. 8. (*g*) Customhouse Register.

(*h*) Fuller's Hist. Berwick town, 421-26.

(*i*) In 1369, when Berwick, and Roxburgh, were both in the hands of the English, and carried on most of the trade of Berwickshire, Dunbar was erected, by David II. into a port, which was to be co-extensive with the earldom of the *March*. Robertson's Index, 80.

(*k*) MS. Customhouse Report.

Berwick

Berwick still continues to be the principal place, for carrying on the whole trade of the eastern, and lower districts of this shire. Eymouth, however, a creek of the port of Dunbar, and the only harbour for shipping, in this county, has been raised up, as a competitor to Berwick. Yet, though much money was expended, in 1750, and an additional sum, in 1770, for erecting, at Eymouth, two piers, it continues to be little more than a fishing village, with half a dozen boats (*l*). Eymouth, as a place of trade, is obviously overshadowed by Berwick, on the south, and Leith, on the northward. The whole exports of this shire consist now, as they have always done, of the produce of agriculture: The cattle, and sheep, are driven, southward, into England, by the bridges of Berwick, Coldstream, and Kelso; and are sent, northward, to Edinburgh, along the eastern road, from Greenlaw, and along the western, from Dunglas. The corn, and flour, and meal, are exported from Berwick, and Eymouth, to a great amount, and value; and for all these, there are considerable markets, at Dalkeith, and Edinburgh, which are supplied, by the farmers, through the easy means of the two turnpike roads, from Berwick bounds, on the east, and from Coldstream, on the west. The imports, both by sea, and land; consist of timber, iron, slates, pantyles, grass seeds, salt, rags, lime, coal (*m*). From all those intimations, it is sufficiently apparent, that the domestic affairs of Berwickshire, are in a very prosperous state.

(*l*) Yet, Eymouth seems to have had shipping of old: There is the "Magna Placitatio, in curia "de Eyton, pro duodecim denariis male receptis, per J. Kinkborn, nomine sedis unius navis, apud "Eymouth." Ab. Chart. Coldingham, 22. Low's View, 85; Bruce's Appendix, 108; Stat. Acco. iii. 115.

(*m*) Low's View, 69. The subjoined table will give an idea, sufficiently precise, of the whole value of the produce of Berwickshire:

	£.	s.	d.
Of the products of *land*, the value was, in 1797	487,398	15	3
of manufactures	35,451	13	4
of the Tweed rental for fishery	1,500	0	0
of the sea fishery	1,188	2	0
The whole gross value	£525,538	10	7
But, deduct for the landlord, and tenant	271,693	3	10
Out of the manufacturing produce	16,454	0	0
Out of the waters	2,688	2	0
The clear revenue of Berwickshire	290,835	5	10
	£525,538	10	7 *

* Home's Report, 119.

The

The fisheries of this county have, from early times, been the objects of desire, and of concession. Every religious house had its fisheries, as we may learn, from the chartularies. Earl David bestowed on the monks of Selkirk the half of the fishing, which was called *Berwickstrem* (*n*). The barons were equally bountiful of their fishings to the monks, as the kings (*o*). Throughout every period, since those early times, the fishings of salmon, and trout, in the Tweed, through its whole course, and in its tributary streams, have been objects of particular care (*p*). This fishery, which employs, during the appropriate season, three hundred hands, is dedicated, chiefly, to the supply of London (*q*): And being thus a local, and general good, this fishery has been regulated, and protected, by several parliaments (*r*). The shores of Berwickshire have also a herring, and white-fishery, which employ two and twenty boats, with one hundred and twenty-five men, who feel, by turns, the extremes of abundance, and of penury (*s*).

(*n*) Chart. Kelso, No. 4. He confirmed this grant, after he became king. Ib. No. 1. David I. gave the canons of Jedburgh, "Unam aquam que est contra insulam que vocatur Townsendhope," at Berwick. Earl Henry gave the same canons a fishing, at Berwick. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 29. David I. gave to the monks of Dunfermlin, "tractum de *Aldestelle*," in Berwick. Ib. 105. Malcolm IV. conferred on the monks of Melros, a fishing in the Tweed, at Selkirk, "et unum rete "in Berwick streme de duobus retibus meis que habui in Berwick streme." Chart. Melros, No. 56. A jury of Berwickshire freeholders, sitting at Edinburgh, on the 15th June 1480, found for the monks of Dunfermlin, as to the fishing of *Aldstelle*, "that since there are *two cobils*, and *two nets*, "there ought to be two draughts, for ilk cobil, and ilk net." MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 22. Robert I. granted to the monks of Melros certain fishings, and a tenement, at Berwick. Robertson's Index, 3. The same king granted to the monks of Newbotle, "decem mercatas argenti annuatim "de *piscaria* de Edir-inch super Twedam." Id.

(*o*) Bernard de Baliol conferred on the monks of Kelso, a fishing in the Tweed, called Wudehorn-stell; and this grant was confirmed by David I. Chart. Kelso, No. 51. 32. In the 12th century, John de Huntington, rector of Durisdeer, granted to the monks of Kelso, a fishing, in the Tweed, called the *Folestream*. Ib. 27. During the reign of Alexander II. Claribald de Olifard granted to the monks of Coldingham, two fishings in the Tweed. Chart. Colding. 18. William de Mordington gave to the same monks a fishing in the *Shipswell*, with a *stell net*. Id. Roger de Quincey, the Earl of Winchester, gave the monks of Dryburg the liberty of fishing in the *lake* of *Mer*-ton. Chart. Dryb. No. 104. For this lake, see Blaeu, No. 8. It has since been drained for the marl in it.

(*p*) Home's Report, 110. On the 19th of October 1669, there passed the Scotish parliament, "a recommendation, for the heretors of Berwickshire, concerning the fishing on Tweed." Unprinted Act of that date.

(*q*) Home's Rep. 113. (*r*) 11 G. III. ch. 27; 15 G. III. ch. 46.

(*s*) Home's Report, 117. The value of all those fisheries amounts, yearly, as we have seen, to 2,688l. 2 s. sterling. Ib. 119.

The

The writers on the agricultural state of Berwickshire have been studious to show, that as it has, by various improvements, been made to produce a greater number of cattle, and sheep; so have the same improvements produced a greater number of men. It may be regarded, as a maxim, that animals of every kind may be multiplied, in proportion to the multiplication of their subsistence: But, it is one of the objects of the agricultural system, to do more work, with fewer men. And, the converting of *villages* into *farms* is unfavourable to the increase of people. The fact must decide this difficult question of domestic economy. From 1791, to 1801, was the period, which succeeded the agricultural improvements: And it is apparent, that the population of this prosperous district, has not kept pace with its efforts. While the farms were freed from their superfluous inhabitants, the people have not any where, within the influence of this shire, collected into any great bodies. Berwick-town contains only 7,200 souls; Duns, 3,163; Coldingham, 2,391; Coldstream, 2,269; Lauder, 1,760; and Greenlaw, the shire-town, 1,270 souls. As consumers of the produce of the country, such towns cannot have any great effect. The influence, however, of the fairs of this shire upon its own products, and the happy influences of the more distant markets of the Lothians, on the north, and of Northumberland, on the south, have been shown, by the agricultural reporters, with great sagacity of observation, and pertinence of remark (*t*). It is unnecessary to repeat how much the demands of London, the *great market*, promote the agricultural system of Berwickshire.

§ VIII. *Of its Ecclesiastical History.*] Berwickshire, owing to whatever cause, contains, scarcely, any remains of druid worship (*u*). Christianity was introduced here, in the seventh century, as we have seen, though its establishment assumed a singular form. In a rude age, when parishes had not yet been laid out, religious houses were founded, as the receptacles for men, and women, who dedicated their recluse lives to the study of observances, and the inculcation of the faith (*x*). The monastery of Coldingham, the *Coludi urbs* of Bede, the

(*t*) Low's View, 23; Home's Report, ch. vi.

(*u*) This circumstance is equally true, throughout Lothian, the early country of the Pagan Saxons: And, as Druid remains may be found, in every other district of North Britain, there is reason to suspect, that the Druid remains may have been the peculiar objects of their pagan enmity: The religious houses of Christian times were also the marked objects of their odious devastation.

(*x*) The epoch of the religious house, and bishoprick of Lindisfarne, is 635 A. D., during thereign of Oswald: And this house was considered, as the origin of all the churches, and monasteries, in *Bernicia*, that is, of Lothian. Leland's Col. ii. 365.

Colingham of Hoveden, was founded, for the reception both of male, and female votaries: St. Ebb, the daughter, and sister of kings, became its abbess, in 670 A. D., and had St. Cuthbert, for its instructor (*y*). After various fortunes, this house was destroyed by the savage Danes, in 870 A. D.; But, whether it were re-established, as a religious house, after that sad event, is somewhat doubtful, whatever the chroniclers may feign.

The ancient bishoprick of Lindisfarne extended throughout every part of Berwickshire (*z*). With the decline of the Northumbrian authority, the jurisdiction of the bishop of Lindisfarne receded to the southward of the Tweed. As early, however, as the epoch of the Scoto-Saxon period, in 1097, the ecclesiastical power of the bishop of St. Andrews extended over the whole range of Berwickshire (*a*). In 1150 A. D., an episcopal synod sat, in Berwick-town, under the authority of the proper Metropolitan (*b*). The archdeacon of Lothian, who derived his ecclesiastical authority, from the bishop of St. Andrews, exercised his useful jurisdiction over the whole parishes of Berwickshire (*c*). The *deanry* of the *Merse* comprehended not only the whole churches of Berwickshire, as early as the reign of William, the lion, but also a few parishes in the shire of Roxburgh, and Edinburgh (*d*). The archdeacon of Lothian, and the dean of the

(*y*) Bede, l. iv. c. 19—25.

(*z*) Leland Collect. ii. 181; and see a more minute description of the northern limits of the episcopate of Lindisfarne, in the same Collection, i. 366, wherein the rivers of Berwickshire are specially mentioned, as lying within its ancient limits.

(*a*) The chartularies of Coldingham, Dryburgh, and Kelso, prove the fact. The Tweed was the limit of the bishoprick of St. Andrews, as far up, as the Gala water, and from the Gala, it ran along the ridge, which separates Lothian from Tweedale, and Clydesdale.

(*b*) Chart. Colding. 41; Smith's Bede, Appx. No. xx. The bishop of St. Andrews granted to the monks of Durham an exemption, from attending such synods. Id.

(*c*) Smith's Bede, Apx. No. xx; and Chart. Coldingham, 43. In a charter of David I. dated, at Pebles, in 1126 A. D. to Coldingham, Anselmus, *Archidiaconus*, is a witness. Robertson's Index, 155: This was, no doubt, the *archdeacon* of Lothian.

(*d*) According to the *ancient taxatio*, [Chart. Arbroath] the *Decanatus de Mers* contained the following parishes, which were assessed, as under;—

	Mercas.		Mercas.
Ecclesia de Aldcambus	15	Ecclesia de Edirham	100
Ecclesia de Coldingham, cum Capella	120	Ecclesia de Duns	110
Ecclesia de Lambirton	15	Ecclesia de Ellum	26
Ecclesia de Berwyk	110	Ecclesia de Cranschaws	12
Ecclesia de Morthyngton	24	Ecclesia Sti Boithani	50
Ecclesia de Fulden	24	Ecclesia de Langton	30
Ecclesia de Chirnesyd	50	Ecclesia de Fyschwyk	30

Ecclesia

the Merse, were persons of great note, as well as authority, in those times (*e*). The deanry of the Merse, however, appears to have been afterwards restricted to much narrower limits (*f*). When the bishoprick of Edinburgh was established, by Charles I., in 1633, he gave it the same authorities over Berwickshire (*g*). Under that judicious regimen, the ecclesiastical affairs of this ample district continued to be fitly managed, till *the Reformation* placed it under the popular jurisdiction of synods, and presbyteries.

Connected with the bishops, the archdeacons, and deans, of ancient times, were the religious houses, which owed obedience to the diocesan power of the episcopate of St. Andrews (*b*). Coldingham, as it was the oldest of all those monasteries, which were established, during the Scoto-Saxon period, as well as the most various, and instructive in its history, merits the most particular notice.

Coldingham was founded, during the reign of Edgar, who considered himself, as much indebted, for his crown, to St. Cuthbert's aid, as to the assistance

	Mercas.		Mercas.
Ecclesia de Hornden - Sol	100	Ecclesia de Home - - -	24
Ecclesia de Huton - - -	24	Ecclesia de Stychill - - -	35
Ecclesia de Upsetington -	20	Ecclesia de Edinham - -	55
Ecclesia de Hilton - -	18	Ecclesia de Ecclis, cum capellis de Brigeham, Letham, et Mersinton -	100
Ecclesia de Whytusum - -	45	Ecclesia de Smalham - -	45
Ecclesia de Sympring - -	15	Ecclesia de Malkarriston - -	20
Ecclesia de Suinton - - -	35	Ecclesia de Merton - -	40
Ecclesia de Leinas [Lennel] -	30	Ecclesia de Ersildon - -	40
Ecclesia de Foggou - -	40	Ecclesia de Ligeardwood - -	40
Ecclesia de Paulwrthe - - -	12	Ecclesia de Laweder - - -	90
Ecclesia de Grenlau - - -	45	Ecclesia de Wedale - -	70
Ecclesia de Gordyn - -	30	Ecclesia de Chyldinchirche - -	40
Ecclesia de Haliburton - - -	4		

(*e*) In 1221, there was a charter granted "in *pleno capitulo de Mersce*, apud Edenham." Chart. Kelso, No. 254. In a charter of William, dominus de Home, to the monks of Kelso, on the 9th of December 1268, he says, that as his seal was but little known, he had procured the official seal of the archdeacon of Lothian, and of the dean *del Merches*, to be affixed to his deed. Ib. 131.

(*f*) Martine's Reliquiæ divi Andreæ, 517.

(*g*) See the Charter of Erection in Keith's Bishops, 22.

(*b*) The bishop of St. Andrews granted to the monks of Durham, an exemption, from attending the episcopal synods, within his diocese. Smith's Bede, Appx. No. 20; and the cartæ episcoporum St. Andreae, in the chartulary of Coldingham. The monks of Coldingham were, however, subject to the visitation of the same bishop, who was entitled, on such visitations, to meat, and drink, from them. Chart. Colding. 46.

of William Rufus (*i*). With this conviction on his mind, Edgar knew no bounds to his liberalities to the monks of St. Cuthbert, at Durham: And his subjects, and his successors, followed the example of Edgar; as indeed the name of Cuthbert was long revered, throughout the Northumbrian districts. Edgar granted to those monks many lands, and churches (*k*); which were confirmed by Alexander I., and David I., and Malcolm IV., and William. The Earls of Dunbar gave the same monks Ederham, and Nesbit, with their churches, and chapels, and other immunities, and privileges (*l*).

The year 1098 is the epoch of the foundation of the priory of Coldingham, by the abbot of Durham, who sent a detachment of monks thither; and constituted this priory a cell of Durham. The church of St. Mary, at Coldingham, was now dedicated to this object: And Edgar himself, attending the dedication, endowed it, with the village of Swinton; giving the monks of St. Cuthbert four and twenty beasts, for restoring the cultivation of this hamlet; with half a mark of money, from each carucate, in Coldinghamshire; and confirming the same peace, within this district, as Holyisland, or Norham, enjoyed (*m*). Edgar granted, moreover, to those monks, Paxton, with the waters, and *the men;* and also Fishwic, with the lands, lying between Cnapdene, and Hornedene (*n*). Yet,

(*i*) The legend, as recorded by Fordun, supposes that, St. Cuthbert appeared to Edgar, in a vision, as he marched to Scotland; offered him his standard, and promised him his aid: The fact is, that the standard of St. Cuthbert was carried before the army of Edgar, as the standard of St. John of Beverley was displayed before a greater prince, than Edgar, Edward I., when he marched to conquer, or to chastise Scotland.

(*k*) He granted them the *mansiones* of Coldingham, Alcambus, Lumesdene, Regnuntun, [Renton] Ristun, Swinewood, Farndun, Eitun, another Eitun, Prenegest, and Cramsmuthe. Of *mansiones*, the glossarists have not distinctly settled the meaning. But, the confirmatory charter of David I. granted in 1126, mentions the same places, by the more intelligible word *terras* instead of *mansiones*; adding the two Lambertons, Paxton, Fishwike, and Swyntoun; as indeed Edgar had granted Fishwike, Paxton, and Swynton before him. See Edgar's five genuine charters, in Anderson's Independance, Appx. No. 2. Thor-longus gave those monks Ednaham, with its church. Ib. No. 6. See David I. charter in Robertson's Index, 155. Those charters of Edgar seem to have been confirmed, by William Rufus; but, the two duplicated charters, which were published, by Anderson, in his *Independance*, Appx. No. 5. are plainly interpolated. The lands granted, by those charters, are all known, at this day, though the spelling of the names be somewhat varied: Farndun is probably Fairnside, Prenegest is now Prendergest, Cramesmuthe was, perhaps *Crame*-crook, in Dunse parish, on the Whiteader, at the mouth of a rivulet, in a bend, which was called Crams-*crook*.

(*l*) See the chartulary of Coldingham; the Diplom. Scotiæ; Smith's Bede, Appx. No. xx; and Nicolson's Hist. Lib. of Scotland.

(*m*) Anderson's Independ. Appx. 3. No. 4; Smith's Bede, Appx. No. xx. The term of peace, which was granted to those, who fled to St. Cuthbert, for protection, was thirty-seven days. Angl. Sacra, i. 699.

(*n*) Smith's Bede, Appx. xx.

Edgar

Edgar does not say, that he founded the priory of Coldingham, as David I. said he had founded the monastery, in Selkirk, though it must be allowed, that Edgar very richly endowed the church of Mary, at Coldingham (*o*). Malcolm IV. seems to have emulated Edgar, in his favour to the monks of Coldingham (*p*). William, the lion, confirmed all those privileges, and added more (*q*). Alexander II. followed his father's example, in confirming their privileges, and in giving them new ones (*r*). Robert I., not only confirmed all those grants, but gave them the desirable privilege, of taking, yearly, from his forest of Selkirk, five harts, for the usual festival of *St. Cuthbert's translation* (*s*).

The establishment of this well-endowed priory, within the diocese of St. Andrews, gave episcopal jurisdiction to the bishop. As early, however, as 1127, Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, by the advice of David I., and influenced, perhaps, by Archbishop Thurstin, and other dignitaries of the English, and Scotican churches, gave the prior of Coldingham a grant of exemptions from

(*o*) David I. says, "me fundasse quoddam monasterium, in Scelechyrca."

(*p*) He enabled the monks to people their village of Coldingham with *their proper men*, who could not, it seems, remove from the soil, to which they were attached, without the king's consent. He gave them a protection, for their *vileyns*, and empowered them, to reclaim them. He freed the monks, from tolls, from customs, and from other exactions. He converted their woods into forest, or free warren. He exempted them, and their men, from the jurisdiction of Berwick, and indeed from every other judicial authority, except the king himself, or his supreme justice. See the grants of Malcolm IV. in the chartulary of Coldingham. There is also a declaration of the justices in Ayre, sitting at Melros, in 1366, that the prior of Coldingham was not bound to give suit to the king's court. Chart. Coldingham. There is moreover, a declaration of William, the Earl of Douglas, the justiciary on the south of the Forth, in 1371, that the justices of Ayre had no right, to sit, at Coldingham, unless of grace. Id.

(*q*) William issued a writ to the sheriff of Berwick, that he should not make any undue exactions in Coldingham, or in Coldingham shire. He granted them liberty to remove the men of Coldinghamshire, to dwell within the town of Coldingham. Id.

(*r*) He gave them a remission of 20 marks, which they paid *nomine watingæ*. He confirmed their free warren. He exempted their tenants, from being distrained, for any forfeiture, or debt. And he issued a precept to the mayor, and other officers of Berwick, directing them, not to obstruct the agents of the prior of Coldingham, in the sale, and export of his wool. Id. *Watinga*, and *Waytinga*, are frequently mentioned in the chartularies. Now, *Guetagium*, *Gaitagium*, *Vuatagium*, as we may learn from Ducange, signified, "*census* qui solvitur pro *custodia castri*."

(*s*) Robertson's Index, 154-5. David II. confirmed this charter of his father. Ib. 156. Robert III. added his confirmations of their grants, at an epoch, when such charters became of little avail. In the chartulary of Coldingham, there is a vast body of grants, from the nobility, and gentry, of Berwickshire, to the monks of Coldingham, for lands, fishings, mills, pasturages, and other privileges.

the

the payment of *can*, and *cunveth*, with other aids, and services; prohibiting the archdeacon, and dean, from exercising their jurisdiction over the churches of the prior of Coldingham, at the same time, that he gave up his own (*t*). Yet, has not this charter been well observed. Hugh, who governed the see of St. Andrews, from 1178 to 1188, seems to have had a contest with the prior of Durham, about the payment of ecclesiastical dues, which was not settled, without an appeal to the pope (*u*). Roger, the dignified successor of Hugh, granted the prior, and monks, the desirable right, of holding all their churches to their proper use (*x*). The liberal Roger appears to have given them other exemptions of great value, which were also confirmed, by his dean and chapter (*y*). All those confirmations did not prevent controversy. In 1204, they made a composition with William, the bishop of St. Andrews, on their chartered privileges, which did not prevent appeals to the pope (*z*). Claims were successively made, by the bishops, which were ended by conventions (*a*). Trusting to their various exemptions, the prior and monks of Coldingham seem not to have been very punctual, in their attendance on diocesan synods (*b*). They were subject to the visitations of the bishop of St. Andrews, the arch-

(*t*) See this charter in Smith's Bede, Appx. xx. Chart. Coldingham. This ample grant was confirmed by David. I. Id. Yet, it seems not to have been reinforced by any of bishop Robert's successors. In 1329, however, James Bayn, the bishop of St. Andrews, for a present of 200 marks, gave a charter of protection, and favour, and of general acknowledgement of former concessions. Chart. Coldingham, 46. The charter of Robert was always appealed to, when help was wanted. Ib. 53-93.

(*u*) Id.

(*x*) For this important end, Roger gave them three charters, which were confirmed by the dean and chapter of St. Andrews. Chart. Colding. 43. Before the reformation, they had acquired, "in proprios usus," the churches of Coldingham, Aldcamus, Ayton, Fishwick, Swinton, Edenham, Nesbit, Berwick, Bondington, Lamberton, Edenham, Ersildun, Smalham, and Stitchel, with the chapels of Newton, Nenthorn, and others. Chart. Cold. throughout.

(*y*) Those exemptions were, "super *can*, et *cunveth*, *procurationibus*, *hospitiis*, et institutionibus "ecclesiarum." Ib. 43. This grant was deemed of such great importance, that they procured confirmations of it, from the prior of St. Andrews, and the abbot of Dunfermlin. Id.

(*z*) Ib. 44, 53.

(*a*) William Fraser, the bishop of St. Andrews, granted the monks of Coldingham two charters of exemption, "ab hospitio tempore visitationis," in 1286, and 1288. Ib. 45. In 1295, he confirmed their privileges, as to the payment of *can*, and *cunveth*, which was confirmed, by the prior, and convent of St. Andrews. Id.

(*b*) In 1310, Lamberton, the bishop of St. Andrews, issued a precept to the prior of Durham, "quod non comparuit, in synodo, apud St. And. ratione ecclesiarum quas habuit in illa diocesis." Ib 45.

deacon

deacon of Lothian, and the dean of the Merse, as his subordinate officers (*c*). The priors elect were *instituted* by the bishop of St. Andrews, according to the ecclesiastical form (*d*). While this see was vacant, the chapter of St. Andrews executed the same functions, by performing the necessary rite of institution (*e*). During more recent times, while ecclesiastical power was on the wane, the Scotish kings were in use to grant the priors elect admission to the *temporalities* of the priory (*f*).

As Coldingham was planted, by a colony of Benedictine monks, from Durham, the right of election to the priory of Coldingham appears to have belonged to the prior and monks of Durham (*g*). The priors of Durham appear to have exercised, with the priors of Coldingham, a concurrent right over their lands (*h*). And the priors of Durham sometimes presented to the churches, which belonged to the priory of Coldingham (*i*). The prior of Coldingham generally voted at the election of a prior of Durham (*k*). The prior of Coldingham attended, annually, either in person, or by proxy, at a

(*c*) Those *visitations* seem to have been expensive to them: and they were studious to procure exemptions, "ab hospitatione." In 1370, Landels, the bishop of St. Andrews, sent them a "*monitio* de visitatione: et quod prouideant episcopo in esculentis, et poculentis. Ib. 47. This monition, however, seems to have been inconsistent with the exemptions of bishop Bayn, his predecessor, on this head of hospitality. Ib. 46. Bayn seems to have had many money transactions with the prior and monks of Coldingham, to whom he granted the tithe of corn in Swinton, and Wester Nesbit, during four years. Id.

(*d*) Chart. Coldingham throughout: In 1362, there was a mandate from Landels, the bishop of St. Andrews, to institute Robert Walworth, to the priory of Coldingham. Ib. 46. In 1419, William Drax, the sacrist, was so instituted, by the bishop of St. Andrews. Ib. 47. In 1441, John Oll, the prior, was thus instituted. Id. And, in 1456, John Pencher was instituted, in the same manner. Id.

(*e*) Ib. 46. (*f*) Ib. 15-89.

(*g*) Yet, that right was not exercised, without a dispute. Fordun L. xi. c. 23, bestows a whole chapter, "quod Dunolmensis monachi non debent esse in Coldingham." The priors of Coldingham were mostly all Englishmen, from the monks of Durham. In 1276, there was a pension of 108 l. 10s. granted, by Henry de Horncastle, the prior of Coldingham, to the prior of Durham; and that large annuity was not granted, probably, without a valuable consideration: Horncastle was thus probably grateful, for his election. In the whole series of priors of Coldingham, there appear to have been only two, or three Scotsmen.

(*h*) Chart. Colding. throughout.

(*i*) Ib. 43. Roger, the bishop of St. Andrews, admitted Master Alan to the church of Ederham, on the presentation of the prior and convent of Durham. Id.

(*k*) There is a *monitio*, or notice, in 1446, of the sub-prior of Durham to the prior of Coldingham of the day, when the prior would be elected. Chart. Colding. 50.

chapter

chapter of Durham (*l*). The prior of Durham had also the right of appointing the *sacrist* of Coldingham priory, who was generally chosen out of the monks of Durham; and who often rose to be priors of Coldingham. Such, then, was the anomalous nature of this most ancient priory of Berwickshire (*m*).

This monastery seems not to have suffered so much, as those of Melros, and Kelso, though it lay full as near the hostile border; owing to its being the house of St. Cuthbert, and the cell of Durham. Such considerations, however, did not prevent King John, who was not studious of such pious motives, from giving it up to plunder; as he retired from Lothian, in 1216, unappeased by slaughter, unsatiated with prey (*n*). Henry, the prior of Coldingham, swore fealty to Edward I., in June 1291 (*o*). In 1295, Edward I. gave the prior, and monks, his protection (*p*). In August 1296, Henry, the prior, with his convent, again swore fealty to Edward I, at Berwick (*q*); and received, in return, from him a protection for their property (*r*). Edward also confirmed to the monks of Coldingham the several charters of the Scotish kings (*s*): He confirmed to the prior, and monks of Durham, all the lands, in Scotland, which had been granted to them, or to the monks of Coldingham (*t*).

Yet, those various pretections were not sufficient to ensure the safety of the prior, and monks, of Coldingham, during such an age. Anthony Bek, as he owed no good will, either to the prior of Durham, or to the prior of Coldingham, solicited the pope to confer the priory of Coldingham on Hugh, the bishop of

(*l*) In 1460, there was a *procuratorium* of John Pencher, the prior of Coldingham, "ad annuale "capitulum apud Dunelm," Ib. 64.

(*m*) There are several views of Coldingham Abbey, in Cardonel's Pictureseque Antiquities: There is a view of the same church, in Grose's Scots Antiq. 95: But the ruins, which are herein delineated, are, obviously, the remains of buildings, subsequent to the reign of Edgar.

(*n*) Chron. Mailros, 190; Fordun, l. ix c. 28: Lord Hailes makes him *burn* the monastery of Coldingham. An. i. 143. The priors were thus induced to obtain protections, both from the Scotish, and English kings: Henry VI. gave them a protection, from the plunderers on both sides the borders. Chart. Colding. 38. Edward III. gave a charter of protection to the monastery of Coldingham. Dug. Monasticon, ii. 105.

(*o*) Prynne, iii. 508. (*p*) Ayloff's Cal. iii. (*q*) Prynne, iii. 653.

(*r*) Ayloff's Cal. iii. (*s*) Chart. Cold. 83.

(*t*) Ib. 91. He confirmed, in 1305, a charter of Alexander II. granting them free warren, and free forest, in Coldinghamschire. Chart. Cold. 37. He granted them another charter in 1305, for holding a weekly market, on Wednesday, at Coldingham; and a yearly fair, at the same place, beginning on the eve of St. Luke. Id. In 1436-7, Henry VI. granted his protection to the monks of Coldingham. Ayloff's Calend. 276.

Biblis,

Biblis, in Palestine, who had been deprived of his bishoprick, by the Saracens (*t*). Benedict XI., in 1304, complied with Bek's odious solicitations, by conferring that rich priory on the bishop of Biblis, till he were better endowed. The pope's bull was laid before Edward I., in parliament, in April 1305: But, the Estates refused to acknowledge what was equally unjust in itself, as inconsistent with the interest of the crown (*u*). Edward III., and Richard II., also, extended their protection, by various acts, to the prior and monks of Coldingham (*x*). The Scotish kings, from Robert I. to James I., gave similar proofs of their inclination to support this favoured priory (*y*).

But, charters are granted in vain, when the law can no longer minister justice to the suitor, nor government give protection to the quiet. It was under the feebleness of the reign of Robert III., and the regency of the Duke of Albany, that the monks found it necessary to seek the defence of individuals, rather than the shelter of the state. Then it was, that the prior, and convent, of Coldingham, thought fit to place their house, and its revenues, under the protection of Archibald, the Earl of Douglas (*z*). This great person appointed Alexander, the laird of Home, *under keeper* of Coldingham, with a pension of twenty pounds, Scots, a-year (*a*): And he followed the fortunes of that famous commander, till

(*t*) There is an instrument, in the Chart. Coldingham, 79, which proves what Prynne was unconscious of, that Hugh, bishop of Durham, had been the insidious solicitor of that provision, for the bishop of Biblis, which the English parliament rejected, as unconstitutional.

(*u*) Prynne, iii. 1059; Ryley's Placita, 282.

(*x*) Edward III. gave them a writ of protection. Dug. Monast. ii. 1051. He issued a writ to the sheriff of Berwick, in 1340, commanding him to restore the barony of Coldingham, with its pertinents, to the prior and convent of Durham. Chart. Colding. 38. In 1380, Richard I. granted a licence to the prior of Durham, "ad acceptand' cellam de Coldingham, de rege Scotiæ." Ib. 91.

(*y*) Robertson's Index, 154; Chart. Colding. 9—83.

(*z*) The Douglases, we may remember, first obtained property, and influence, in the shires of Roxburgh, and Berwick, by the grants of Robert Bruce, to Sir James Douglas. William, the first Earl of Douglas, the son of Archibald, who fell at the battle of Halydon-hill, in 1333, bore a decisive sway, in the southern shires, from 1342 to 1384. He was succeeded by his son, James, the celebrated Douglas, who overpowered the renowned Hotspur, at the battle of Otterburn, in 1388. The estates, and influence, of his family were long enjoyed by his brother, Archibald, who died, in February 1400-1. Archibald, the grim, was succeeded by his son Archibald, who rose to yet higher consequence. In 1401, he made the borderers feel his authority. He carried the Scotish auxiliaries to France, where he was created mareschal of her armies, and Duke of Toureune: And, he commanded, at the battle of Vernueil, where he fell, with many a Scotsman, on the 17th of August 1425. Such was the person to whom the prior of Coldingham delivered the protection of his house.

(*a*) Chart. Coldingham, 16. There are several *releases* of Alexander Home, for his pension, in the same chartulary.

he died, with Douglas, in the battle of Vernueil. Thus early commenced the connection of the Homes with Coldingham, which they never relinquished, till it became their own. George Home, the third son of Alexander, was appointed bailiff of Coldingham, in 1422 (*b*). William Douglas, the second earl of Angus of this name, became the protector of Coldingham, when the Duke of Tourenne could not defend it, by his name (*c*). In 1441, commenced a competition between Alexander, the laird of Home, and Sir David Home of Wedderburn, for the bailliery of Coldingham (*d*). Sir Alexander Home is said to have been appointed, by the prior and convent, hereditary bailiff of Coldingham, in August 1465 (*e*).

In the meantime, Patrick Home, and John Home, two canons of the church of Dunbar, intruded themselves into the monastery of Coldingham. They persevered almost twenty years, in their intrusion, though the definitive sentence of Rome was enforced against them. Had this religious house been then protected by the Douglases, instead of the Homes, they would have made the intruders pay, with the forfeit of their lives, for the pertinacity of their intermeddling (*f*). The Homes were appalled, but not discouraged. And they persevered, in their interested purpose, of obtaining this rich endowment of ancient piety to their private use.

Meantime, James III., from a liberality of spirit, which was uncongenial to a corrupt age, founded a chapel royal, in Stirling palace: And, in order to support the dean, and prebendaries, the cantors, and other officers, he suppressed, by a regular process, the monastery of Coldingham, which he annexed

(*b*) Dougl. Peer. 343. On the 8th of June 1504, an act passed, annexing Coldingham to the crown. Unprinted Act of that date. On the 15th November 1600, an act passed, in favour of Lord Home, concerning the thirds of Coldingham. Unprinted Act of that date.

(*c*) There remains the "constitutio Willielmi de Douglas, comitis de Angus, in protectorem de "Coldingham," in 1427. Ib. 59. James I. granted an inspeximus charter, "Super charta Roberti "Regis, de immunitate monachorum de Coldingham, tempore belli vel schismaticis." Ib. 33.

(*d*) There are many documents, in the chartulary, which exhibit this dispute. In 1442, a pension for life, of 10l. a year, was settled, on Alexander Home. Ib. 59. In 1449, this contest was ended, by appointing David, and Alexander Home, to be joint bailiffs of Coldingham. Ib. 60. Meantime, John Wassington, the prior, exchanged with Sir Alexander, and Sir David Home, Aldcambus, for Hundwood, and for some lands, in Coldingham. Ib. 29-59. Sir Alexander Home died, in 1456. Dougl. Peer. 343. And, he was succeeded by his son, Alexander, who was soon after created Lord Home.

(*e*) Dougl. Peer. 343, who quotes a charter, in the Public Archives.

(*f*) The chartulary of Coldingham, from 1464, to 1472, is crowded with instruments, on this vexatious intrusion.

to

to this favourite establishment. The parliament of 1485 passed an act, annexing the priory of Coldingham to the chapel of Stirling (*g*). With the authority of parliament, the king sent envoys to Rome, for obtaining the pope's assent. The Homes, thus disappointed of their prey, were enraged against the well-meaning king; but were not frightened: They colleagued with the Hepburns of that vicinity, to oppose this annexation. The parliament, in 1487, declared such an opposition to be high treason (*h*). Yet, the Homes, as they knew, that they would be supported, by the Earl of Angus, continued to obstruct the king's measure, for uniting Coldingham to Stirling. In 1487, the parliament appointed a committee, with the whole power of the legislature, to punish such violations of law (*i*): And, the insidious earl, with his factious adherents, were appointed the chief members of this ominous committee. The pope, as he had been solicited, by the king's ambassadors, suppressed the monastery of Coldingham, in 1487; and appropriated one half of its revenues, for supporting the chapel of Stirling (*k*). The appointment of that committee, and the consciousness of treason, working on the heart of Angus, matured conspiracy into insurrection. Alexander, Lord Home, the hereditary bailiff of Coldingham, and Sir Patrick Hepburn of Hailes, the kings sheriff of Berwickshire, with all the Homes, and all the Hepburns, who were already obnoxious to law, entered zealously into Angus's design, of dethroning the king. Reconciliation was tried, in vain, on confirmed conspirators. The rebels met their sovereign, near Stirling, on the 11th of June 1488, in a disastrous conflict, which left the king, without a crown, and without his life (*l*). Lord Home, the bailiff of Coldingham, did not long survive his triumph. His grandson, Alexander, who succeeded him, in 1492, was, on the accession of James IV., brought into the privy council; in 1488, he was made Lord Chamberlain, for life; he was appointed warden of the east marches, in 1489, and captain of Stirling castle, which gave him the command of the royal family; and he was afterward made warden of the middle, and west marches, which gave him the keys of the

(*g*) Glendock's Acts, 80; Acts 1622. ed. 12°. 144. The most accurate of the printed acts, mistakingly, place this annexation of the estates, in 1483; as Henry, the historian, intimates, and the Parl. Rec. 318, evinces.

(*h*) Black Acts, fol. 78; Parl. Rec. 323. (*i*) Parl. Rec. 326.

(*k*) The bull of Innocent VIII. is in the Chart. Colding. 39; "ad supprimendum prioratum de "Coldingham; ut ex ejus redditibus una medietas applicaretur ad sustentationem Capellæ Regiæ, "altera ad erectionem ecclesiæ collegiatæ apud Coldingham." But, those designs of the pope were frustrated, by the ensuing rebellion, and consequent assassination of the king.

(*l*) Pitscottie, 86—91.

kingdom. He was thus raised to so great a height, as to enjoy a commanding sway, during the reign of James IV. (*l*). And the baron, who thus enjoyed so many benefits, from his treason, we may easily presume, possessed the priory of Coldingham, as his own. Yet, neither parliament, nor the pope's bull, seems to have finally suppressed the priory of Coldingham. The overpowering influence of Lord Home, from 1488 till 1516, seems to have suspended its destiny. In 1509, however, it was, by the pope's authority, withdrawn from the church of Durham, and placed under the abbey of Dunfermlin (*m*). James IV.'s natural son, Alexander Stewart, who was already archbishop of St. Andrews, and abbot of Dunfermlin, was now chosen prior of Coldingham (*n*). This spirited archbishop fell, in the act of fighting, by his father's side, on Floddon-field. The priory of Coldingham was conferred, in 1514, on David Home, the seventh brother of Lord Home (*o*). The prior was involved in the fate of his family (*p*). He sought shelter, in England, during 1517, from the hatred of their foes. He returned, under the protection of the queen-mother, only to lose his life: He was murdered, by James Hepburn of Hailes, and other assassins, who expected to please the regent Albany, by avenging the assassination of De la Bastie (*q*). Robert Blackader succeeded David Home, in the priory of Coldingham, and in his fate: He was soon after assassinated, with six of his domestics, in the village of Lamberton, by Sir David Home, the outlawed murderer of De la Bastie, with the help of other Homes, who were fleshed in cruelty (*r*). Sir David Home was allowed to live, after

(*l*) Crawf. Officers of State, 323, in the article of Alexander, Lord Home.

(*m*) Innes's MS. Chron.; Royal Letters, i. 108. (*n*) Id.

(*o*) Andrew Foreman, the bishop of Moray, is said to have procured the priory, for David Home: in return for which favour, Lord Home supported the pretensions of Foreman to the archbishoprick of St. Andrews. Bord. Hist. 499.

(*p*) He is said by Ridpath to have been forfeited by parliament, with Lord Home, and his brother William. Ib. 502. This forfeiture was reversed, in 1516. Ib. 505.

(*q*) Pitscottie, 238; Bord. Hist. 505. When the regent Arran marched into the Merse, in February 1518, to punish the assassins of de la Bastie, Sir David Home, who was outlawed, by parliament, for that odious deed, he is said to have searched, diligently, for the heir of Lord Hailes; that he might bring him to justice, for the murder of David Home, the prior of Coldingham. Lesley, 389; Bord. Hist. 507. Sir David Home, who had married Alison, the sister of the Earl of Angus, and the widow of Blackader, of Blackader, retired only from his castle, but not from Berwickshire.

(*r*) This assassination was committed on the 6th of October 1519. Holinshed, 300; Bord. Hist. 508. Robert Home, the brother of Sir David, and one of the murderers of de la Bastie, married Margaret Blackader. Robert, and John Home, claimed the estate of Blackader; killing every

after so many murders, to commit other atrocities: With William Douglas, a brother of Angus, who intruded into the priory of Coldingham, after the murder of Prior Blackader, Sir David led a thousand horse to the aid of Angus, in 1520, when he fought the Hamiltons, in the streets of Edinburgh (*s*). William Douglas retained possession of Coldingham, till his death, in 1528, whatever efforts were made to expel him. When Angus was at length compelled to give way to the king's authority, in August 1528, he fled to Tamtallon castle; and soon after to Coldingham priory. The king followed him thither, when Angus retired; but, it was only to make the king retire, in his turn. And, the Earl of Argyle was sent, with some troops, in November 1528, to Coldingham, who obliged the Douglases to flee into England, for refuge.

After the death of the intrusive Douglas, Adam was created prior of Coldingham. He retained it, during difficult times, till 1541 (*t*). Adam was now removed to Dundreynan, in order to make a vacancy for John Stewart, the natural son of James v., who was then an infant; and who was appointed commendator of Coldingham, with the pope's consent (*u*). During the infancy of the prior, the king enjoyed the revenues: But, he had to defend it. The English, in November 1544, seized the abbey, fortified the church, and steeple, which resisted all the efforts of the regent Arran (*x*). The abbey was burnt, in September 1545, by the Earl of Hertford, during his wasteful inroad, for a conciliatory purpose (*y*). John Stewart, the prior, married Lady Jane Hepburn, the sister of the well-known Earl of Bothwell: And he died, in 1563; leaving by her two sons, Francis, and John, who did little honour to their family, or service to their country. After the bastard commendator's death, John Maitland was appointed his successor; and retained this rich endowment, till he was appointed a senator of the College of Justice, in 1568 (*z*). The priory was conferred by James vi. on Francis Stewart, the

every one, who stood in their way. MS. Acco. of the family of Blackader, in my library. In 1526, during the domination of Angus, Blackader, the archdeacon of Dunblane, and cousin of Blackader, the murdered prior of Coldingham, though he had obtained a safe conduct, from Angus, was assassinated, at the gates of Edinburgh, by the Homes, and other followers of that potent Anarch. Godscroft, 251.

(*s*) Lesley, 394. Home, and Douglas, were summoned to answer in parliament, during the year 1521: But, they were summoned in vain.

(*t*) Sir George Douglas, the brother of Angus, led a party of English to Coldingham, in October 1532, when he burnt the town.

(*u*) Border Hist. 542.

(*x*) Bord. Hist. 551.

(*y*) Holinshed, 969.

(*z*) Lord Hailes' Cat. 5.

former

former prior's eldest son: And, the king, with his usual imprudence, created him Earl of Bothwell, abbot of Kelso, constable of Hadington, sheriff of Berwick, baillie of Lauderdale, high admiral of Scotland; and, with these offices, gave this wretched character vast estates, without any apparent motive. James VI. thus made many discontented, and one ungrateful. This other Bothwell, after committing a thousand treasons, and giving his benefactor a million of vexations, was, in 1595, expelled a country, which he had distracted, by his turbulence, and disgraced, by his crimes (*a*). After those singular events, James VI. found a new favourite, in the Earl of Home, to whom he gave the whole estates of the dissolved priory of ancient Coldingham (*b*). On the earl's death, in 1619, John, the second son of Francis, Earl Bothwell, was constituted commendator of Coldingham (*c*).

Such, then, is the history of the priory of Coldingham, which flings so much light on the bloody scenes of the Scotish history, and illustrates so clearly the odious manners of those wretched times (*d*). We may see much of the domestic economy of this religious house, even in the enumeration of its various officers. Next to the prior, was the *sacrist*: And the first, who appears, in record, was Gilbert de Shireburn, in 1285 (*e*). The *eleemosinarius*, or almoner, was the next officer: And, Alan is the first, whom we see acting as *eleemosinarius* of Coldingham (*f*). There was a *marescallus*, who managed the horses of the

(*a*) He fled first to Cathness, then to France, and went afterwards to Spain, and to Naples, where he died, wretchedly, about 1624. He left three sons, and three daughters, who were restored to some of their father's estates, and honours. Dougl. Peer. 86.

(*b*) Bord. Hist. 686; Dougl. Peer. 346.

(*c*) Dougl. Peer. 86: Spottiswoode says, that *the last*, who bore the title of *commendator of Coldingham*, was John, the son of Earl Bothwell.

(*d*) At the epoch of the reformation, the revenues of the priory of Coldingham were variously stated: But, the following account from Lauchlan Shaw's MS. may be received, as nearest the truth: Money, 818 l. 10 s. 9 d.; wheat, 6 chalders, 7 bolls, 3 firlots, 2 pecks; bear, 19 chalders, 12 bolls, 1 firlot, 2 pecks; oats, 56 chalders, 8 bolls, 2 firlots; pease, 3 chalders, 13 bolls, 3 firlots, 2 pecks, with various *cain* fowls, &c. and services.

(*e*) Chart. Cold. 66. Robert de Kellau appears, though not without reproach, as *sacrist*, in 1344: In April 1345, the bishop of Durham excommunicated Robert de Kellau, the sacrist, for having carried away seven and twenty pounds, belonging to the cell of Coldingham. Ib. 55. John Fassour, the prior of Durham, sent letters of testimony, upon the purgation of Robert de Kellau, the late sacrist. Ib. 58. In 1410, William Drax was sacrist, and became prior of Coldingham, in 1419. Ib. 70. In 1439, there is a declaration of the right of the priory of Durham to elect *the sacrist* of Coldingham. Ib. 59.

(*f*) Ib. 25. Robert de Bowes was almoner, in 1304. Ib. 66. And Richard de Cotesmore, in 1308. Id.

prior.

prior (*g*). The prior had his *schenescallus* also, who managed much of the domestic affairs of the priory (*h*). There, moreover, belonged to this opulent house, the *hostiarius*, the *cellerarius*, the cook, the nuncius, or messenger, the braciator, or brewer, the carpenter, and the faber, or smith (*i*). But, the great officer of all those was the prior. The first, who appears in record, seems to have been Simon, who lived under David I. (*k*). Herbert succeeded Simon, before the demise of David I. (*l*): Herbert had the honour to be one of those magnanimous ecclesiastics, who maintained against such a prince as Henry II. the independence of the Scotican church, after William, the lion, had sacrificed the state to his own liberation (*m*). Herbert was succeeded by many priors, who were less noted; as they probably had not so good an opportunity, to distinguish themselves, by their firmness, and rectitude (*n*).

After

(*g*) Gregory *Marescallus* de Coldingham appears. Ib. 25. And Robert *Marescallus*. Ib. 27-30.

(*h*) In 1341, there was a composition, between the prior and Adam de Prendergest, "ubi "remittentur varii redditus cum *Paschwating*, assisis, &c. in diversis locis ad terminum 14 An. pro "restitutione decimarum piscariæ de Twede, et pro executione *officii senescalli*." Ib. 73.

(*i*) Ib. 25. which seems to contain the establishment of the priory.

(*k*) Chart. Dunferm. 248.

(*l*) Ib. Chart. Cold. 85: He is mentioned by Hoveden, in 1175. (*m*) Rym. i. 39.

(*n*) Bertram was mentioned by Hoveden, as prior, in 1188, and he is noticed, in 1193, by the Chart. Colding. 105. A. ——— was prior, towards the conclusion of William's reign. Chart. Mailros, No. 7. G. was prior in 1212, and at the demise of William, in 1214. Chart. Dunferm. 557; Chart. Cold. 61. Thomas Nisbet was prior, from 1219 to 1239, and even beyond this year. Chart. Kelso, 225; Chart. Cold. 87. A. was prior under David, the bishop of St. Andrews, from 1233 to 1253. Chart. Cold. 110. Roger de Walveston was prior, in 1273. Ib. 61. Henry de Horncastle was prior, in 1276, and had the mortification to swear fealty to Edward I. in 1291, and 1296. Chart. Cold. 61; Prynne, iii. 508—653. William de Middleton seems to have ceased being prior, in 1303; as in this year, the prior of Durham made provision of meat, and drink, for the late prior. Chart. Cold. 57. Richard de Quickwood was prior in 1322. Ib. 73. Adam de Whiteworth was "custos prioratus de Coldingham." Robert I. granted a confirmation, "super "carta de R. Whiteworth quondam custodis prioratus de 40 marcas sterl. pro provisione sua." Ib. 7. Adam de Pontefract was prior in 1326; received, in 1328, with his brethren, absolution from Cardinal Guacelin, for celebrating divine service, during the interdict, and continued prior, in 1332. Ib. 73-5-167. Adam was succeeded, by William de Scaccaro, who was excommunicated by the bishop of Durham, in 1339. Ib. 54. William de Scaresburgh was prior in 1341; and in 1354, received, from John, the prior of Durham, a provision, as late prior of Coldingham. Ib. 58. He was succeeded, probably, by William de Bamburgh, who received from Landells, the bishop of St. Andrews, in 1362, a testimonial, as the prior had been accused of incontinence. Chart. Cold. 46. Robert Walworth was instituted, by the same bishop, in 1362. Ib. 46. Robert de Claxton was prior in 1375: And, in 1379, when it was in contemplation to transfer the priory of Coldingham to the abbey of Dunfermlin, Claxton was summoned, not only before the bishop of St. Andrews,

but

After this full detail of the troubled affairs of Coldingham, let us now advert to the abbey of Dryburgh, which was founded, by David I., in 1150 (*o*). Morville, the constable, and his wife, Beatrice de Bellocampo, were very liberal benefactors to this establishment, though they were not the founders. There were other benefactors of almost equal liberality. And David I. confirmed all those benefactions, with a beneficent spirit (*p*). Hugh Morville conferred

but was accused of treason, before the three estates. Ib. 63; Fordun. l. xi. c. 23. Michael was prior, in 1380. Chart. Dunferm. 597. John de Akecliff [Oakclif] became prior, about the year 1407, and long continued: He had a contest, for the priory, with Richard Mongal, a monk of Dunfermlin. Fordun, xi. c. 123; And it was Akeclif, who put the priory of Coldingham under the protection of Archibald, the Earl of Douglas. Chart. Cold. 16. 147. William Drax, who had been sacrist of this house, was instituted to the priory, in 1419, by bishop Wardlaw. Ib. 47. He had a long contest with William Brown, and other monks of Dunfermlin. Ford. xi. c. 23-4. The Duke of Albany gave him admission to the temporalities. Id. He was succeeded, in 1441, by John Olie, who was instituted by bishop Kennedy, and admitted to the temporalities by James II.: He also had a long contest with the monks of Dunfermlin; and ceased to be prior, in 1449. John Pencher, who succeeded him, was also instituted by bishop Kennedy, and admitted to the temporalities, by James II.; And, he had to sustain a most pertinacious contest with Patrick, and John Home, who were excommunicated, for their intrusion into this priory: Pencher resigned the priory in 1469, to John Wren, who seems to have at length expelled those persevering intruders; but not till he had obtained against them the bull of Sixtus IV. and the precepts of Edward IV. and James II. Id. After thus conquering the two Homes, Thomas Wren continued prior even nearly to the epoch of the annexation of the priory of Coldingham to the chapel of Stirling, in February 1483-4, an event, which was attended with such mighty consequences.

(*o*) "A° 1150, Ordo Præmonstratensis venit ad Drueburch: A° 1152, conventus venit ad "Drieburc et Rogerus factus est abbas primus." Chron. Mail. 167. David I., in the charter, which he granted to the church of St. Mary, at Dryburgh, says, that he had founded it, "quam fundavi." Yet, Hugh Morville has commonly been deemed the founder: For, the chronicle of Mailros says, "A° 1162, Obiit Hugo de Morville *fundator ecclesiæ de Drieburg.*" But, this chronicler is not so good a witness, as David I. himself, whose foundation charter remains. By this, he gave the canons the church of Dryburg, with the chapels, tithes, and pertinents, belonging to it; the church of Lanerk, with its pertinents; the church of Pedinane, with its pertinents; a carucate of land, in the same manor, free from secular exaction; the lands of Cadesley, in Lauderdale, with pasture, within his forest; a mansion, with three rods of land, in his burgh of Crail: He gave them also licence to take, from his forest, wood, for building, and other necessary purposes: And he gave those canons exemption from toll, and secular exactions, throughout his realm. Chart. Dryburg. 157.

(*p*) By other charters, David I. conferred on the canons of Dryburgh some additional lands; and he confirmed the donations of others. Ib. No. 29. On the lands of Cadesley, the canons established a grange, which David confirmed to them. Ib. 75. He confirmed to them the several grants of Hugh Morville, and Beatrice de Bellocampo. Ib. 109-175. Earl Henry, the son of David, confirmed the grants of Morville, and his wife. Ib. No. 9-109. And he gave them a toft, without the walls of Roxburgh. Ib. 110. After Earl Henry's death, his Countess Ada gave the same

conferred on those canons Childenkirc, [Channelkirk], with its pertinents; the church of Saltoun, with its pertinents, and a carrucate of land in Saltoun: And, he gave them the tenth of the multure of the milns of Lauder, of Saltoun, of Newtown, with half a carrucate of land, in Newtown, and common of pasture, for nine oxen, and one horse (*q*). His wife gave to those canons the church of Boysete, in Northamptonshire (*r*): And, she purchased, for them, a piece of land, at Roxburgh (*s*). From Ada, the daughter of Hugh Morville, they also obtained some lands in Roxburgh. And, Richard, the son of Hugh Morville, confirmed all those grants of his father, of his mother, and his sister (*t*). The vassals of the Morvilles, and of the Lords of Galloway, who succeeded them, appear to have emulated their superiors, in pious donations to the Dryburgh canons (*u*). John de Baliol, and Roger de Quincy, who acquired Lauderdale, by

same canons the church of Kilrenny in Fife, with a carucate of land, in Pitcorthy; and a toft, in her burgh of Crail. Ib. No. 10. Malcolm IV. confirmed all those donations, and he gave them two and a half marks, yearly, from a carucate of land in Edenham. Ib. 1. 121. 176. His brother, William, the lion, followed his example; confirming all those grants, and giving those canons the lands of Nemfelare, and Cartland, in Lanerk parish, and the lands of Inganstoun, in Dolphington parish, with crofts, and common of pasture, in the same manor: And he gave them, moreover, twenty shillings, yearly, out of the firm of his burgh of Roxburgh. Chart. Dryb. No. 10. 32. 176. 33. 122. Alexander II. confirmed all those grants. Ib. 176. Alexander II. also granted to William Giles, a canon of Dryburgh, the lands of Mosplet, in Clydesdale, which the grantee gave to his monasrery. Ib. 163. From David II. those canons obtained the advowson of the church of the Virgin, in Etterick forest. Robertson's Index, 59.

(*q*) Chart. Dryb. No. 1.—151. (*r*) Ib. 65.

(*s*) Ib 108; This is the parish church of Bosyete, in Higham hundred. The abbot of Dryburgh resigned this distant patronage to the convent of St. James, near Northampton, for three and a half marks a year: This resignation was confirmed by Richard Morville; and this annuity was finally assigned to St. Andrew's convent, in Northampton. Bridges' Northampton, ii. 161.

(*t*) Ib. 64.

(*u*) Thomas de Thirlestane granted those canons the tenth of the multure of his miln of Thirlestane, Ch. Dryb. 93. His successor, Richard de Mauteland, gave them the lands of Haubenthonside, in Thirlestane, with the lands of Snawdon, in the same district, with pasture for 40 ewes, 60 cows, and 20 mares, with their progeny of three years. Ib. 88, 89. Peter de Haig, of Bemerside, gave those canons two bovates of land, a messuage, and a garden, with pasture for three cows, and twenty ewes, in Bemerside: And he also gave them the forest of Flatwode, according to limits described. Ib. 97-8. Sir Radulph de Campania granted those canons the church of Borgues, in Galloway, for the salvation of his lord, Alan of Galloway. Ib. 44. Robert de Vetereponte gave them the right of patronage to the church of Soreby, in Galloway; and he gave them the lands of Little Soreby, in pure alms. Ib. 50-52. And those grants were confirmed by his lord, Rolland of Galloway. Ib. 55. And they were confirmed, by the bishop of Candida Casa. Ib. 56 8. Gilbert,

by marrying one of the two daughters of Alan of Galloway, confirmed the donations of their predecessors, and added their own (*x*). The Earls of Dunbar also showed their liberality to the canons of Dryburgh, though not to the same extent, as to the priory of Coldingham (*y*). Some of the vassals of this family, in the west of Berwickshire, were benefactors to Dryburgh (*z*). The Stewarts of Scotland were also beneficent donors to Dryburgh: Walter, the son of Alan, the Scotish founder of this great house, gave those canons the lands of Herdsley, near their grange of Cadisley (*a*): And his direct descendant, Walter, the Stewart, who married Margery Bruce, gave them the patronage of the church of Maxton, in Roxburghshire, with its pertinents, and five acres of arable land, contiguous to the church-land (*b*). From other persons of less note, the canons of Dryburgh obtained donations of lands, houses, rents, churches, in Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, in Lothian, and in Fife (*c*).

Thus

of that see, annexed to Dryburgh the churches of Great, and Little Soreby. Ib. 60. Alexander now granted those canons the lands of Giffyn; and this grant was confirmed, by his Lord, Alan of Galloway. Ib. 168.

(*x*) Roger de Quincy gave the barons of Dryburgh the right of fishing in the lake of Mer-ton. Ib. 104. And he gave them a toft in the town of Haddington. Ib. 106. John Baliol, and his wife, the munificent Dervorgill, resigned to those canons the church of Lauder, with the chapelry, and their pertinents. Ib. 6-7. Alexander de Baliol gave those canons one half of the wood of Gledeswode, which had been given to him, by John Baliol, and the illustrious Dervorgill. Ib. 100-1-2.

(*y*) Earl Patrick, who lived under William, the lion, gave those canons his lands of Evinsley, and two bovates of land, in Ersildun, with a toft, and pasture, for 100 sheep, 12 oxen, 12 swine, and two horses. Ib. 82. He also gave them a toft, in his burgh of Dunbar, with a house, and two acres and a half of land. Ib. 86. And he conferred on them a mark of silver, yearly, from the firm of Birkinside, towards building, and upholding their church. Ib. 84.

(*z*) William de Lindsay gave the canons the lands of Sarcum Albani, near Cadisley. Ib. 76. He gave them two bovates of land, in Ersildun. Ib. 83. And he added some houses, in Berwick. Ib. 115. From Alexander de Purvays, of Ersildun, they obtained, a messuage, with a husband-land, in Ersildun. Ib. 195. Ada de Fawnes granted them a *peatary*, in the territory of Fawnes. Ib. 145.

(*a*) Ib. 78. (*b*) Ib. 186.

(*c*) Alexander de St. Martin gave those canons the lands of Langlaw, which he had obtained from the Countess Ada. Ib. 66. And, this grant was confirmed by Sir Adam Gordon, who gave them a *peatary*, in Fawnes. Ib. 146. Robert de Loudon granted them the patronage of the church of Lesedwin, in Roxburghshire. Ib. 39. Another Robert de Loudon, the natural son of William, the lion, gave them the rent of his house, in Lesedwin, and a toft, being three shillings, and a pound of pepper, yearly. Ib. 42. Galfrid de Percy gave them two bovates of land in Heton. Ib. 166. David de Olifard gave them a carucate of land, in Smalham, with pasture for 300 sheep. Ib. 117. Walter de Moravia, afterward, exempted them from multure at the miln of Smalham. Ib. 119. William de Vallibus gave them the patronage of the church of Golyn, with its pertinents,

and

Thus did the canons of Dryburgh acquire numerous possessions, which, being much dispersed, in many places, were less advantageous, than the compact estates of Coldingham, which lay all in Berwickshire. The churches of Dryburgh, and other ecclesiastical dues, were, in this manner, placed under the several jurisdictions of the bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and of Whithern. The monastery, indeed, and the greatest part of their property, lay in the diocese of St. Andrews. Soon after its foundation, Robert, the liberal bishop of that see, extended his beneficence to the canons of Dryburgh, by confirming their foundation charter, with their various endowments, and by receiving them under the benediction of St. Andrew (*a*). From his successors, they obtained confirmations of their rights, and grants of additional privileges (*b*). In 1293, William de Lamberton freed the abbots of Dryburgh from attending the synodal meetings, at Hadington (*c*). From the bishops of Glasgow, and Whithern, the abbots of Dryburgh obtained similar confirmations of their various rights, with grants of new privileges (*d*). From the popes, also, the canons obtained many favourable bulls (*e*). During the thirteenth century, the monastery of Dryburgh sent off two colonies of monks to Ireland; one of which was planted, in the abbey of Drumcross; the other, in the priory of Woodborn, in the County of Antrim (*f*). William, the abbot of Dryburgh, with his monks, swore fealty to Edward I., on the 24th of August 1296 (*g*): And, in return, Edward issued

and the meadow, which was adjacent to the church. Ib. 26. He gave them also twenty acres of land, in Elbotle; Ib. 70. and he conferred on them one pound of frankincense, yearly. Ib. 22. This grant was confirmed by his son John de Vallibus, who gave them, in addition, two crofts, in Golyn. Ib. 25. He added the lands of Stotfold, and the island of St. Nicolas, of Elbotle, and a stone of wax, yearly. Ib. 18. 23. 71. William de Vallibus gave them Stainacre, and two acres of land in Elbotle, near the old castle. Ib. 72. Sir William Abernethy gave them a messuage, with a brewhouse, in the village of Saltoun, and two marks, yearly, for their lights, in celebrating the masses of St. Mary, in the church of Dryburgh. Ib. 191—132. Margaret of Ardross, the daughter of Marleswane, gave them the lands of Invergelly, in Fife. Ib. 13. Henry de Anstruther conferred on them a messuage, with a garden, and an acre of land, in his town of Anstruther, with three booths, in the same place. Ib. 15—190.

(*a*) Chart. Dryburgh, No. 8. (*b*) Ib. 12-16-100-104.

(*c*) Ib 177: If at any time, the abbots of Dryburgh should come to those meetings, on urgent business, the bishop conferred on the abbot a perpetual pension of four marks, to be paid, by the dean of Hadington. Id.

(*d*) Ib. throughout.

(*e*) Ib. 12-16-74-97. Owing to all those encouragements, they established a new cemetery, in September 1208: "Novem cemeterium de Driburg dedicata est a Willielmo episcopo St. Andreæ. Chron. Mailros.

(*f*) Ware: Archdall's Monast. Hib. 6-7. (*g*) Prynne, iii. 653.

writs to the sheriffs of Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and of Fife, to restore their property (*b*). On the accession of Bruce, he issued a precept to his Chamberlain, commanding him to pay twenty shillings, yearly, out of the firms of Roxburgh, to the canons of Dryburgh (*i*). They could not escape the sad effects of the long contests, between the neighbour nations. In 1322, the English army, under Edward II., on their retreat from Lothian, burnt the monastery of Dryburgh (*k*). In 1373, Edward III. granted a protection to the abbots of Dryburgh, Melros, Kelso, and Jedburgh (*l*). The English king thus endeavoured to protect those religious establishments, from the excursions of the English garrison, in Roxburgh castle, which they still retained. Robert III., at his accession, with the consent of the bishop of St. Andrews, suppressed the convent of Cistertian nuns, in South Berwick, and gave their whole property to the canons of Dryburgh (*m*). These nuns were opulent; and this circumstance may have been their fault, as much as their incontinence (*n*). The hospital of Trefountain, in the Lamermoor, was granted to the canons of Dryburgh, in 1436, by John abbot of Alnwick; and confirmed, by Henry, the bishop of St. Andrews (*o*). Nothing, however, could protect them, from the unfeeling policy of Edward VI.'s ministers. In 1544, the market town of Dryburgh was all burnt, except the church, by the English army, under Sir George Bowes (*p*). In the subsequent year, the monasteries of Dryburgh, Melros, Kelso, and Jedburgh, were plundered, and burnt, by the obdurate fanaticism of the Earl of Hertford (*q*). The Reformation decided its fate (*r*). In 1587, the abbey of Dryburgh became

(*b*) Rym. ii. 723. Edward issued a writ to John Sandal, his chamberlain, for Scotland, to pay the monks of Dryburgh 20 s. yearly, from the burgh of Roxburgh, and all other alms, which should appear to be due to them, from the charters of the kings of Scotland, or from the accounts of the late chamberlains. Chart. Dryb. 178. John Sandall, in January 1306, accordingly, issued a precept, for the payment of those several dues. Ib. 179.

(*i*) Ib. 192: And Alexander Fraser, the chamberlain, issued his precept to the alderman, and baillies, of the borough of Roxburgh, to pay those 20 s. yearly, from the firm of Roxburgh, in conformity to the charter of William. Ib. 193.

(*k*) Fordun. l. xii. c. 4; Hearne's Ford. 1012. (*l*) Ayloffe's Cal. 237.

(*m*) MS. Charter. This grant was confirmed, by Henry, the bishop of St. Andrews, the ordinary, on the 8th of May, 1410; and by James I. on the 30th of May, 1424.

(*n*) There remains an inquest, in 1305, of their property, in Berwick, which consisted of many houses; and they had 40 marks out of the firm of the town, under grants from the Scotish kings.

(*o*) Sir Lewis Steuart's Col. No. 11. 33. (*p*) Bord. Hist. 551. (*q*) Ib. 554.

(*r*) At that epoch, the revenue of the abbey of Dryburgh may be estimated from Lauchlan Shaw's MS. state, as under: Money 913 l. 19 s. 1 d.; wheat, 1 chalder. 14 bolls, 3 firlots, 3 pecks; bear, 24 chalders, 7 bolls, 3 firlots, and 3 pecks; oats, 3 chalders, 15 bolls, 1 firlot; meal, 22 chalders, 15 bolls, 3 firlots, 3 pecks; with smaller articles, and some services.

invested

invested in the crown, by the general annexation (*s*). John, Earl of Mar, the treasurer of Scotland, seems to have early cast his wishful eyes on the abbey of Dryburgh (*t*). Henry Erskine, his second son, was appointed its commendator. It was, afterward, disannexed from the crown, by act of parliament; when it was granted to Henry Erskine, his second son, for ever; who became Lord Cardross; and whose great-grandson succeeded, as Earl of Buchan, in 1695 (*u*).

In Berwickshire, there appear to have been, of old, four Bernardin, or Cistertian nunneries. (1.) The earliest seems to have been a convent of Cistertian nuns, which David I. founded, in Berwick-town, with rich endowments. Other persons followed his example, by their well-meaning liberalities. In the 13th century, the prioress made a composition with the prior of Coldingham, for the tithes of three *culturas* of land, which were called, Maryflat, Frereflat, and Latham, in the neighbouring parish of Bondington, whose church belonged to his priory (*x*). The prioress made a composition with the rector of the church of Golyn, as to their several dues (*y*): The prioress, and master, of this house, resigned all their rights in this church to the monks of Dryburgh (*z*). In 1291, and 1296, Agnes de Berinham, the prioress of this convent, swore fealty to Edward I., who gave her, in return, his protection (*a*). In 1391, Robert III. granted

(*s*) The abbot of Dryburgh, who was of the Earl of Mar's family, contributed to those events. Spots. Hist. 283. On the 23d of August 1582, the abbot of Dryburgh was one of the principal persons, who, by an act of treasonous insurrection, seized the king's person, at Ruthven. Ib. 320. In 1585, the abbot of Dryburgh, the Earl of Mar, and others, fled into Ireland. Ib. 329. In 1584, David Home, of Argaty, a retainer of the Earl of Mar, and Patrick, his brother, were condemned, and executed, for corresponding with the commendator of Dryburgh. Ib. 337. Yet, in July 1585, the same commendator sat, in the convention, at St. Andrews, which approved of a protestant league. Ib. 340.

(*t*) In 1541, James Stewart, the abbot was succeeded, by Thomas Erskine, who was followed, in this abbacy, by David Erskine, the natural son of Robert Erskine, who fell on Pinkie-field. Innes's MS. Collections.

(*u*) Crawford's Peer. 64; Dougl. Peer. 97. The chartulary of Dryburgh, which is in the advocate's library, Edinburgh, contains many curious particulars of church history, as well as many notices of contemporary manners. The ruins of Dryburgh abbey have been often drawn, engraved, and published. Slezer, pl. 32-3; Cardonel, pl. 3; Grose, pl. 11; Pennant, ii. 36.

(*x*) Chart. Cold. 72. Latham is still known, as a hamlet within Berwick bounds; Frereflat is now called Fernieflat, within the same bounds; but, the name of Maryflat is now unknown.

(*y*) Chart. Dryb. 28.

(*z*) Ib. 27. Gregorius, the *magister*, and Frælina, the prioress, made that resignation. Id.

(*a*) Prynne, iii. 508, 655; Ayloffe's Cal. 108. The whole property of this monastery, within the town of Berwick, amounted, in 1296, to 47 l. as appears by an inquest. In that age this was a large

granted the whole revenues of this convent to the monks of Dryburgh, as we have seen, though the town of Berwick then belonged to England. (2.) Coldstream, on the Tweed, had a convent of Cistertian nuns, founded by Cospatrick, the last of this name, Earl of Dunbar, and Derder, his countess: The nuns were brought, from the Cistertian convent, at Withow, in England. This foundation was probably made, soon after the end of David I.'s pious reign; as the last Cospatrick succeeded his father, as Earl of Dunbar, in 1147, and died, in 1166 (*b*). This convent was dedicated to the Virgin Mary; and was endowed by its founders, and by other favourers of the monastic orders, so liberally, as to be one of the richest monasteries, in Scotland (*c*). The prioress of Coldstream, no doubt, submitted to Edward I.; as in 1297, he gave her a writ of protection, for her person, her nuns, and her estates (*d*). After the battle of Halydonhill, in 1333, the prioress, with the *master* of Coldstream, submitted to the conqueror; and was received into his protection (*e*). In 1419, John de Wessington, the prior of Durham, confirmed the lands of Little Swinton to the nuns of Coldstream: In the same year, Prior John entered into a convention with Marion, the prioress of Coldstream, about the lands, tithes,

a large revenue. There was a house of White friars, or *Carmelites*, founded, in Berwick, 1270, by Sir John Grey, whose duty it was to officiate in the chapel royal, within Berwick castle. Wallis's Northumb. ii. 95. There was a house dedicated to the *Holy Trinity*, at Berwick-bridge, whose duty it was to pray for the passengers, and to profit from their safety. Id. There was also a house of *Grey* friars here. Ib. 96. There was a house of preaching friars here, which seems to have been decayed, before 1291. And, there was a hospital, at Berwick, which was dedicated to *Mary Magdalen*, with an appendant hermitage, at Sogden; and there is a field, between Berwick walls, and the sea, which is still called *Maudlinfield*, from its being the ancient site of this hospital. Id.

(*b*) Chron. Mailros.

(*c*) Gospatrick granted to the monastery of Coldstream, the church of Laynel, with its pertinents, with a carucate of land, one half of it, in Laynel, and the other half, in Birgham: He also confirmed to those nuns, the church of Hirsel, with a carucate of land, in the same parish, which Derder, his countess, had granted them. Dougl. Peer. 438, who quotes the chartulary of Coldstream, which he seems to have seen. The grants of Cospatrick, and his worthy countess, were confirmed, by Waldeve, their son, who succeeded his father, in 1166, and died in 1182. Chron. Mailros. The intimation of Dugdale, that this nunnery was founded by Earl Patrick, and *Agatha*, his spouse, is quite erroneous. Monast. ii. 1057. At its suppression, its revenue consisted only of money, £201; of wheat, 3 chalders, 11 bolls, 3 firlots; of bear, 3 chalders, 12 bolls, 1 firlot, 1 peck. MS. Shaw.

(*d*) Her submission is not, indeed, recorded, either in Rymer, or in Prynne; but her writ of protection is mentioned, in Ayloffe's Calend. 113.

(*e*) Rym. iv. 570: The *magister* of this convent is specially mentioned, as a part of this establishment, as well as of that, in Berwick town.

and

and services of Little Swinton (*f*). When Margaret, the queen mother, with her husband, Angus, fled from the regent Albany, in 1515, the monastery of Coldstream furnished them a sure sanctuary, till they were kindly received into England (*g*). During the subsequent war, in October 1523, the prioress of Coldstream acted as a spy to the English general (*h*). In 1528, James v. gave to Isobel Hope-Pringle, the prioress of Coldstream, the lands of Hirsel, and Gredden, with their fishings on the Tweed: Margaret, on that occasion, willingly consented to relinquish her dower, in favour of her sanctuary (*i*). The time came, at length, when all religious establishments were to be annexed to the crown; and seized by the nobles. James vi. granted the whole possessions of the monastery of Coldstream to Sir John Hamilton of Trebroun, the third son of the first Earl of Hadington (*k*). (3.) The munificent Cospatrick, who founded Coldstream, planted a colony of Cistercian nuns, at Eccles, in 1156, where he endowed a convent, which he consecrated to the Virgin Mary (*l*). Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, who succeeded Waldeve, in 1182, died, satiated with a long, and worthy life, in 1232, and was buried among the nuns, in their appropriate church (*m*). The nuns of Eccles were at length doomed to feel the sad effects of the disastrous events of the Scotish annals. In 1294-5, Edward i. granted them a protection (*n*). In 1296, when the bravest men of Scotland

(*f*) Chart. Cold. 92, and 74. In December 1491, a truce with England was concluded, at Coldstream. Bord. Hist. 460.

(*g*) Border Hist. 501.

(*h*) Pink. Hist. ii. 225, who has confounded Coldingham, with Coldstream.

(*i*) Spottiswoode, 513.

(*k*) Miln's Melros, 33: In 1621, the nunnery of Coldstream was disannexed from the crown, in favour of Sir Thomas Hamilton, of Trebroun. Private Act of that year.

(*l*) "A° 1156, conventus sancti monialium secundo venit ad Eccles." Chron. Mailros: so Hoveden, 491.: But, the book of Cooper states this event in 1155. In addition to the lands, and revenues, which Cospatrick settled on this convent, he gave the nuns the church of St. Cuthbert, of Eccles, with its pertinents, and with the chapels of Brigham, of Mersington, and of Letham, which depended on it, as the mother church: And all those grants were confirmed, by his successors, and by the bishops of St. Andrews. Regr. of St. Andrews, No. 56—60. About the same time, the nuns acquired the lands of Huntrodes: In the reign of Malcolm iv. Thomas de Lesedwin granted to the canons of Dryburgh, half a mark, yearly, which was payable by the prioress of Eccles, out of the lands of Huntrodes. Chart. Dryburgh, 144. The nuns also possessed, in the north-eastern parts of Eccles parish, some lands, which had obtained, from them, the appropriate name of *Nnn-lands*; and this continues the name of a hamlet.

(*m*) Chron. Mailros, 201, which states the singular manner of his retirement, from a tempestuous world.

(*n*) Ayloffe's Calend. 111.

submitted:

submitted to that overpowering prince, Ada de Fraser, the prioress, with her convent, swore fealty to Edward I.; who, in consequence, ordered their estates to be returned to them (*o*). Edward II. granted them his protection, in 1316-17 (*p*). After the fatal conflict of Halydonhill, in 1333, the prioress, and her nuns, found it again necessary, to submit to the conqueror: And Edward III. gave them a protection, for their house, their people, their lands, and their revenues (*q*). In 1523, the chiefs of this nunnery acted the unworthy part of spies, for the Earl of Surrey, by informing the English general of the preparations of the regent Albany, for the invasion of England (*r*). Albany was thus obliged to raise the siege of Werk, and to retreat across the Tweed to Eccles: And being here falsely informed of the approach of the English army, he decamped, at midnight, and hastened to Lauder (*s*). In 1544, the prioress, and her nuns, were involved in the terrible effects of Edward VI.'s courtship of Mary Stewart: On the 27th of September 1544, the English won the church of Eccles by assault, when they slew, within the Abbey, and town, eighty persons; and burnt the abbey, and spoiled the village (*t*). In September 1545, the abbey, and town of Eccles, were again plundered, and burnt, by the unfeeling Hertford (*u*). Marion Hamilton, the prioress, conveyed to Alexander Hamilton, her relation, the village, and lands of Eccles; and this unworthy transfer was confirmed, by Mary Stewart, on the 11th of May 1567 (*x*). James VI. conferred the estates of this convent, on Sir George Home, who was created Lord Home of Berwick, on the 7th of July 1604, and Earl of Dunbar, in March 1605 (*y*): And he died, in 1611; leaving two daughters; the eldest of whom, Anne, marrying Sir James Home of Coldingknows, was, by him, the mother of James, the third Earl of Home, who probably inherited the estates of the nunnery of Eccles. (4.) Ada, the liberal daughter of William, the lion, who married Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, in 1184 founded, at St. Bathan's church, in Lamermoor, a convent for Cistercian nuns (*z*). Ada, and Patrick, made

(*o*) Prynne, iii. 659; Rym. ii. 723. (*p*) Ayloffe's Calend. 132. (*q*) Rym. iv. 570.
(*r*) Pink. Hist. Scot. ii. 225. (*s*) Ib. 230; Bord. Hist. 518.
(*t*) Bord. Hist. 550, from Haynes's State Papers. (*u*) Ib. 554.
(*x*) Spottiswoode, 513, who quotes the Public Rec. Lib. 21. No. 537.
(*y*) Spottiswoode, 513: On this event, Douglas is silent. Peerage, 202. At the parliament of 1606, there passed "a ratification to the Earl of Dunbar, of the earldom of Dunbar, and *other* "*lands.*" Private Act, No. 4. Lauchlan Shaw's MS. Acco. states the revenue of this monastery, at £647 13 s. 8 d.
(*z*) Those nuns were transplanted from the convent of the same order, which had been founded by David I., at Berwick: Hence, Spottiswoode was induced to state, "that the convent of "St. Bothan

made an adequate endowment of lands, and revenues, to the convent of St. Bothans, which received many donations from other benefactors; but, this nunnery never became so opulent, as those of Coldstream, or Eccles (*z*). The nuns of St. Bothans appear to have had a *grange*; at some distance, from their convent: And, in the 13th century, they made an agreement with the prior of Coldingham, to pay him twelve pennies, or a pound of pepper, yearly, for their tithes of hay, from a meadow at Bylie (*a*). Ada, the prioress, and the nuns of St. Bothans, swore fealty to Edward I., on the 24th August 1296; and were thereupon restored by him to their lands, and rights (*b*). After the decisive battle of Halydonhill, in 1333, the prioress, and her nuns, submitted to the victor; and obtained from him, in 1334, a protection for themselves, their house, and their revenues (*c*). Their situation, within the recesses of Lamermoor, protected them, in after times, during more furious conflicts, political, religious, and amatory. It is not easy to discover, on whom King James's profuse hand conferred the possessions of the nuns of St. Bothans (*d*). Between the church, and the river White-Ader, are even now the remains of the ancient nunnery, which are almost totally demolished; the stones having been appropriated, for agricultural improvements (*e*). There was founded of old, within Berwick bounds, at *Halystan*, near the ill-omened Halidonhill, a convent, which was dedicated to St. Leonard, for Cistercian nuns. In August 1296, Marjorie, the prioress of Halystan, *del counte de Berwick*, swore fealty to

" St. Bothan is said to heve been a cell, depending on South Berwick." Hope's Min. Pract. 512. Dugdale mistakes the name of the worthy countess, the founder, calling her *Eufemia*. Monast. ii. 1057.

(*z*) There was already here, as we have seen, a church, which had been dedicated to St. Bothan, in early times; and this church was probably now given, according to the custom, on such occasions, to the countess Ada's nuns. St. Bothan is recorded, in the Aberdeen Breviary, as a bishop, whose festival was celebrated on the 18th of January. Dempster's Menologia. The parish church of Yester, in East Lothian, was also dedicated to St. Bothan, whose name was given both to the church, and parish.

(*a*) Chart. Colding. 24. The *Bylie* of that age is now *Billie*, in the parish of Bunkle; and is more than six miles from the convent of St. Bothans.

(*b*) Prynne, iii. 653; Rym. ii. 725. (*c*) Ayloffe's Calend. 147.

(*d*) The revenue of the monastery of St. Bothans is stated in Lauch. Shaw's MS thus: Money, 47 l. 2 s. 4 d.; wheat, 2 chalders, 1 firlot; bear, 3 chalders, 8 bolls, 2 firlots, 3 pecks; oats, 7 chalders, 9 bolls; pease, 12 bolls. The establishment of St. Bothans has sometimes been confounded with the monastery of Trefontain, in Lamermoor. Spottiswoode, 512.

(*e*) Stat. Acco. xii. 64.

Edward I., who thereupon granted protection to her, and her convent (*f*). The battle of Halydonhill was fought, near *Halystan*, on the 28th of July 1333. Edward III. now showed his gratitude to the prioress, and nuns, who had been ruined by the war; and who, no doubt, contributed to his victory: He ordered their convent, and houses, to be rebuilt, at his own expence; he directed an altar to be erected in their church, in honour of St. Margaret, on the eve of whose festival, he had gained so decisive a victory; he appointed services to be performed, annually, on the eve, and festival of St. Margaret, for ever, at his own charges (*g*). As this establishment thus lay within Berwick-bounds, at the noted epoch of the annexation of religious houses, King James's courtiers could not partake of the plunder of *Halystan*; which may, indeed, have already fallen into the impure hands of Henry VIII.

Of *friars*, there were no fewer than four convents, as we have seen, in the town of Berwick. There was a house of Franciscan, or Grey Friars, who were of the order of minorites, who were introduced into Scotland, in 1219. The minorites, with their warden, swore fealty to Edward I., in 1296, and were protected by him (*h*). They submitted equally to Edward III., after the battle of Halydonhill, in 1333; and seem to have been patronized by him, during his reign, while the other orders were removed, and English friars placed, in their convents (*i*). In 1230, Alexander II. founded, in Berwick, a convent of his favourite Dominican, or Black Friars, who were called *Fratres Prædicatores*: He endowed them with a revenue of forty marks out of his firms of Berwick: And this endowment was confirmed by Robert Bruce, who added an annual rent out of a mill at Berwick (*k*). In 1291, various persons swore fealty to Edward I., in the deserted church of those brethren (*l*). They submitted to Edward, and were protected by him (*m*). In 1333, when Edward III. entered Berwick, as a conqueror, he removed those preaching friars, and placed English friars of the same order, in their room: And to them, he was studious to give protection, during his lengthened reign (*n*). A convent of *Red*, or

(*f*) Prynne, iii. 663: There was another convent, at Halystan, on the Cocquet, in Northumberland. Wallis, ii. 512. We may see, in Ayloffe's Calend. 3. the protection granted to Marjorie, and her nuns, was to the prioress, and convent, of St. Leonard, *extra Berwick*.

(*g*) Rym. iv. 571: He continued, as we may learn from Rymer, through his whole reign, to make beneficent grants, to the prioress, and nuns, of Halystan, *extra* Berwick.

(*h*) Ayloffe's Calend. 115. (*i*) Ib. 145. (*k*) Robertson's Index, 23.

(*l*) Rym. ii. 572: But, Edward did not here hold his parliament, as Spottiswoode intimates; and, he held his parliament, and gave his decree, in favour of Baliol, within the hall of the castle of Berwick. Ib. 588.

(*m*) Ayloffe's Calend. 113. (*n*) Ib. 153—193.

Trinity

Trinity Friars, was founded, in Berwick, by William, the lion, who also erected a house of Carmelites, at Aberdeen. In 1267, those friars entered into an agreement with the prior of Coldingham, about building an oratory, within the parish of the Holy Trinity, in *South-Berwick* (*o*). Frere Adam, the minister of this order, in August 1296, swore fealty to Edward I., who gave them his protection (*p*). A convent of *Carmelite*, or White Friars, was founded, in Berwick, under Alexander II., or his son, but by whom is unknown (*q*). In August 1296, the prior, and friars, of the order of St. Mary of Mount Carmel, in Berwick, submitted to Edward I., and obtained his protection (*r*). After Edward acquired this town, as the fruit of his victory, in 1333, he removed the Scotish Carmelites, and replaced them with English; so determined was he to secure his conquest (*s*).

Of *hospitals*, in Berwickshire, Spottiswoode, and Keith, could only find two, though subsequent researches have disclosed nine. (1.) There was a *Domus-Dei* established, in Berwick-town, during the Scoto-Saxon period; but, by whom is unknown. It was under the regimen of a *magister*, who seems to have been a respectable man (*t*). In 1334, Edward III. issued a writ, in favour of the *magister, et Fratres, Domus Dei, de Berwick* (*u*). (2.) During the Scoto-Saxon period, there was a hospital founded, in Berwick-town, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary; but, the name of the founder is forgotten. When the English kings obtained possession of Berwick, they naturally assumed the patronage of its hospitals. In 1340, Edward III. gave Robert de Burton the government of this hospital of the Virgin Mary (*x*). Burton appears to have been a busy agent of the English king, in the southern districts of Scotland; and obtained, for his services, several grants of money, and revenues: He at length obtained the hospital of Edenham, in Roxburghshire: Yet, he seems to have been deprived of both those hospitals; For, Edward III.

(*o*) Chart. Cold. 72.

(*p*) Prynne, iii. 660: Edward directed, that the property of those captive friars should be restored to them. Rym. ii. 724. The superior of this order, which was called *captive*, as they relieved captives, was called minister.

(*q*) Spottiswoode has not even got this convent of Carmelites in his list.

(*r*) Ayloffe's Calend. 112. (*s*) Ib. 145.

(*t*) On the 1st of May 1352, William de Roxburgh, *magister de Domus Dei*, de Berwick super Twedam, granted a charter to the monks of Newbotle; stating, that he had inspected certain *evidents*; and found that the monks of Newbotle had a right to an annual rent of 20 s. out of a tenement in St. Mary's gate, which was lately possessed by Thomas de Ravensher. Chart. Newbotle, No. 212.

(*u*) Ayloffe, 147. (*x*) Ib. 186.

restored him to both, in 1347 (*y*). And, Burton, by his intrigue, or services, obtained a third hospital, from the confiding Edward III., in 1354 (*z*). (3.) During the Scoto-Saxon period, there was founded, without the walls of Berwick, though by whom is unknown, a hospital, which was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen: It was sometimes described, as *juxta* Berwick, and otherwhiles, as *extra* Berwick. In 1296, the master of this hospital swore fealty to Edward I., who restored to him the property of this pious establishment, which seems to have been early perverted to private use (*a*). (4.) At Hotun, which is now Hutton, in the south-east of Berwickshire, there was founded, during the Scoto-Saxon period, a hospital, that was dedicated to the apostle John; but, by whose charity, cannot now be ascertained. William, the guardian of this hospital, swore fealty, in 1296, to Edward I.; and received back, of course, the revenues of his trust (*b*). (5.) At Trefountain, was founded, under the beneficent David I., a hospital, though the hand, which conferred the charity, is forgotten (*c*). (6.) On the western side of the Leeder, below Lauder, there was founded, during the Scoto-Saxon period, perhaps, by Hugh Morville, the lord of the manor, a hospital, which was dedicated to St. Leonard, who seems to have been the common patron of such establishments. In 1296, Ralph, the master of St. Leonard's hospital, at Lauder, swore fealty to Edward I.; who thereupon restored him the property of the

(*y*) Ayloffe, 201.

(*z*) Edward III. conferred on Robert de Burton, in 1354, the custody of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, without the town of Berwick. Ib. 214.

(*a*) Rym. ii. 725. In 1319, Edward II. granted to John de Cerve, the custody of this hospital, then being vacant, and in the donation of the king, with all its rights. Ib. iii. 786. Edward III. gave to the master of St. Mary Magdalen's hospital *juxta* Berwick, a fishing, in the Tweed. Ayloffe's Calend. 148. In 1350, he issued a precept, "de denariis solvendis custodi hospitalis Beatæ Mariæ "Magdalenæ Berewici." Ib. 208. In 1354, Edward III. conferred this charge on Burton. Ib. 214. Edward, in 1356, issued a writ, "de amovendo manum regis de hospitale Beatæ Mariæ "Magdalenæ juxta Berwicum." Ib. 217. On the 15th of June 1361, he conferred his hospital on Roger de Bromley; and five days after, he gave it to Richard Metford. Ib. 223. Richard II., in 1394-5, conferred this hospital on Richard Clifford. Ib. 261.

(*b*) Rym. ii. 725. A gentleman's seat, near the site of this hospital, bears the significant name of *Spital*. See Armstrong's Map of Berwickshire.

(*c*) About a mile from the nunnery of St. Bothans, on the other side of the Whiteader, is situated *Trois Fontaines*, where the remains of a chapel, and burying-ground, are yet extant. Stat. Acco. xii. 65. In 1437, there was a "Donatio ecclesiæ, seu *hospitalis* de *Trafontanis*, in Lamyria," by John, abbot of Alnwick, to John de Coldstream, and the other monks of Dryburgh, which hospital seems to have been delivered to their charge, in the year 1436, by Henry, the bishop of St. Andrews. Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Col. No. ii.

hospital.

hospital (*d*). (7.) At Legerwood, in Lauderdale, there was founded a hospital, during the Scoto-Saxon period, perhaps, by Walter, the son of Allan, who obtained this manor from Malcolm IV. In 1296, Nicol de Lychardeswode, the chaplain, guardian of the hospital, at Lychardeswode, swore fealty to Edward I.; and, no doubt, had his revenues, in return (*e*). (8.) Robert Byset, who obtained, during the 12th century, the manor of Upsetlington, on the Tweed, founded, in the reign of David I., a hospital, which was dedicated to St. Leonard, at Horndene. The master of this hospital witnessed a charter of Hye de Simprine, during the short reign of Malcolm IV. (*f*). Robert Byset granted this hospital, with its pertinents, to the monks of Kelso, on condition, that their abbot should keep a chaplain there; and should maintain, in it, two poor persons, whom the donor, and his heirs, should have the right of placing therein (*g*). At the end of the 13th century, those monks had, at Horndene, this hospital, with sixteen acres of land, a fishing in the Tweed, and a park, within the manor of Upsetlington, for which they thought themselves obliged to support a chaplain, for celebrating divine service, in the hospital chapel, and to maintain two paupers, under the pious donation of Byset (*h*). (9.) A hospital, for lepers, was founded at Aldcamus, during the 12th century; but, by whose charity, is unknown. William, the lion, confirmed a donation of half a carucate to this hospital (*i*). And, it appears to have been placed under the protection of the monks of Coldingham, and to have partaken of their fate. Such, then, were, of old, the religious, and charitable establishments, in Berwickshire, originating from the well-meaning piety of the valorous fathers, and credulous mothers, of the present inhabitants.

The parishes, in this extensive district, may be traced back to the epoch of charters, beyond which every event is obscure. Those parishes were certainly more numerous formerly, than they are at present (*k*). At the era of the Reformation, the ecclesiastical polity of this shire was completely changed. And, the bishoprick, and deanry, were displaced, by the synod, and presbyteries, under very dissimilar auspices. When the ecclesiastical districts were formed, in 1593, *the Mers* was divided into the two presbyteries of Chirnside,

(*d*) Prynne, iii. 662; Rym. ii. 724. Near the site of this hospital, there were two hamlets, which were called *Spital, over*, and *nether*, Spital. Pont's Map of Lauderdale, in Blaeu's Atlas Scotiæ. A gentleman's seat, in this vicinity, still bears the name of *St. Leonards*.

(*e*) Prynne, iii. 661. (*f*) Chart. Kelso, 272.

(*g*) Ib. 239. (*h*) Ib. 23. (*i*) Chart. Coldingham, 4.

(*k*) Soon after the reformation, it was resolved by the church judicatories, to reduce the number one third. Melville's MS. Acts of the Church.

and

and of Duns (*k*). In the present times, Berwickshire has, besides those two, the presbytery of Lauder, with Nenthorn parish, in Kelso presbytery, and Cockburnspath, in Dunbar presbytery. And, the several parishes of this shire, with those of Teviotdale, form one synod, which stands the second, in the series, upon the church roll.

The origin of parishes, and the meaning of their names, are involved in long-enduring darkness. These inquiries have baffled all the antiquaries. And, it may gratify a reasonable curiosity, to see the result of another effort of investigation, with regard to objects, that are in themselves curious; and are, in their discussion, altogether proper for topographical notice.

It is fit, then, to begin this investigation with the parishes, within the presbytery of *Chirnside*, which comprehends twelve of the most ancient, in Scotland. During the 12th, the 13th, and 14th centuries, the town of Berwick, with its suburbs, with the adjacent *liberty*, or Berwick-*bounds*, formed two parishes: Berwick-town, and the lands near the sea, on the north, forming one parish, of which the Trinity church was the place of worship; while the village of Bondington, which no longer appears on the maps, and the adjacent territory, on the west, formed the other, of which the churches of St. Laurence, and the Virgin Mary, were the consecrated houses. Both those parishes were within the *diocese* of St. Andrews, and the *deanery* of the Merse: Their relations, ecclesiastical, and political, thus continued, with Berwickshire, till 1482, when the disgraceful intrigues of this year separated, for ever, Berwick-town, from North-Britain.

Chirnside was established as the seat of its presbytery, soon after the Reformation (*l*); and comprehends a dozen parishes. The kirk town gave its name to the parish. The ancient appellation was *Chernside*, which it obtained, from its location on the *side* of a hill, whereon was a *cairn*. Now, *carn*, or or charn, in the Cambro-British, and Gaelic languages, signifies a heap; secondarily, a *sepulchral tumulus*: And, of this Gaelic word the oblique case is *chuirn* (*m*); and to this form of the word the Saxon settlers applied their affix *side*, to denote its position. Of old, this church was a *rectory*, in the deanery of the *Merse* (*n*). In the ancient *taxatio*, the rectory of Chirnside was

(*k*) Melville's MS. Acts of the Church. (*l*) Calderwood's Hist. 100.

(*m*) In Monikie parish, Forfarshire, there is a place called *Chirn*-hill, at the foot of a small, round protuberance, with a cairn at the top of it: This coincidence, then, fixes the true derivation of this singular name.

(*n*) In a tax roll of the bishoprick of St. Andrews, it is described, as "rectoria de Chirnside in "decanatu de Mersæ." Rel. Divi Andreæ, 57.

rated,

rated, at 50 marks (*o*). In Bagimont's Roll, the tenth of the rectory of Chirnside is rated at £4. On the 24th of August 1296, William de Blyth swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick (*p*): And thereupon obtained a precept to the sheriff of Berwick to restore his property (*q*). The patronage of the rectory of Chirnside anciently belonged to the Earls of Dunbar: And, when Earl Patrick founded the college church of Dunbar, during the reign of David II., he annexed to it the advowson, and property of the church of Chirnside, which thus formed one of the collegiate prebends. This foundation was confirmed, by Bishop Landels, who ruled the see of St. Andrews, from 1341 to 1385; and it was again confirmed, on the 23d of October 1429, by Henry, the bishop of St. Andrews (*r*). After the forfeiture of the Earl of Dunbar, in 1434, the barony of Chirnside appears to have come into the family of Home (*s*). The church is as old as the year 1573 (*t*). The manse was rebuilt, in 1757; and the office houses, which belong to it, are still more recent (*u*).

The parish of *Coldingham*, which is vulgarly pronounced *Cowdenham*, is ancient, and obscure in its origin. The termination is obviously the Saxon *ham*, signifying a *vill*. The prefix Colden is plainly from the Saxon Col-den, the *Cold vale*. This intimation is sufficiently applicable to the ancient Kirktown, which stood on the side of a *den*, which was exposed to the cold winds, from the east, and north-east (*x*). The church, and parish, of Coldingham were granted, by the Scotish Edgar, to the monks of St. Cuthbert, at Durham, a colony of whom was settled here, and continued to enjoy the church, and the patronage, and

(*o*) Chart. Arbroth. (*p*) Prynne, iii. 659. (*q*) Rym. ii. 726.
(*r*) MS. Chart in Sir Lewis Stewart's Col. 58.

(*s*) On the 5th of August 1450, Sir Alexander Home granted to the college church of Dunglas, four husband lands, in Chirnside. Dougl. Peer. 343. On the 4th of January 1489, James IV. confirmed an entail of the lands of Chirnside, &c. to Alexander Home, the great chamberlain of Scotland, and grandson, and heir of Alexander, Lord Home, and his heirs-male. Ib. 344, from the Charter in the Pub. Archives.

(*t*) A square stone, which was taken from it, when the east aisle was rebuilt, exhibited the year 1573, with this inscription in rude characters: *Help the pur.* Stat. Acco. xiv. 47.

(*u*) The glebe contains 8 acres, 1 rood, stat. measure. Ib. 49. For other particulars of the parish of Chirnside, the more curious reader may consult the Stat. Acco. xiv. 1. and the Tabular State, subjoined to the account of this shire.

(*x*) Between the church and the sea there is a place, called *Cold*mill. This kirktown is the "Urbs *Coldana*" of Bede, saith Gibson, in his "*Explicatio nominum locorum*," subjoined to his Saxon Chronicle. This coincidence is decisive, as *Coldana*, and Coldene, or *dean*, are the same, in substance. There are a *Colden*, in Kinross parish, and *Coldean*, in Auchterderran parish.

profits

profits of it, till its reformation (*y*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, Coldingham, with its chapel, were rated at 120 marks, which is the highest value of any church, within the deanery of the Merse. Besides the church of Ayton, which was formerly a subordinate chapel to the mother church of Coldingham, there was a chapel, on St. Ab's head, the remains whereof may still be seen, in its ruins. The parliament of 1633 passed an act, in favour of the minister of Coldingham (*z*).

Ayton parish derived its name, from the location of the church, and its *ton*, on the bank of the *Ey*. The name was anciently written *Eytun*, which is obviously the Saxon *tun*, a vill, or town, which was affixed, by the Saxon settlers, to the Celtic name of the river (*a*). *Eitun* was granted, as we have just seen, by the Scotish Edgar, to St. Cuthbert's monks; and thus became the property of the priory of Coldingham, and partook of its fate: Thus early was there a church at Eyton, though it was probably subordinate to the church of Coldingham: And, of course, it does not appear in the ancient *Taxatio* among the churches, in the deanery of the Merse (*b*). Lying near Berwick bounds, Ayton has been the scene of great events: A truce was made here, in 1384, within the church of Ayton (*c*). In 1498, the small castle of Ayton was taken, by the Earl of Surrey (*d*). A seven years truce was, however, soon after signed, between the hostile kingdoms, within the church of Ayton, which stands on the southern bank of the Ey (*e*).

The parish of Eymouth is one of the smallest, in Berwickshire, and the most recent. The village derived its name, from its position at the *mouth* of the *Ey*

(*y*) Chart. Coldingham, throughout.

(*z*) Unprinted Act, dated 28th June 1633. The present parish church of Coldingham is old, mean, and dark. It was, however, divided among the parish heritors; and repaired, and new seated, about the year 1773. The manse, and offices are good; and the glebe, and garden, are among the best, in this presbytery. Stat. Acco. xii. 47-9. For other particulars of Coldingham parish, see the Statistical Account, as above, and the *Tabular State*, subjoined to Berwickshire.

(*a*) As early as the 12th century, there were two villages of that name, on the river *Ey*, which were distinguished as Upper-Eyton, and Lower-Eyton. Chart. Colding. There are two *Eytuns* in Edgar's charter to St. Cuthbert's monks; "Eitun, aliam Eitun." And. Independ. Appx. No. 1.

(*b*) In 1265, Hugh de Darlington, the prior of Durham, granted Henry de Prenderghest the privilege of an oratory, or private chapel, within his court of Prenderghest; "infra curiam suam "de Prenderghest." Chart. Cold. 57. The Scotish Edgar granted, with other *mansiones*, *Prenegest* to St. Cuthbert's monks. Ander. Independ. Appx. ii.

(*c*) Rym. vii. 434. (*d*) Border Hist. 468.

(*e*) Ib. 469. The village stands on the northern side of the Ey. For other particulars, the more curious reader may have recourse to the Stat. Acco. i. 79, and to the *Tabular State*, which is subjoined to Berwickshire.

river,

river, according to the Northumbrian practice (*f*). The village, and territory of Eymouth, were formerly a part of the barony of Coldingham (*g*). Since the reformation, Eymouth has been made a *burgh of barony*, under Home of Wedderburn, who is almost the sole proprietor (*h*). During the wars, which Edward VI. carried on, in courtship of Mary Stewart, a fort was built, at Eymouth; was demolished at the peace; and was rebuilt in 1557, amidst some bloody conflicts. In our own times, it has become, as we have seen, an useful port of busy traffic (*i*).

The present parish of Mordington consists of the ancient parishes of Mordington, and of Lamberton. The first is but an inconsiderable district, which was formed of the barony of Mordington, and of the lands of Edrington. In ancient charters, Mordington was written Morthingtoun: And, it probably obtained this name, from some Saxon settler of the name of *Morthin*, who communicated his own appellation to his *tun*, or vill. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Morthingtoun was rated at 24 marks (*k*). The patronage of the church followed the barony, till the reformation. Robert I. gave it to Thomas Randolph, the Earl of Moray, on the resignation of Agnes de Morthington, and Henry Halyburton, her husband (*l*). On the Earl of Moray's death, in 1332, this barony descended, successively, to his two sons, Thomas, the second Earl, who fell at the battle of Duplin, in 1332, and after his death to John, the third Earl, who fell, in the disastrous field of Durham, in 1346. On this event, this barony went to their heroic sister, Black Agnes, the Countess of Dunbar. She seems to have transferred it to her daughter Agnes, when she married James Douglas,

(*f*) In Aberdeenshire, there is an *Ey* river; and the place, at its issue, is named *Inver-ey*, which signifies, in the Gaelic, the same, as the Saxon *Ey*-mouth.

(*g*) In 1361, David II. granted to Ade Cossour, a bovate of land, in the tenement of Eymouth, within the barony of Coldingham. Robertson's Index, 82.

(*h*) Stat. Acco. iii. 112.

(*i*) For more particulars of the parish of Eymouth, the Stat. Acco. iii. 112, may be consulted; and see the *Tabular State*, which is annexed to Berwickshire.

(*k*) Bernard de Lynton, the parson of Mordington, swore fealty to Edward I. on the 24th of August 1296. Prynne, iii. 659. Bernard became abbot of Arbroth, about the year 1303. He was appointed chancellor to Robert Bruce, in 1307. He celebrated the victory of Bannock-burn, 1314, in a *Latin poem*, a fragment of which has come down to our own times. Fordun, ii. 249. In 1320, he convened the Scotish barons, at his monastery of Arbroth, where they subscribed the epistle to the Pope, the magnanimity of which has been admired, in every age. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. li. He continued abbot, and chancellor, till 1328, when he was made bishop of Soder and Man. He died, in 1333, and was buried, at Arbroth.

(*l*) Robertson's Index, 9.

of Dalkeith, who obtained, in November 1372, a charter from his wife's brother, George Earl of Dunbar: and his charter was confirmed by Robert II. (*m*). In this family, Mordington remained till the reformation. In 1564, it was confirmed by Queen Mary to her unworthy chancellor, the well-known Earl of Morton, with the advowson of the church, and other estates, which were all ratified, by the parliament of April 1567 (*n*). It was in the mansion-house of Mordington, that Cromwell, when he passed the Tweed, for the first time, established his quarters. The parish of Lamberton was only a small district, till its union with Mordington, in 1650. It obtained its name, like so many districts, in the southern shires, from the name of a Saxon settler, in early times, whose *tun*, it became (*o*). The person, who gave his name to this district, settled here before the reign of David I.; as *Lambertoun* had become a surname before his accession (*p*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Lambertoun is mentioned at the low valuation of 15 marks. Yet, had the monks of Coldingham acquired the advowson of it, in that age (*q*). During the reign of Edward I. they had acquired various lands in Lamberton parish (*r*). The church of Lamberton, which is now in ruins, stood on an eminence three miles, northward, from Berwick town, on the road to Edinburgh. After the disgraceful year, 1482, it become, from its commodious situation, the successive scene of public events. The marriage treaty of the Princess Margaret, with James IV. stipulated, that she should be delivered to the Scotish king's commissioners, at Lamberton church, without any expence to the bridegroom (*s*). Tradition idly tells, that Margaret

(*m*) Robertson's Index, 196.

(*n*) Parl. Rec. 763. In 1633, Sir James Douglas, the second son of William the Earl of Angus, obtained, from Charles I., a grant of Over-Mordington, and other lands; and he was created Lord Mordington, by the facility of Charles I. Dougl. Peer. 487.

(*o*) The charter of Gospatrick, before the year 1139, was witnessed, by *Lambert*, Dapifer. Diplom. Scotæ, pl. 71. In 1177, bishop Richard, of St. Andrew's, decided a contest, between the monks of Kelso, and one Lambert, about a tenement, in Berwick. Chart. Kelso, 445. We thus see, that there were Lamberts in Berwick, during early times.

(*p*) David I. granted a charter, at Berwick, which was witnessed, by William de *Lambertown*, with Earl Henry, who died, in 1152, and Herbert, the chancellor. Chart. Dunferm.

(*q*) In the early division of the 13th century, a convention was made, between Arnold, the prior of Coldingham, and Walter de Lindsey, about the chapel at Lamberton, which the baron was allowed to enjoy, "Salvo jure matricis ecclesiæ. Chart. Cold. 72.

(*r*) Ib. 29. William de la Vale, the chamberlain of Berwick, made return to a precept, "quod "prior de Coldingham habeat redditum suum de parva Lamberton. Id.

(*s*) Rym. xii. 788: She was to be delivered to him, or to his order, "apud ecclesiam vulgariter "vocatam Lamberton kirk." John Younge, the Somerset herald, has left a journal of Margaret's Journey,

Margaret was married, in that kirk; but, she was spoused, at Windsore; and the contract consummated, at Dalkeith. She returned to Lamberton kirk, in June 1517, a widowed queen, in less felicitous circumstances; owing to her own misconduct. In April 1573, Lord Ruthven, on an inauspicious day, met Sir William Durie, the marshal of Berwick, at Lamberton kirk, where they made a convention, which encouraged Durie to besiege Edinburgh castle (*t*). Lamberton parish, after the Reformation, was annexed to the adjoining parish of Ayton, to enlarge the stipend: And, in 1650, it was disjoined from Ayton, and annexed to the still smaller parish of Mordington (*u*).

The village, and church, of Foulden parish, stand on the lower edge of a dry height, near the upper end of two ravines, or dens, which deepen, as they descend to the river White-Ader. The name was anciently written *Ful-den*, which, in the Saxon speech, would signify the impure hollow, or dirty den. The prefix *ful* is, no doubt, the same, as that of *Ful*-ham, on the Thames, which probably derived its appellation, from the *moisture* of its site. The origin of the parish is as obscure as the etymon of the name. The church was a rectory, till the Reformation introduced a new regimen. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Fulden was rated at 24 marks. In Bagimont's Roll, the tenth of the rectory was valued at £4. It is recorded, in the Tax Roll of the Archbishoprick of St. Andrews, 1547, as the rectory of Foulden, in the deanery of the Merse. The advowson of this church seems to have been always attached to the manor. Robert de Ramsay, the parson of Fulden, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick, on the 24th of September 1296; and soon after received his property, in return (*x*). Queen Elizabeth's excuses, for the

Journey, from Windsor to Edinburgh. He conducts the *youuge quene*, with great attendance, and splendour, to Berwick-upon-Tweed: "On the xxx and xxxi days of July 1502, the quene tarried "at *Barrwyk*, where she had great chere of the said cappitayne of *Barrwyk*: That sam day was, "by the cappitayne, to the pleaseur of the said quene, gyffen corses of chasee, within the said town, with other sports of bayrs and of dogs togeder. The first day of August, the quene de- "parted from *Barwick*, for to go to *Lamberton* kerke, in verrey fair company, and well appoynted. "Before the said quene war, by order, Johannes and hys company [of players] and Henry Gles- "cebery, and his company, the trompetts, officers of arms, and sergeants of masse; so that, at the "departing out of the said Barrwyk, and at her *Bedward*, at *Lamberton kerke*, it was a joy, for to "see, and here." Leland's Collectanea, ii. Sandford, in his Genealogical Hist. 522, mistakingly, calls the said place of delivery *Saint Lambert's* kirk: But of such a *saint*, I know nothing.

(*t*) Spottiswood's Hist. 270.

(*u*) For other particulars of this united parish, see the Stat. Acco. xv. 173, and the tabular state, subjoined to this shire.

(*x*) Rym. ii. 724.

murder of Mary Stewart, being too terrible for the ear of her son, James, were made, on the 24th of March 1587, to his commissioners, *in the church of Foulden*, near Berwick-bounds (*y*). Mary might have well warned Elizabeth: "When, "by thy scorn, murdress, I am dead; then shall my ghost come to thy bed." The parish of Foulden has not prospered, for many years (*z*).

The present parish of *Hutton* consists of the old parishes of Fishwick, and Hutton. This name is probably a corruption of Holtun, signifying, in the speech of the Saxon settlers, in the south of Scotland, Wood-town. *Hutton*, in Dunfries-shire, had probably the same origin, like other places of the same name, in England, where we may see them in the original form of *Holt-ton* (*a*). In the ancient Taxatio, the church of Hutton was rated at 24 marks. Thomas, the parson of the church of Hutton, swore fealty to Edward I., on the 24th August 1296; and was, no doubt, rewarded, by the restitution of his property (*b*). Owing to whatever cause, Hutton does not appear in Bagimont's Roll. *Fishwic* probably obtained its name, from the site of the kirk town, on the bank of the Tweed, where fish abounded: And, *Fishwic*, in the language of the Northumbrian Saxons, is tantamount to Fish-vill. The Scotish Edgar granted to St. Cuthbert's monks *Fiscwic*, with its apurtenants (*c*). In 1150, Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, in the presence of the synod, which then sat at Berwick, confirmed to the monks of Coldingham the churches of *Fishwic*, and Swinton (*d*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Fishwic was rated at 30 marks. Fishwic, and its church, were again confirmed to those monks, by Robert III., who inspected, and ratified the original grant of Edgar (*e*). The advowson of the church of Fishwic continued in the monks of Coldingham, till the Reformation swept away such establishments. Fishwic was annexed to the adjoining parish of Hutton, on the north. The old church of Fishwic, which stood on the northern bank of the Tweed, below the village,

(*y*) Border Hist. 669-70.

(*z*) For other particulars of that parish, the more curious reader may look into the Stat. Account, xi. 116; and inspect the Tabular State, subjoined.

(*a*) See Gibson's *Regulæ Generales*, to his Sax. Chron. in vo. *Holt*. See the Glos. to Lyndsay's Poetry, 1806, for the distinction, between *holt*, a wood, and *holt*, a hill.

(*b*) Prynne, iii. 662.

(*c*) Smith's Bede, Appx. xx.: The grant was "Fiscwic tam in terris, quam *in aquis*, et cum "omnibus sibi adjacentibus." We, in this very ancient charter, see the name, in its Saxon form. There are a Fishwic, in Lancashire, and a Fishwic upon the Tame, in Staffordshire.

(*d*) Chart. Cold. 41. (*e*) Robertson's Index, 153.

has

has become a ruin. In 1765, a new church, for the united parish, was built at Hutton, on the site of its ancient church (*f*)

The mansion-house, and church, of *Edrom*, stand on the southern bank of the White-*Ader*; whence the place obtained, from the Saxon settlers, the name of *Ader-ham*, the hamlet on the Ader (*a*); the name being composed of the Cambro-British appellation, for the river, and the Anglo-Saxon term, for the village. Aderham was changed to Ederham; and Ederham was contracted, colloquially, to Edrom; as *Edenham* was abbreviated to *Ednam*. The lands, and church, of Ederham, with Nesbit, were granted to St. Cuthbert's monks by Gospatrick, the Earl of Dunbar (*b*); and confirmed, in 1139, by David I. (*c*). In 1150, the donation of Gospatrick was confirmed, by Robert the bishop of St. Andrews, in the presence of the synod at Berwick-town: And, it was also confirmed, by Bishop Richard, who ruled the see of St. Andrews, from 1163 to 1177. Richard also granted, in favour of the prior of Coldingham, the investiture of the church of Ederham (*d*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Ederham was rated at no less than 100 marks. Ederham was, of course, a vicarage till the Reformation: And William de Chatton, "*vicaire* de l'eglise de Ederham," swore fealty to Edward I., on the 24th of August 1296, at Berwick-town (*e*).

(*f*) For more recent particulars of this united parish, see the Stat. Acco. iv. 196, and the *Tabular State*, subjoined.

(*a*) The *Aders*, in Berwickshire, the *Ader*, in Wiltshire, and the *Ader*, in Sussex, derive their several names, from the Cambro-British *Awedur*; signifying running water. Lhuyd's Arch. 233.

(*b*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl 71.

(*c*) Dougl. Peer. 43: About the year 1147, David granted those monks another confirmation, with two material exceptions; (1.) Of thirty shillings due to his son, and heir, "Pro corrodio "regis;" and (2.) Pro exercito regis." Chart. Cold. 2. This charter was confirmed, by Earl Henry, the king's son, and by William, the son of the earl. Ib. 10-4-89. And with a thousand confirmations of the successive Earls of Dunbar; it was, additionally, confirmed by David II. Rob. Index, 82. We thus see, that David I. was entitled to a *corody* (corrodium) from the monks of Coldingham. *Corody*, saith Blount, signifies a sum of money, or allowance of meat, drink, and clothing, due to the king, from any religious house: And, if withheld, it might have been exacted, by the writ, *Corodio Habendo*: We here trace an obscure particle of the old law of Scotland, during David's time.

(*d*) The bishops *Litera* was addressed to the prior and convent of Durham, "de investitura ad "ecclesiam de Ederham. Ib. 42. Roger, who ruled that see from 1188 to 1202, granted a "concessio ecclesiæ de Ederham magistro Alano ad presentationem prioris et conventus Dunelm." Ib. 43. In the same chartulary, there are a variety of other precepts, both of the bishops of St. Andrews, as diocesans, and of the Scotish kings, addressed to the prior of Durham, as to the church of Ederham.

(*e*) Prynne, iii. 659.

In 1732, a new church was built here, and has since been repaired (*f*). During the minority of James v., the most murderous contests, for the lands of Blackader, continued between the Blackaders of Blackader, and the Homes, which finally ended in favour of the Homes, by violence against right.

The present parish was formed, in the year 1735, by the union of the two ancient parishes of *Whitsome*, and *Hilton*. Whitsome, which was sometimes written of old, in the Scoto-Saxon orthography, *Quitsome*, derived its name from the *Kirktown*, which had obtained its designation, from some Saxon settler here; and called his settlement *Hwits-ham*, which, in modern language, is *White's home*: In the same manner, as Smalham, in Roxburghshire, was changed to *Smallhome*, which was corrupted to *Smallholm* (*g*). We have now seen, that there was upon the scene, at the epoch of the Saxon settlement, here, a person, named *Hwite*, whose *ham* this district may have been, and whose name was thus easily corrupted, by colloquial use. Till the Reformation, Whitsome was a rectory: And, in the ancient *Taxatio*, was rated at 45 marks: In Bagimont's Rolls, the tenth of this rectory was rated at £6 : 13 : 4. This rectory, forming a part of the deanery of the Merse, was included, in the tax roll, 1547, of the archbishoprick of St. Andrews. Rauf de Hawden, the parson of the church of Whitsome, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick, on the 24th of August 1296; and, of course, had his parsonage returned to him (*h*). The advowson of this church seems to have been always annexed to the manor, which belonged to the Earls of Dunbar (*i*). The old church

(*f*) Robert Blackader, the first of the archbishops of Glasgow, whose family derived its surname from Blackader, in Ederham parish, built a vaulted aile to the ancient church. Bord. Hist. 473. For other particulars of this parish, see the Stat. Acco. i. 116, and the *Tabular State*, subjoined to this shire.

(*g*) In Pont's map of the Merse, we may see, not only Whits-*hoome*, but North-hoome, for North-ham, or Nor-ham, Car-*hoome*, for Car-ham; and Wood-*hoome*, for Wood-ham. A person, named *Hwite*, is one of the witnesses to Edgar's charter, for the neighbouring Swintun, to Cuthbert's monks. Smith's Bede, Appx. xx. When this charter was confirmed, in 1392, the chancery clerk of Robert III. wrote, for *Hwite*, *Qhwite*. Robertson's Index, 155. This example has been already noticed, as a proof of what was said, in the Prefatory Dissertations to Lyndsay's Poetry, of the propensity of the Scotish scribes to use *quh*, for *wh*.

(*h*) Prynne, iii. 657; Rym. ii. 725.

(*i*) John de Yle seems to have forfeited Whitsome, which was valued at 200 shillings of old extent: And, thereupon, Robert I. granted one half of it to Roger Pringle; and the other to Nicol Fowler. Robert. Index, 5. David II. granted the half of the lands of Whitsome to William Colville. Ib. 30. In 1364, Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, granted to Alexander de Ricklinton,

church of Hilton stood on a small hill; whence, the place obtained the name of Hill-tun, which is a topographical appellation, both in North, and South-Britain. The church of Hilltun was of old a rectory: And, in the ancient *Taxatio*, in was rated at 18 marks. As this rectory appears not in Bagimont's Roll, we may suppose, that it belonged to some of the exempt monasteries. In 1296, David, the parson of Hilltun, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick; and received, in return, his rights (*k*). In 1464, there seems to have been a suit depending, at the court of Rome, about the church of Hillton (*l*). In 1362, David II. granted to William de Wardlaw two carrucates of land, in the manor of Hillton, which, like many other lands, in that age, had fallen to the crown, by the forfeiture of Adam de Hillton, who adhered to the English king (*m*).

Swintun, and *Simprin*, are very ancient parishes, which continued separate, till 1761, when they were united. The Saxon name of *Swin-tun* is obviously derived, from its being the place of swine: And, of the same name, are several villages, in England; as there is in Coldingham parish, a *Swine*-wood, which was granted, by the Scotish Edgar, to St. Cuthbert's monks. When the church of St. Mary, at Coldingham, was dedicated, in 1098, by Edgar, he consigned to the same monks, upon the altar, "villam totam *Swintun* cum "divisis, sicut Liulf habuit (*n*). This grant of Edgar was confirmed, by his successors; and by Bishop Robert, in 1150, in the presence of his synod, at Berwick (*o*). David I. granted some lands, in Swintun, to Arnulf, his *miles*, to be held of St. Cuthberts monks (*p*): And, the charters of David I. to Arnulf, thus laid the foundation of the house of Swinton, which is undoubtedly ancient. Those monks retained the church of Swintun till the Reformation. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Swinton was rated at 35 marks. On the 24th of August 1296, William de Swynton, the vicar of Swinton, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick (*q*): Douglas, the genealogist, supposes that, the

Ricklinton, the half of the lands of East-spot, "in villa de *Qwytsoun*," which had belonged to Seyer Fraser; and which Patrick de Ramsay, knight, had resigned "in plena curia nostra apud "Quytingham." Ib. 76.

(*k*) Prynne, iii. 662; Rym. ii. 725. (*l*) Chart. Colding. 87.

(*m*) Rob. Index, 73. For some other notices, about this united parish, see the Stat. Acco. xvi. 348, and the *Tabular State*, subjoined to Berwickshire.

(*n*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. vi.: Edgar, on that occasion, gave to the same monks "viginti quatuor "*animalia* ad restaurandam illam eandem terram." Id. This is another charter notice, to show the unmanured state of the Merse, during the early reign of Edgar.

(*o*) Ib. pl. vii. x.; Chart. Cold. 10—41. (*p*) Ib. 3; Dougl. Bar. 127.

(*q*) Prynne, iii. 659.

vicar

vicar of Swinton was a younger brother of Henry de Swinton, who also swore fealty, with a younger son of Henry de Swinton of Swinton (*r*). In 1329, Bishop Bayn of St. Andrews gave a release of an assignation "super decimas "garbarum," of Swinton, and Wester Nesbit, during four years, for a debt of twenty marks (*s*). The prioress of Coldstream held a part of Little Swinton: And, in 1419, Marion, the prioress, entered into an agreement with the prior of Durham, about the tithes, and services, which she owed for that possession; and had the address to obtain a confirmation of the same prior, as superior of her rights, within Little Swinton (*t*). The origin of the church, and the name of *Simprin*, are most obscure: Nor, is there any help to be obtained, from a consideration of its location, on a wavy ridge of the lower Merse. The name was written, in the charters of the 12th and 13th centuries *Simpring;* and we are thus led to recollect, that there is a *Simpring-ham* parish, in Lincolnshire. The annex *ham* would induce us to suppose, that *Simpring* must have been the name of the person, whose hamlet it was; as the word *Simpring* cannot be etymologized, from any language: Neither Gibson, in his Saxon Chronicle, nor Lambard, in his Dictionary of Places, though they take notice of the Lincoln Simpringham, give the least aid: And, Skinner, and Johnson, have failed, egregiously, in giving any etymon of the verb, *Simper*, to smile, sillily. During the age of David I. Hye de Simpring possessed the manor of Simpring, and the advowson of its church. The church of Simpring was, at the same time, enjoyed by Thor, the archdeacon of Lothian. During the reign of Malcolm IV. Hye de Simpring granted to the monks of Kelso, the church of Simpring, with a toft, and some lands; reserving the rights of archdeacon Thor, during his life (*u*). Hye, the munificent, was succeeded by his son, Peter, who confirmed his father's liberalities, which were also approved by William, the lion (*x*). In 1251, bishop David, of the same see, confirmed to the monks of Kelso, the church of Simpring, to their *proper use:* Yet, not to be served, by a *vicar*, but by a sufficient clerk, as chaplain, who should be answerable, for his conduct, to the bishop, and his successors (*y*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Simpring was rated at 15 marks. When the monks of Kelso estimated their various estates, they calculated the church of Simpring to be worth ten

(*r*) Dougl. Bar. 128. (*s*) Chart. Cold. 46. (*t*) Ib. 74—92.

(*u*) Chart. Kelso, 272.

(*x*) Ib. 12. All those grants to the monks were confirmed, by the well-born Roger, who ruled the see of St. Andrews, from 1188 to 1202. Ib. 82.

(*y*) Ib. 276, 429. This grant of Bishop David was confirmed, by John, the prior of St. Andrews, "teste capitulo." Ib. 277—421.

pounds.

pounds (*z*). The whole parish of Simprin continued long, in the family of Cockburn, of Langton, till it was sold, for the satisfaction of debts, in 1758. The parishes of Swinton, and Simprin, were united, in 1761. The united church, and manse, stand in the prosperous village of Swinton. The late Lord Swinton, one of the senators of the college of justice, with much useful learning, possessed the still rarer knowledge of the true art, by which a small town may be made great (*a*).

The parish of Ladykirk comprehends the ancient parishes of Upsetlington, and Horndene. The parish of Upsetlington took its name from the Kirktown, which stands on the northern margin of the Tweed, somewhat higher, than Norham, on the opposite bank. The origin of the name is obscure: And without the prefix *Up*, or *Upper*, denotes the name of some settler on this pleasant site. Till the Reformation, the church here was a rectory (*b*): And, in the ancient *Taxatio*, it was rated at 20 marks. The tenth of this rectory was valued in Bagimont's Roll, at 4 l. The advowson seems of old to have been attached to the manor. On the 28th of August 1296, Henry de Strivelin, the parson of of Upsetlington, swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick; and, in return, had a restitution of his parochial rights (*c*). In 1500, James IV. erected a new church, for this parish, which he dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*: And hence, in after times, the parish became known, by the name of *Ladykirk* (*d*). The name of the parish of *Horndene* is peculiarly Saxon. *Horn*, in the A. S. tongue, signifies a *corner*, and *dene*, a *vale*. The Scotish Edgar granted to St. Cuthbert's monks, the lands, which lay, between *Horndene*, and Cnapdene (*e*). From such a description, naturally arose controversy among pertinacious parties: And, it fell to the lot of Earl David, the youngest brother of Edgar, to decide the dispute,

(*z*) Chart. Kelso.

(*a*) For more particulars of those united parishes, see the Stat. Acco. vi. 322, and the *Tabular State*, subjoined.

(*b*) In a tax-roll of the archbishoprick of St. Andrew's, 1547, the church is called, "*rectoria* "de Upsadlington."

(*c*) Prynne, iii. 660; Rym. ii. 724. From Brigham, in England, Edward I. adjourned the Scotish parliament to an open field, in Upsetlington. Rym. ii. 546; Lord Hailes' An. i. 202. In 1331, there existed controversies with the bishop of Durham, who claimed West-Upsetlington, as an appurtenant of his castle of Norham; Edward III. wrote to David II, "de episcopo Dunel- "mensi non inquietando." Rym. iv. 499. In 1559, a supplementary treaty to that of *Cateau Cambresis* was signed on the 31st May, in the church of St. Mary of Upsetlington. Bord. Hist. 599.

(*d*) Ib. 147. For more particulars of this parish, see the Stat. Acco. viii. 71, and the *Tabular State*, subjoined.

(*e*) Smith's Bede, Appx. xx.

with his usual liberality (*f*). William de Vetereponte acquired the manor of Horndene, during the 12th century: And he transferred the church of Horndene to the monks of Kelso (*g*). This grant of Vetereponte was confirmed by bishop Hugh, who ruled the diocese of St. Andrew's, from 1177 to 1188 (*h*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Horndene was valued at 100 shillings. When the monks of Kelso, afterward, made an estimate of their estates, they valued this church, which they held to their *proper use*, at 10 marks (*i*). It continued to belong to them till the Reformation. After this epoch, the parishes of Upsetlington, and Horndene, were united, for the enlargement of the minister's stipend. The united parish was now called Ladykirk, in honour of *our Lady:* And the principal proprietor of the parish has applied this appropriate name to his mansion-house, while the decayed village of Upsetlington retains its ancient, but obscure appellation (*k*).

The old name of the parish of *Coldstream* was *Lennal.* In ancient charters, the word was variously written, Leinhall, Lenhal, Lennal, Leinal, and Lennel. The Kirktown of Lennal stood on the northern bank of the Tweed, which here forms a pool: And, from this circumstance, probably, acquired, from the Ottadini people, its Cambro-British name; Llyn, signifying a pool, or the stagnating part of a river: The British *Llyn*, which, in the Cornish, and Armoric forms, is *Len*, appears both as *Lin*, and *Len*, in the names of many places, in North, and South Britain: And, the original appears, in the varied form of *Len*, or *Lin*, which, no doubt, continued till the intrusion of the Saxon settlers on the Tweed, when their term *Hal*, signifying a large house, was affixed to the ancient name. The parish of *Leinhall* appears in the earliest records (*l*). When Gospatrick, the

(*f*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. x.: This is the record of the first juridical decision in the Scotish law: Earl David decided, in favour of the monks, provided they could show either possession, or his brother's grant; It is in this document, that the *drengs*, a species of *villeyns*, are mentioned. This is a very curious transaction, which illustrates, at once, the *sovereignty* of Earl David, and his *justice.*

(*g*) Chart. Kelso, 139.

(*h*) Ib. 414: And his confirmation was approved by his dignified successor Bishop Roger. Ib. 82. And the whole transaction was ratified, in 1251, by Bishop David, who, we may remember, insisted, that the monks should provide an honest chaplain, for the service of the church, and not a rapacious vicar. Ib. 421. (*i*) Id.

(*k*) For more recent particulars of this united parish, see the Stat. Acco. viii. 71, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*l*) Henry, "presbyter de Leinhall," witnessed the charter, which Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, granted ro the monks of Coldingham, at Roxburge, in 1147, in the presence of David I., with many of his clergy. Chart. Cold.; Smith's Bede, Appx. xx., where the name of the parish is, mistakingly, printed *Leinhale.*

Earl

Earl of Dunbar founded the Cistercian nunnery, at Coldstream, he gave it the church of *Layn-el*, with half a carrucate of land, at *Layn-el*, and another half carrucate, at Birgham. And, Derder, his Countess, granted to the same nunnery the church of Hirsel, and a carrucate of land, which the Earl confirmed (*m*). In this manner, then, were the churches of *Leinhall*, and Hirsel, invested, in the same religious house; but, the church of Hirsel came afterward to be considered, only, as a chapel, subordinate to the church of Leinhall: The church of Hirsel stood on the lands of Hirsel, which form the south-western part of this parish. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of *Leinal* was rated at 30 marks; but, the church of Hirsel does not appear therein, being even then deemed a chapel. The church of Leinal continued in the possession of the prioress of Coldstream till the Reformation: And it preserved its ancient name, for a century and a half, after that epoch. In 1716, a new parish church was built, at the village of Coldstream; and the designation of the parish became afterward the name of the kirktown. The ruins of the church of Leinal stand about a mile northward from Coldstream, on the steep bank of the Tweed, which has carried away a part of the church-yard. The village of Lennal disappeared, amidst the waste of the border wars. The mansion-house of Lennal still appears on the bank of the Tweed, above the ruins of the ancient church. Coldstream stands below the influx of the *Leet*, which winds around the town, before it loses itself, in the Tweed: And from this stream, the Kirktown probably acquired its name, from the Saxon settlers, on this pleasant site, which now forms a prosperous post town, which gives its name to the connecting bridge of Coldstream, with England (*n*). Thus much, then, with regard to the several parishes, in the presbytery of *Chirnside*.

The reformation led on to the establishment of the seat of a presbytery, at *Dunse* (*o*). The parish of *Dunse* is ancient. Its name was written of old *Duns*. This appellation is merely the Celtic *Dun*, signifying a hill, which was applied to the beautiful height, called Duns-law. In this vicinity, there are several hills, which may have occasioned the application of the English (s), the sign of the plural, to the singular *Dun*. The advowson of the church, with the property of the parish, belonged, from early times, to the Earls of Dunbar. During the reign of David II., Earl Patrick, when he founded the collegiate church of Dunbar, annexed to it the church of Duns, as one of its prebends. This annexation

(*m*) Dougl. Peer. 438; from Chart. Coldstream, 70-71.

(*n*) For other particulars, see the Stat. Acco. iv. 410, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*o*) Melville's MS.; Calderwood's Hist. 100.

was confirmed, by bishop Landels, who ruled the see of St. Andrews, from 1341 to 1385: and bishop Henry again confirmed it, on the 23d of October 1429 (*p*). In the ancient Taxatio, Duns, as a rectory, was rated, at 110 marks: And, in Bagimont's Roll, the tenth of the rectory of Duns was valued at no less than 10l. (*q*). On the 28th of August 1296, Henry de Lematon swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick; and, in return, had his rectory of Duns, with its rights, restored to him (*a*). On the 15th of December 1661, Andrew Fairfowl, the minister of Duns, was consecrated, in Westminster Abbey, Archbishop of Glasgow (*b*). A new church of elegant structure was erected at Duns, in 1792. Dissenters of various denominations have their meetings here; the burgers, and antiburgers, the seceders of relief; all quietly pursue their several peculiarities; as they are all fully tolerated (*c*).

The parish of *Greenlaw* derives its Saxon name, from one of those detached hills, which, in the south-east of Scotland, are called *Laws*, from the Saxon *Hlawe*, a *tumulus*. The hamlet of Old Greenlaw stood on the summit of one of those hillocks, which, from its superiour verdure, during times of worse cultivation, was called *Greenlaw*. This name was transferred to the town of Greenlaw, which stands north-west, seven furlongs, in a bend of the Blackader; and on the same side of the river, at some distance, eastward, stood the castle of Greenlaw, which has been long disparted by time. The manor of Greenlaw belonged to the ancient Earls of Dunbar, who were patrons of the church of Greenlaw, and of the chapel of Lambdene. Earl Gospatrick, who succeeded his father in 1147, granted to the monks of Kelso the church of Greenlaw, with the chapel of Lambdene, and the church lands adjacent (*d*). This grant was confirmed by Waldeve, the successor of Gospatrick; and by Patrick, the son, and successor

(*p*) MS Chart. Sir Lewis Stuart's Col. 58.

(*q*) The Tax Roll of the archbishop of St. Andrews, 1547, recognizes the *rectory* of Duns, in the deanery of the Merse.

(*a*) Prynne, iii. 662; Rym. ii. 724.

(*b*) Wood's Athenæ, 856; Keith's Bishops, 158.

(*c*) For other particulars, the more curious reader may see the Stat. Acco. iv. 378, and the *Tabular State* annexed. On the 31st of July 1637, James, Earl of Home, obtained a grant of the barony of Duns. Dougl. Peer. 347.

(*d*) Chart. Kelso, 70: The chapel of Lambdene was built by Walter de Strivelin, who held the lands of Lambdene under the Earl, Gospatrick. Walter obtained, from the bishop of St. Andrews, permission to build a church, within his village of Lambdene, on the concession, and request of Gospatrick, the Earl, whose fee the said hamlet was. Chart. Kelso, 423. *Lambdene*, the vale of the lamb, was situated in the south-east quarter of Greenlaw parish.

of

of Waldeve (*e*). Gospatrick, the father of Waldeve, had a younger son, Patrick, to whom he gave the manor of Greenlaw, with other lands. Patrick, who was the progenitor of the Home family, held Greenlaw under the Earl of Dunbar, till 1435, when the earldom became annexed to the crown, as we have seen. Patrick, who thus obtained the manor of Greenlaw, confirmed the munificence of his fathers; and from his own liberality conferred on those monks some other lands (*f*). In earlier times, there was a similar agreement between those monks, and Roland, of Greenlaw, who wished for a private chapel, which they allowed, on a similar condition, in favour of the church of Greenlaw (*g*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Greenlaw was rated at 45 marks. On the 28th of August, 1296, Nicolaus del Camb, the vicar of Greenlaw, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick; and, in return, was restored to his vicarage, with its rights (*h*). In the old manor of Halyburton, there was a church, as early as the manor itself. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Halyburton was rated at four marks. This notice shows equally the poverty, and the separation of the church of Halyburton. When this church, however, was granted to the monks of Kelso, they seem to have converted it into a chapel. About the year 1176, David, the son of Tructe, granted to the monks of Kelso the church of Halyburton, within his *vill*, with some crofts, and two bovates of land: And all, for the sake of the soul of his Lord Gospatrick, the Earl (*i*). William Lamberton, who ruled the see of St. Andrews, from 1298 to 1328, granted to the

(*e*) Ib. 71-2: The charters of those several earls were confirmed by William, the lion. Ib. 12.

(*f*) Ib. 75. He thus confirmed to them half a carrucate of land, which Adam had given to the church of Greenlaw: And, Patrick gave them a right of pasturage, within his manor of Greenlaw, for 100 sheep, 8 oxen, 4 cows, and 1 work-horse. Ch. Kelso, 73. Patrick was succeeded, in his manor of Greenlaw, by his son William, who confirmed the grants of his father, and grandfather; and he gave them, in addition, a toft, with a croft, at Greenlaw, which Adam Cassin held of him, and another toft, at Greenlaw, which Liolf, *equictus*, held of him, with other lands. Ib. 75-77. *Equicium* signifies a stud; *equicius* may be translated a stud-groom; or, in a laxer sense, a *stabler* of Greenlaw. In consideration of all those liberalities, the monks gave Patrick leave to have within his court, at Greenlaw, a private chapel; giving the monks, however, an assurance, that the mother church of Greenlaw should not be injured, by his chapel. Ib. 74.

(*g*) Chart. Kelso. (*h*) Rym. ii. 724.

(*i*) Chart. Kelso, 267. That grant was confirmed, by Walter, the son of David, the son of Tructe. Ib. 269. Under Alexander III., Philip de Halyburton, the great-grandson of David, the son of Tructe, also confirmed the grant of his fathers. Ib. 269. In 1261, the same Philip gave the monks a resignation of the *chapel* of Halyburton Ib. 270. The name of this old establishment is obviously the *Haly-burg-tun* of the Saxon speech; signifying the holy fortlet, and village: In 1441, Sir Walter Halyburton of Dirleton, the descendant of David, the son of Tructe, was created a lord of parliament. Dougl. Peer. 321, from the Parl. Rec.

monks

monks of Kelso the church of Greenlaw to their *proper use*, with the chapels of Halyburton, and Lambdene; in consideration of the great waste of the succession war (*k*). When the monks made up an estimate of their estate, at the beginning of the 14th century, they stated the rectory of Greenlaw, at the accustomed value of 26 l. 13 s. 4 d. (*l*). In Bagimont's roll, the tenth of the vicarage of Greenlaw was rated at 3 l. 6 s. 8 d. The rectory of Greenlaw, including the chapels of Halyburton, and Lambdene, continued to belong to the monks of Kelso, till the Reformation introduced a very different regimen (*m*).

The parish of *Eccles*, as the name evinces, is as ancient as Celtic times: The British *Eglys*, and Galic *Eaglis*, signifying a church. This word appears, in the names of various parishes, and places, where churches were of old, in North, and South Britain (*n*). The church of Eccles was dedicated to St. Cuthbert. In 1156, Gospatrick, the Earl of Dunbar, founded, at *Eccles*, a convent, for Cistercian nuns. To this convent, he annexed the church of Eccles, with its pertinents, and the dependant chapels of Brigham, Mersington, and Letham. The piety of Gospatrick was respected, by his descendants; and confirmed by the bishop of St. Andrews (*o*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Eccles, with the chapels of Brigham, Letham, and Mersington, were rated at 100 marks. The chapel of Brigham stood on the northern bank of the Tweed, at the village of this name, from its location, by the Saxon settlers, at some bridge. The lands of Brigham were forfeited, by the treason of George Earl of Dunbar, in 1400: And, when he was restored, in 1409, he was punished, for his folly, by various dilapidations of his property: Walter Halyburton, who had married the regent Albany's daughter, and had negotiated his restoration, was rewarded, by a grant of the forty pound land of Brigham. The chapel of Letham stood in the village of that name, within the parish of Eccles; and, when Earl George emigrated, in 1400, Robert III. granted the lands of Letham to John de Letham (*p*). The chapel of Mersington stood in the village of this name, within the same parish: And, David II. confirmed a grant of Patrick Earl of Dunbar, to Adam Hepburn, of Mersington, and some lands, in Colbrands-path (*q*). On the

(*k*) Chart. Kelso, 308. (*l*) Chart. Kelso.

(*m*) For other particulars of the parish of Greenlaw, see the Stat. Acco. xiv. 501, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*n*) Adams's Villare: In Scotland, there are *Eccles*-machan, *Eccles*-fechan, *Eccles*-greig, *Eccles*-john; and *Eagles*, in Ayrshire, and *Eagles*-ham, in Renfrew.

(*o*) Reg. of St. Andrews, 59-60.

(*p*) Robert. Index, 149. (*q*) Ib. 42.

26th

26th of April 1209, Radulph, "Sacerdos de Dunbar accepit curam de *Heccles* (*r*)." About the year 1250, when a new church was built here, St. Andrew was enthroned, as the tutelary protector of Eccles, in the place of the worthy Cuthbert. All those churches, and chapels, continued with the convent, till the Reformation regenerated the old regimen (*s*).

The parish of *Fogo* derived its name from the Kirktown. In ancient charters, this singular name was written *Foghou*. The church of Fogo stands on the eastern bank of a narrow valley, which leads to a ford on the Blackwater; and this river runs in a deep channel, when it passes Fogo, and indeed throughout its whole course, within this parish. These circumstances suggest the Saxon name of Fog-hou, the foggage pit, den, or hollow. This parish is ancient. Under David I. it belonged to the opulent Earls of Dunbar, who were proprietors of the manor of Fogo. Gospatrick, who succeeded his father, in 1147, granted the church of *Foghow* to the monks of Kelso, with a carrucate of land (*t*). And, the dignified bishop Roger, who ruled St. Andrews, from 1188 to 1202, added his approbation to the piety of Gospatrick (*u*). Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, who succeeded his father in 1182, granted to his second son, William, the manor of Fogo to hold of the earldom: And, William, who had thus become the Lord of the manor, confirmed to the monks of Kelso the church of Fogo, with the mansion, which John, the dean possessed, with the croft adjacent, and the contiguous land, reaching southward to "*Grenerig*:" And, he added to those gifts that land, within his territory of Foghou, which John, the dean, had enjoyed, with the church (*x*). William, the son of the Earl, who, probably obtained Foghou, on his marriage, with Christian, the rich heiress of Walter Corbet, of Makerston, had two sons by her, who both assumed her name of Corbet; Nicolas, and Patrick. Nicholas inherited his mother's manor of Makerston; and Patrick obtained, from his father, the manor of Foghou. Patrick Corbet, on the death of his father, in 1253, granted to the monks of Kelso, his chapel of Foghou, with the miln of the manor; the monks, in consideration of his gift, being held, to provide either three monks, or three secular chaplains, to perform divine service in the same chapel (*y*). We thus see how many of the manors,

(*r*) Chron. Mailros: We feel, above, the Saxon aspirate, in *Heccles*.

(*s*) For more recent particulars of this parish, see the Stat. Acco. xi. 231, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*t*) Chart. Kelso, 70. The liberality of Gospatrick was approved, and confirmed by Malcolm IV., and William, the lion. Ib. 2—12.

(*u*) Ib. 82. (*x*) Chart. Kelso, 302.

(*y*) Chart. 304.

in

in those times, had their own chapels. The manor of Foghou seems to have come, by marriage, to the neighbouring family of Gordon; still holding of the Earls of Dunbar, till the forfeiture of Earl George in 1400: And, Sir Adam Gordon now obtained, from Robert III., a charter, for the lands of Gordon, and of Fogo, in Berwickshire, "the superiority whereof pertained to the king, by "reason of the forfeiture of the Earl of Dunbar (*z*)." Sir Adam, who thus became a tenant in chief of Gordon, and Fogo, fell on the fatal field of Homildon, in 1402; and was succeeded by Elizabeth, his heiress, who married Sir Alexander Seton (*a*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Fogo was rated at the middling value of 40 marks. On the 28th of August 1296, David, the vicar of Foghow, swore fealty to Edward; and in return had the restoration of his vicarage (*b*). The monks of Kelso retained the church of Fogo, till the Reformation established a very different regimen.

The church of Polwarth is situated on a rivulet, which, as it courses over a clayey bottom, becomes muddy, from every shower: The village of Polwarth stands higher on a kindred stream, a mile north-westward, on a swampy site. Such are the local circumstances, to which the corrupted name of Polwarth may be traced. In ancient records, the appellation of this parish was variously written, *Poulworth*, *Paulworth*, and *Polworth*: Now, *Pul*, in the Cambro-British, and *Pol*, in the Galic, signify, a ditch, a stagnating stream, a marshy place: and hence *Pol* became a common name, for many rivulets, in North Britain: *Worth*, or *weorth*, as we have seen, signifies, in the Saxon speech, a farmsted, a hamlet, a village: And thus, *Polworth* means the settlement on the *Pol*, or muddy stream; as Jed*worth* was the hamlet on the Jed, and Tam*worth*, the farmsted on the Tame. The church of Polworth is ancient: And, the advowson seems never to have been separated from the manor, at any time, since the epoch of record. In the 12th, and the 13th centuries, the manor was enjoyed by a family, who assumed from it the surname of *Polworth*. Under Robert II., Sir Patrick de Polworth, knight, left a daughter, Elizabeth, the inheritrix of *Polworth*, and of *Kimbrigham*, which has been contracted to *Kimmergham*, in the Merse:

(*z*) Roberts. Index, 140.

(*a*) On the 20th of July 1408, the regent Albany granted a charter, on the resignation of the heiress, Elizabeth de Gordon, at Perth, on the same day, to Sir Alexander Seton, and the heirs of Elizabeth, of the lands of Huntly, and Gordon, and *Foghow*, Fawnys, and Mellerstanes, of which Sir Adam had died seized, in Berwickshire, and of Strathbolgie, and Beldy Gordon, and other lands, in Aberdeenshire. Roberts. Index, 163.

(*b*) Rym. ii. 726: The more curious reader may see more modern notices of Fogo parish, in the Stat. Acco. xx. 270.

And

And Elizabeth of Polworth, taking Sir John Sinclair, of Herdmanston, for her husband, transmitted those estates to the issue of her marriage: In this manner, then, was *Polworth*, and Kimmergham, acquired, by Sir John Sinclair, whose son, grandson, and great grandson, enjoyed them, as the heirs of Elizabeth de Polworth. Under James II. her grandson died, without male issue; leaving two daughters, Margaret, and Marian: While Herdmanston went to the heirs-male of Sir William Sinclair, who died last seized, Margaret, by marrying Sir Patrick Home, conveyed to her husband Polworth; and Marian, by marrying George of Wedderburn, Sir Patrick's elder brother, transferred Kimmergham to him. In this manner, then, arose the family of Home of Polworth: And, on the 23d of April 1696, Sir Patrick Home, one of the most vigorous characters of his age, was created Earl of Marchmont, Viscount Blassonbury, Lord Polworth, Redbraes, and Greenlaw (*c*). Polworth continued a rectory till the Reformation: And it was valued, in the ancient *Taxatio*, at 12 marks: In Bagimont's Roll, the tenth of the rectory was rated, at 4 l.: Intimations these, which show, that the parish was but small, and the rectory of little value (*d*). On the 28th of August 1296, Adam Lamb, the parson of *Pouleworth*, swore fealty to Edward, and, in return, obtained a precept, for the restoration of his property (*e*). Adam Home, the third son of Sir Patrick Home, of Polworth, was rector of this parish, at the Reformation; and became the first protestant minister of the parish of Polworth (*f*).

The name of the parish of Langtun was, like many others, derived from the Kirktown, which extended to a great length, eastward, towards Dunse: And, the appellation of *Lang-tun* is purely Saxon, which signifies *Long-town*, though it retains, in common use, much of its Saxon form. It is an ancient parish. During the reign of David I., the manor, with the advowson of the church, were

(*c*) Dougl. Peer. 447; Crawf. Peer. 310—17: All those places belonged to this parish, except Blassonberry, and Greenlaw: And Marchmont is merely the modern name of Red-braes, which was changed to Marchmont, the family seat.

(*d*) In the Tax Roll of St. Andrews, 1547, the rectory of Polwarth, in the deanery of the Merse, was included.

(*e*) Rym. ii. 724.

(*f*) Dougl. Peer. 445; Stat. Acco. xvii. 96, which says, that circumstance stands recorded on his tomb-stone. There is on the front of the church an historical inscription in Latin, by the first Lord Marchmont, dated in 1703, in which there is some fiction, as to the antiquity of the church. Id. The well-known Scotish song, of Polwarth on the Green, originated in a custom, which has fallen into unmerited disuse, and which consisted, in the marriage folks dancing round two thorn trees, that graced *Polwarth on the Green*. Other notices of this parish, the more curious reader may see in the Stat. Acco. xvii. 93, and in the *Tabular State*, annexed.

held, by Roger de Ow, the follower of Earl Henry, the heir apparent of David. The gratitude of Roger granted to the monks of Kelso the church of his village of Langton, with its pertinents, as Henry, the parson, held them (*g*). The lamented Earl Henry was buried in the church of Kelso (*h*). From the liberal de Ow, the whole manor of Langton passed to William de Veterepont, a name, which was afterwards softened to *Vipont*, who had a son, William (*i*). He now confirmed to those monks the church of Langton, with the tithes, and lands, belonging to it: And he also conferred on them the lands, called Coleman's Flat, within the same parish (*k*). William, the lion, confirmed the liberalities of de Ow, and Vipont (*l*). The diocesan, the dignified bishop Roger, also confirmed to the monks the church of Langtun, with its pertinents (*m*). The Viponts continued the lords of the manor of Langton, during the revolutionary ages of Robert I. and David II. (*n*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Langton was rated, at 30 marks: And, when the monks, at the commencement of the 14th century, made an estimate of their affairs, they stated the rectory of Langton to have been estimably worth 20l. In 1296, John, the vicar of Langton, swore fealty, at Berwick, to Edward; and, in return, obtained a writ, for the restitution of his vicarage, with its rights (*o*). The Reformation introduced into the parish of Langton, a very different regimen (*p*).

(*g*) Chart. Kelso, 137.

(*h*) Ib. 141, expressly says, "Ipsius ecclesie de Kalchou, in qua corpus Henrici comitis requiescit." Lord Hailes was unacquainted with this fact. An. i. 91.

(*i*) This William obtained from William, the lion, between the years 1171 and 1178, a grant of the manor of Langton; Boulton, in East Lothian, and Careden, in West Lothian, to be held, *in free warren*. Roberts. Index, 179.

(*k*) Ib. 138-9-40-1: He gave those monks another charter of confirmation, which contained a limitation, that they should always retain, in their own hands, the church of Langton. Ib. 141. It is, in this charter, that the fact of Earl Henry's burial, within the church of Kelso, is recorded. (*l*) Ib. 12—143.

(*m*) Ib. 82. In 1240, Bishop David of the same see, who ought to be remembered, as a diocesan, who endeavoured to make the monks advert a little to "the cure of souls," wrote the monks of Kelso an epistle, about Langtun church. Ib. 416.

(*n*) Robert. Index, 80. The manor of Langton, afterward, passed into the family of Cockburn. Among Hadington's MS. Col. in the Advocates Lib. 364, there is a charter of James IV., dated the 20th of February 1504-5 of the *Ostiarius Parliamenti*, which was thereby annexed to the manor of Langton. From the Cockburns, the manor, and church of Langtun, were acquired by David Gavin, who removed the ancient village, about the year 1760, to a better site, under happier influences: His daughter, the Countess of Braidalban, now enjoys the estate, and patronage of the church. (*o*) Rym. ii. 726.

(*p*) The more curious reader may see, in the Stat. Acco. xiv. 579, more modern notices of Langton Parish, and in the *Tabular State*, annexed.

The

The conjoined parish of Bonkill, and Preston, formed of old separate parishes. The church of Bonkill stands near an old castle; and both are situated at the *base* of a ridge, which is called in modern language *Bonkle-edge*. *Bonkle* is the contracted form of the word, which was always written Bonkill, till recent times (*q*). In the British, and Galic speech, *Bon* signifies the base, and is applied, in the North British topography, to places lying at the foot of hills; as the Boyn, in Banffshire: And, there is reason to suppose, that the prefix *Bon*, in this name, was early applied to the foot of the ridge, which here is called *edge*, as in other places, in the south of Scotland (*r*). *Cill*, in those Celtic languages, signifies a retreat, a cell, a chapel, a kirk. The word *Bon* must have been applied very early to the place, at the foot of the *edge*; and when the chapel was settled, at the same place the *cill*, or *kill*, was applied, rather in the Saxon, than in the Celtic mode of formation of a singular name (*s*). The parish of Bonkill is ancient. David I. had to settle a controversy about the proper limits of Bonkill-*scire*, and Coldinghame-*scire* (*t*). William, the lion, was also called upon to settle the same boundaries, by pertinacious parties (*u*). The advowson of the church of Bonkill has continued with the lord of the manor, from the 12th century to the present. During the 12th, and 13th centuries, the manor of Bonkill was possessed, by a family, who assumed, from their lands, the name of Bonkill. In the 12th century, Radulph de Bonkill granted to the monks of Coldingham all the right, which he had to the *forests*, and *moors* of Coldingham-scire (*x*). The liberality of Radulph also gave them the lands of *Toddehalech*, in the neighbouring parish of Ederham (*y*). The lairds of Bonkill continued a re-

(*q*) Chart. Cold.; Roberts. Index.

(*r*) One of the several senses of the English *edge*, which is certainly derived, as we may see, in Somner, from the Saxon *ecge*, is a *brink*, *margin*, or *extremity*; and the word *edge* is, accordingly, applied, in the shires of Berwick, and Roxburgh, to ridges, perhaps in a somewhat extended sense.

(*s*) In the Scotish topography, there is no other *Bonkill*, or *Bonkle*.

(*t*) David's charter, describing the boundaries of those two parishes, is in the Chart. Colding. 2. We see above, the Saxon term *scire*, for a division, or district, is applied, in the sense of *parish*, as an adjunct to the names of the two parishes.

(*u*) Ib. 5. And the term *scire* is again annexed to Bonkill, and Coldingham. The boundaries, as settled by David, and his grandson William, were again confirmed by Alexander II. Ib. 6. And, even the Countess of Angus, as lady of Bonkill, was also induced to declare her sense of the limits of those two parishes. Ib. 84.

(*x*) Chart. Cold. 19.

(*y*) Id. Todde-hauch means Fox meadow: And, here is an instance, how early the Saxon settlers of the Merse introduced the term *tod*, for a *fox*. Randulf, moreover, gave those monks the lands of Brockholes, Harewood, and Denwood. Ib. 84.

spectable family, here, till the reign of Alexander III., when Sir Alexander de Bonkill had to sustain the struggles of the succession war (*z*). Sir Alexander left only one child, Elizabeth, his heiress, who married, about the year 1288, Sir John Stewart, the second son of Alexander, the stewart of Scotland, who died, in 1283, and the younger brother of James, the stewart, who died, in 1309 (*a*). Sir John Stewart fell, at the battle of Falkirk, in 1298, fighting with Wallace, for the independance of his country (*b*). He left, by his wife, Margaret de Bonkill, who did not long survive him, seven sons, and one daughter. But, he never enjoyed Bonkel, though he had some lands, with his wife, Margaret, in Cumberland, as her father outlived him: Nor, was he ever called Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, during his life. On the decease of his widow, in 1305, she was succeeded, in the barony of Bonkill, by her eldest son, who had been named, Alexander, after her father: Alexander of Bonkill did not live long, as he died, some time before the year 1319; leaving a son, John, who succeeded him, in Bonkill; and a daughter, Isabel, who married the Earl of Mar (*c*). His son John was, certainly, created Earl of Angus, by Robert Bruce, before his demise, on the 7th of June 1329 (*d*). But, he did not enjoy long the honour thus conferred upon

(*z*) Burn's Cumberland, 130: Sir Alexander de Bonkill had the mortification to witness John Baliol swear fealty to Edward I., as Lord Paramount of Scotland, at Newcastle, on the 26th of December 1292. Rym. ii. 594-5. Sir Alexander died some months before the 27th of April 1300; as we know, from an *Inquisitio post Mortem*, in the tower.

(*a*) Rym. ii. 714, coevally, calls Sir John Stewart, the brother of James, the Stewart of Scotland. When Sir John Stewart swore fealty to Edward I. on the 15th of May 1296, he is described, by the record, as brother German of James, "dictus senescallus Scotiæ." Prynne, iii. 649. This relationship of Sir John Stewart is so established, by contemporary records, that it cannot admit of any question. It has been doubted, indeed, whether Sir John Stewart married Elizabeth de Bonkill. But, there was an inquest of the clergy of the deanery of Allerdale, which was held, at Wigton, on the 20th of July 1305; and which expressly found, "that Sir Alexander Bonkill had a daughter, "Margaret, who is now lately dead; and that in her father's life-time, she had married Sir John, "the brother of the stewart of Scotland." Burn's Hist. Cumberland, ii. 131-2. The fact, then, was found, by an inquest of clergymen. There are other records, in the tower, which ascertain the same fact.

(*b*) W. Hemingford, i. 165; Lord Haile's An. i. 260.

(*c*) Symson's Hist. Stewarts, 64; D. Stewart's Hist. Andrew Stuarts, Genealogical Hist. Stewarts, 49.

(*d*) There remains a charter of Earl John, to Gilbert Lumisden, of the lands of Blanerne, within the barony, and parish of Bonkill, dated the 15th of June 1329, in which he calls himself *Earl of Angus*, and *Lord of Bonkill*. We thus see, from this charter notice, that John had been then created Earl of Angus, before the demise of the great Bruce: And yet, John Stewart, meantime, obtained a dispensation of Pope John, on the 28th of October 1328, to marry Margaret Abernethy, by

upon him, by the restorer of the monarchy, since he died, on the 9th of December 1331, as we know from Fordun (*e*). He was succeeded, as Earl of Angus, and Lord of Bonkill, by his son, Thomas, who lived, during very disastrous times. In 1353, he married, by a dispensation from the pope, Margaret Sinclair, of Roslin (*f*): And dying of the plague, a prisoner, in Dunbarton castle, in 1361, he left by his wife, the Countess Margaret, a son, Thomas, who succeeded him, as Earl of Angus, and Lord of Bonkill, with two daughters, Margaret, and Elizabeth (*g*). This second Thomas, who married a daughter of the Earl of Mar, died, without issue, in 1377 (*h*): And, he was now succeeded, as Lord of Bonkill, by his eldest sister, Margaret, who married, for her first husband, Thomas, Earl of Mar, by whom she had no issue; and, for her second husband, William, the first Earl of Douglas, by whom she had a son, George, who was the heir of Bonkill. This Earl of Douglas died, in 1384; and his, and her son, George, obtained, in 1389, upon his mother's resignation, a charter, from Robert II. of the earldom of Angus, the lordship of Abernethy, and the barony of *Bonkill* (*i*). There remains a curious contract, in 1397, between Robert III., and Margaret, Countess of Mar, and of Angus, for the marriage of her son, George, to a daughter of the Scotish king (*k*). Robert III. was thus induced to grant to George Douglas, and the heirs of his marriage, the earldom of Angus, the lordship of Abernethy, and the barony of *Bonkill*, with the advowson of the churches, within those territories, to be held, in a *free regality* (*l*). From that

by the name of John Styward, Dominus de Bonkill. See the Dispens. in And. Stuart's Genealog. Hist. Apx. 430. And, he assisted, as Earl of Angus, at the coronation of David II., on the 24th of November 1331; as we learn, from Fordun, L. xiii. c. 21. Crawford, in his Peerage, was misled, by a loose expression in Fordun, to say, that Sir John Stewart, of Bonkill, was created Earl of Angus, at the coronation of David II.

(*e*) L. xxii. c. 21. When the pretender to the Scotish crown, Edward Baliol, broke into Scotland, he granted, on the 20th of October 1332, the manor of Bonkill, which John Stewart, of Bonkill, had forfeited, by his opposition to his pretensions, to Sir Thomas Ughtred, an active instrument, on that occasion, of the English king, and of his puppit Edward Baliol. See the Inspeximus Charter of Ed. III., 1340, in Rym. v. 177-8.

(*f*) See the Dispensation in And. Stuart's Geneal. Hist. Apx. 435.

(*g*) Crawf. Peer. 9; Dougl. Peer. 21.

(*h*) Id. And. Stuart's Geneal. Hist. 58. (*i*) Ib. 59.

(*k*) The original is in Lord Douglas's Archives: "Att Edynburgh ye xxiiii day of May ye "yeir of our Lord a thousand thri hunyr nynty & seven mad waryir Amandys uneruritym betwyx "a nobill & excellent Prince Robert throw ye grace of God Kyng of Scotys of the ta'pte a'd "Margarette contas of Mar & of Angus of the toyir p'te yt is to say, &c." George of Douglas, Lord of Angus, in pursuance of this contract, married the Lady Mary, the king's daughter.

(*l*) Roberts. Index, 139; Crawf. Peer. 9.

epoch.

epoch *Bonkill* has remained with the Douglases. It was forfeited, indeed, by Archibald, Earl of Angus, who was convicted of treason, in 1528; but, his forfeiture was reversed, on the 15th of March 1542-3 (*m*). We have now seen the barony of Bonkill pass, by Margaret, a female heir, to Sir John Stewart, whose son enjoyed it, and whose grandson was created Earl of Angus, and Lord of Bonkill; and Margaret, the granddaughter of the first Earl, by marrying William, Earl Douglas, carried Bonkill, from the race of the Stewarts to the family of Douglas (*n*). The conjoined parish of Preston, like other places, in North, and South Britain, derived its name from the Saxon *Prest-tun*, the town of the priest. The Kirktown of Preston stands on the northern side of the Whiteader, nearly two miles south-westward of Bonkill. The two manors of Preston, and Bonkill, as the property of the same family, were virtually united (*o*). The church of Preston, any more than the church of Bonkill, does not appear, in the ancient *Taxatio:* Neither do these two parishes seem to have ever belonged to any religious house. The church of Preston has been completely ruined by time, and chance: The church of Bonkill continues to serve all the spiritual purposes of the united parish. The Reformation, no doubt, introduced here, as in every other district, a very different regimen (*p*).

The abbey of St. Bathan's parish is situated among the hills of Lamermoor, on the Whiteader riveret. This name is a modern corruption of St. Bothan's; as we may learn from the Aberdeen Breviary (*q*). Under William, the lion, his daughter Ada, the Countess of March, founded on the same sequestered

(*m*) Parl. Rec. 580-650. The titles were, afterward, confirmed by Queen Mary, and ratified in Parliament. Parl. Rec. 765. And thus, under all those rights, and authorities, the present Lord Douglas enjoys *Bonkill* and *Preston*, with their pertinents, as representative of the Douglases, Earls of Angus, the posterity of the Lady Mary, and George Douglas.

(*n*) Thus failed the Steuarts of Bonkill: The race of the Steuarts who descended, from Sir John Steuart, and Margaret de Bonkill, who left seven sons, and one daughter, will be resumed, in the account of Renfrewshire.

(*o*) The last Thomas Steuart, Earl of Angus, who died, in 1377, granted to Thomas *Reidpath* 15 husband lands, and 7 cottage crofts, "in villa de *Prestoun*, et baronia de Bonkill." This grant was confirmed, by Robert II., in 1379. Roberts. Index, 123. And, on this point, see the Parl. Rec. 766.

(*p*) For other notices, the more curious reader may see the Stat. Acco. iii. 153, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*q*) "In Lamermur, Bothani episcopi et coenobie sancti monialium ei consecratio." Aberd. Breviary. Dempster's Menologia records the 18th of January, as the day of Bishop Bothan. The parish church of Yester, in East Lothian, was also dedicated to St. Bothan. The name of Abbey of St. Bothan still remained, unchanged, when Pont surveyed Berwickshire. Blaeau's Atlas, No. 8. The parish has only been misnamed Abbey of St. Bathan's, since the epoch of the Reformation.

site,

site, a convent, for Cistercian nuns, who acquired the advowson of St. Bothan's church, which was anciently of much value: This church was valued, in the ancient *Taxatio*, at 50 marks. A very different regimen was introduced into the abbey of St. Bothan's parish, at the Reformation (*r*).

The castle, and Kirktown of Cran-shaws are situated near the head of a small valley, through which runs a rivulet to the Whiteader, the banks whereof were of old clothed, and ornamented, with natural oaks, and hazels, where the cranes delighted to resort. Thus, the name of the parish is, merely, the old English Crane-shaws; the *shaw* signifying a wood, a shelter (*s*). The parish of Cran-shaws is old. It consists of two divisions, which are separated by the interposition of the parish of Longformacus. Lying in the heart of the Lamermoor, this district seems to have been always little peopled. In the ancient *Taxatio*, it was rated only at 12 marks. In Bagimont's Roll, the tenth of the rectory was valued at 2 l. 13 s. 4 d., the money of that age. When greater men swore fealty to Edward I., in 1296, Robert de Strivelin, the parson of the church of Cran-shaws, offered his homage, at Berwick; and, in return, was restored to his rights (*t*). The advowson of the church seems to have been always attached to the manor. The barons of Cranshaws, during the 12th, and 13th centuries, cannot be easily ascertained. In the 14th century, this barony appears to have been obtained by the Douglases. In 1401, Sir John Swinton, of Swinton, acquired the lands of Cranshaw, from Archibald, the fourth Earl of Douglas, who calls him "dilectus consanguineus noster" (*u*). The baronial mansion of Cran-shaws was once castellated, for its defence. It has been of late fitted up, for occasional residence. The regimen of this parish, like more important districts, underwent some change, at the Reformation (*x*).

(*r*) The parish church is certainly very ancient: It was, of old, 58 feet long, and 26 feet broad; but, has of late been contracted to accommodate a small flock. For more recent notices, the curious reader may consult the Stat. Acco. xii. 61, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*s*) See Ash, and Somner: But, Ruddiman will have the etymon to be the Galic *Sheaghas*, which is pronounced *Sheas*, a wood: Yet, the frequent application of *Shaws*, in southern Britain, to woody shades, seems to preclude the ingenious conjecture of the learned grammarian.

(*t*) Rym. ii. 725.

(*u*) Dougl. Peer. 129. In 1585, the family of Swinton still enjoyed Cranshaws. Ib. 130. In June 1640, an act passed the parliament of Scotland, confirming to the Laird of Swinton, the baronies of Swinton, and *Cranshaws*, with the teinds thereof, and the patronage of the church of Cranshaws. Unprinted Act of the 11th of June: Watson, of Saughton, is now the proprietor of Cranshaws.

(*x*) For more recent notices, the more inquisitive reader may inspect the Stat. Acco, vi. 436, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

The

The present parish of *Longformacus* comprehends the old parishes of *Lochermacus*, and *Ellem*. Longformacus is the modern corruption of *Lochermacus*, which is the form of the name, in old charters: This was still the name of the parish, in the reign of Queen Mary (*y*); and during the age of Charles I. (*z*). *Locher* is a frequent name in Scotish topography; as *Locher*-wart, Mid-Lothian, *Locher*-castle, *Locher*-moss, and *Locher*-water, in Annandale, and there are the the rivulets, *Locher*, in Lanark, and Renfrew: It, also, appears, perhaps, in the the form of *Locher*-by, in Annandale, *Locher*-by, in Yorkshire, and *Locher*-by in Hampshire. The word is probably the British Llwcher, or Lloucher, signifying a place of pools, or a stream, that stagnates into pools. There are several such riverets, in Wales, under the form of *Loucher*: The Galic term is *Locher*. As Rodericks was annexed, as we have seen, to Linton; *Maccus*, the name of a person, which, we know existed, in Roxburghshire, was adjoined to Locher. The church of Locher-macus, owing to whatever cause, does not appear in the ancient *Taxatio*. The advowson of the church seems to have been always appurtenant to the manor. But, the ancient Lords of Lochermacus cannot be easily traced. Before the accession of Robert I., Morthington, of Morthington, had become the proprietor of this parish. Randolph, the first Earl of Moray, obtained from the gratitude of that great king, his uncle, the baronies of Morthington, and Longformacus, which had pertained to Agnes de Morthington, and her husband, who had resigned them (*a*). After the death of the illustrious Randolph, on the 22d of July 1332, those baronies were successively held, by his son Thomas, who fell, on the disgraceful field of Duplin, in 1332; and by John, the third Earl, who fell on the more disastrous field of Durham, in 1346. Black Agnes, their sister, and Countess of Dunbar, enjoyed Morthington, and Longformacus: From her, those baronies descended to her son, George, Earl of Dunbar. This great person, soon after, granted to James Sinclair, of the Roslin family, the barony of Longformacus, to be held of the Earls of Dunbar; and the the Earl's liberality was confirmed by Robert III., in 1393 (*b*): But, when this earldom was forfeited, in 1434, the Sinclairs seem to have become tenants in chief of Longformacus (*c*). This family was now involved, in some measure, in the various fortunes of the Earldom of Dunbar: Yet, did they retain the barony of Longformacus, till late times. The property of this barony, with the advowson of the church, now belong to Home, of Longformacus. Morthington,

(*y*) Parl. Rec. 763.
(*a*) Roberts. Index, 9. 11.
(*c*) Dougl. Peer. 249.
(*z*) Pont's Map in Blaeu, No. 8.
(*b*) Roberts. Index, 144.

which

which has been changed to Mordington, remained with the Earldom of Dunbar, till Earl George, in 1372, gave it in marriage, with his sister, Agnes, to James Douglas, of Dalkeith. In this family it continued till Queen Mary's days. In October 1564, she confirmed to the well-known James, Earl of Morton, the barony of Mordington, with the advowson of the churches of Mordington, and Longformacus, and such other churches, and chapels, as to them might belong. Mary's liberality to her unworthy servant was confirmed by the parliament, in April 1567 (*d*). We may easily suppose, that the forfeiture of this guilty Peer, for being privy to the murder of Darnley, may have made some change, as well in the property of the barony, as in the patronage of the church. The name of the parish of *Elleme* is obscure. It is obviously, however, a contraction of El-ham, which is nearly allied to El-botle, the *ham*, and botl, being almost synonymous (*e*). *El*, in the Saxon, is a frequent prefix, as we may know from Somner: But, there is reason to suspect, that the prefix *El*, in the names of places, in Scotland, and in England, may be a contraction of *Eld*, old; so Eldham would be the old-tun, or vill, in opposition to *New*-bigging. The parish is ancient, and the name was easily barbarized: The advowson of the church belonged of old to the Earls of Dunbar, who also were lords of the manor (*f*). After the forfeiture of the Earl of Dunbar, in 1400, Robert III. granted to Thomas Erskine, the lands of Ellam, with the teinds, within the earldom (*g*). As this parish lay, in the midst of the Lamermoor, it was neither populous, nor opulent. The church was valued, in the ancient *Taxatio*, at 26 marks: In Bagimont's Roll, the tenth of the rectory was rated at 6l. 6s. 8d. The rectory of Ellem appears in the archbishop's Tax Roll, 1547 (*h*). Thomas Brown, the parson of Ellem swore fealty to Edward III., after the battle of Halydon-hill; and in return received a protection for his person, and his parsonage (*i*). The ruins of the ancient church, and the hamlet of Ellem, stand on the north side of the Whiteader, near a ford, whence the place has been recently called Ellemford. The old church was still used, for spiritual rites, during the reign of Charles I. The two parishes were united some time before the year 1750. The church of Longformacus now accommodates the whole parishioners, who

(*d*) Parl. Rec. 763; Roberts. Index, 136; Dougl. Peer. 490.

(*e*) They both signify a villa, domicilium, a village, a farm, a hamlet.

(*f*) There appears to have been formerly a family of Ellem, who probably were tenants of the manor under the Earls of Dunbar. Henry de Ellem swore fealty to Edward, at Berwick, on the 28th of August 1296. Prynne iii. 657. Richard de Ellem witnessed a charter of Earl Patrick, at his castle of Dunbar, on the 24th of May 1367. Roberts. Index, 82.

(*g*) Ib. 147. (*h*) Reliq. Div. Andreæ. 57.

(*i*) Rym. iv. 570.

adhere to the established church (*i*). Thus much, then, with regard to the *ten* parishes, which form the presbytery of *Dunse*.

Among the presbyteries, which were laid out, by the regimen of the Reformation, *Lauder* seems not to have been appointed (*k*). It was, however, established, as the seat of a presbytery, containing *nine* parishes, of which *seven* are, in Berwickshire, and *two*, in Roxburghshire, as we already have seen. The Kirktown of Lauder gave its name to the parish; and the town took its Celtic designation, from the river *Leder*, whereon it stands: Analogy, perhaps, requires, that the name should be written *Lauder*, as the vale, through which it runs, has been called *Lauderdale*, from the epoch of Record (*l*). The learned minister of the parish has mistakingly supposed, that the church of Lauder was of old only a chapel, under Channel-kirk; and was raised to the dignity of a church, by the Reformation (*m*). Lauder may appeal against its minister to the oldest records, for its antiquity: It had of old two chapels, which were subordinate to Lauder, as the mother church; the chapel of Kedslea (*n*); and the chapel of St. Leonard's (*o*). The church of Lauder appears to have been early of great value: In the ancient *Taxatio* it was valued at 90 marks; while Channelkirk was valued only at 40 marks. During the reign of the church-loving David I., the advowson of the church of Lauder, belonged to Hugh Morville, who enjoyed,

(*i*) The Stat. Acco. i. 69. will not much enlighten to the inquisitive reader the obscurities of Ellem; but, he may inspect the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*k*) Calderwood's Hist. 100.

(*l*) *Lauder*, as the name of the riveret, as Camden calls it, may be derived from the Cambro-British *Lai-dur*, signifying the discoloured stream: But, as this water runs clear, and unpolluted, over a gravelly bottom, the fact does not warrant such an etymon: Or the name might have been derived from the Cambro-British *Lai-dur*, signifying a *lesser* river, which is applicable to the *Lauder*, as compared with the Tweed. The derivation, which is most consistent with circumstances, and fact, is to be found in the Cambro-British *La-dur*, or *Leder*, which signify the stream, which breaks out, or overflows: Now, the Lauder is a mountain torrent, that after the melting of snow, or the falling of rain, overflows its banks, and sweeps away mills, and bridges: This etymon is thus supported by the fact, and equally applies to the *Leder*, in Wales.

(*m*) Stat. Acco. i. 74.

(*n*) The chapel of Kedslea stood on the west side of the Lauder, on a site, which was actually named *Chapel*, in a detached part of the parish of Lauder, on the south. Malcolm IV. confirmed to the monks of Dryburgh, "terra illa quam *Kisth*, clericus, tenuit de avo meo de ecclesia de "Cadisleya." Chart. Dryb. 176.

(*o*) St. Leonard's chapel stood on the western side of the Lauder, southward from the town, west somewhat, from the site of St. Leonard's hospital. Richard Morville, who died, in 1189, granted St. Leonard's chapel, with its pertinents, to the monks of Dryburgh. Nisb. Herald. i. 134. *St. Leonard's banks* are still celebrated in Scotish song. Ritson's Col. ii. 121.

from

from the grant of that celebrated king, almost the whole of Lauderdale. The church, through many a changeful age, was appurtenant to the manor: And, when the munificent Hugh died, in 1162, his estates, and office of constable, descended to his son Richard, who died, in 1189; and from him coming to his son William, who died, in 1196; Lauderdale, the kirk-town, and office, descended to his sister Elena. All that belonged to the opulent family of the Morvilles, she carried to her husband, Alan, the lord of Galloway, who died, without male heirs, in 1234. His three daughters, Elena, Christian, and Dervorgille, inherited his estates, as parceners of the whole, that he possessed. Christian died, without issue, in 1246: And, when the two surviving sisters divided the whole between them, Lauder, with its churches, and chapels, fell to the share of the liberal Dervorgille, who had married John Baliol of Bernards-castle, Yorkshire: And Dervorgille, and her husband, resigned to the canons of Dryburgh the advowson of the church of Lauder, and the seat of the chapel, belonging to it (*p*). And, the church of Lauder, with its rights, which were thus acquired, remained with the canons of Dryburgh, till the Reformation introduced a new regimen. The whole was afterward acquired by the family of Lauderdale, who now enjoy it (*q*). In the memorable year 1296, William Fitzaleyn "le clerc de Laweder," swore fealty to Edward, at Berwick, with greater men, who obeyed necessity (*r*). It was in the old church of Lauder, where the scandalous meeting was held, in July 1482, which ended in the murder of the king's menials, on Lauder-bridge, and the imprisonment of James III. in Edinburgh castle (*s*). This ancient church stood at the northern end of the town, opposite to Lauder-fort. It was relinquished, in 1617, when a new church was erected on the south-east quarter of the town (*t*). The Reformation, no doubt, introduced here a very different regimen.

The

(*p*) Chart. Dryb. 6-7. On the 19th of June 1268, John Baliol completed this gift, by formally resigning into the hands of Gamelin, the bishop of St. Andrew's, the advowson of the church of Lauder, and the chapelry beloning to it. Ib. 3. And, the next day, the bishop confirmed the piety of Baliol. Ib 4. To make surety more sure, the whole transfer of those church rights was confirmed by John, the prior, with the chapter of St. Andrew's. Ib. 5.

(*q*) Alexander Lawder, the son of Sir John Lawder, of Halton, and the brother of the bishop of Glasgow, was promoted, in May 1440, from the rectory of Ratho to the see of Dunkeld; but dying, on the 11th of October in the same year, he was buried, "in ecclesia parochiali "de Lawedre, loco sepulturæ parentelæ." Fordun. L. xvi. c. 26.

(*r*) Prynne, iii. 658.

(*s*) The minister records the disgraceful circumstance, "that the house, in which the king was "seized, is still standing," to the reproach of that ancient town. Stat. Acco. i. 75.

(*t*) On the 28th of June 1617, there passed an act of parliament, "for changing the kirk of

The name of the parish of *Channelkirk* is obscure. In the charters of the 12th and 13th centuries, the word is written *Chyldinchirche*, and *Childincirch*; which evince, that Channelkirk is a mere modern corruption (*u*). The affix to the original term is obviously the Saxon *circ, cyrc*, cyric, the old English kirk, the Anglo-Norman church. It is more than probable, that the original name of the place, which is significantly marked, by the site of the Roman camp, was *childin*, which may have been left here, by the Romanized Ottadini, with other names, that still remain, as we have seen, in their British forms: And, of course, the Cambro-British word is plainly *cil-din*, signifying the retreat, or chapel, or church, at the fort: Now, the fact is, that the church, and hamlet, actually stand, within the area of a Roman camp (*x*). A church probably existed on this singular site even before the epoch of record. By the grant of David I. Hugh Morville became proprietor of this mountain district, and the advowson of the ancient church. Hugh Morville, in gratitude to his benefactor, perhaps, as much as from motives of piety, soon after gave to the canons of Dryburgh, which had been founded, by David, the church of *Childinkirc*: And this donation of Hugh Morville was confirmed, by his son Richard Morville, after the death of Hugh, in 1162; and was approved by Malcolm IV. (*y*). The canons of Dryburgh retained this church till the Reformation introduced a very different management. The abbot of Dryburgh entered into an agreement with the master of the hospital of Soltre, which Malcolm IV. had founded, with respect to the tithes, and other dues, that the hospital ought to pay yearly to the abbot, in right of the mother church of *Childinkirk*, out of the lands of *Sulerichnes*, near Wedaleford, as well from the grain, raised, by the proper cultivation of the master of the hospital, as from his other moveables, in the same lands: And those dues were agreed to be paid, by the master of Soltre, annually, to the abbot of Dryburgh, with a pound of pepper, and another of cumin, in recognition of the mother church of Childin-kirk (*z*). Though this parish lies, in the hilly district of Upper Lauderdale, the church seems to have been early of some value: It was valued, in the ancient *Taxatio*, at forty marks. There were of

"Lauder." Unprinted Act of that date. About one half of the parishioners reside in the burrough of Lauder: And the seceders, in this parish, though few in numbers, support a minister for themselves, who thus enjoy their own peculiarities, principles, and practices. For more particulars, the inquisitive reader may see the Stat. Acco. i. 72. and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*u*) On Pont's Map of Lauderdale, in Blaeu's *Atlas Scotiæ*, the name is *Chinailkirk*; and in the parish records, which are preserved, as far back as 1650, the name is *Chingel*-kirk.

(*x*) Roy's Milit. Antiq. pl. vi. (*y*) Chart. Dryb. 1-2.

(*z*) A copy of that agreement is recorded, in Chart. Soltre, 48; and in Chart. Dryb. 48.

old

old, in this parish, two chapels, which were subordinate to Childinkirk; the one at Glengelt (*a*); and the other at Carfrae (*b*). The rights of mother churches, which, in ancient times, were carried full far enough, were all abolished, by the Reformation; when such chapels were neglected, for greater objects (*c*).

The parish name of *Mertoun* is merely the Saxon *Mere-tun*, the habitation at the marsh, or pond: This name is very common, from so usual a circumstance, among the fens, in North, and South-Britain. The *Mere*, which furnished a name to this place, has been improved into glebe. The marsh here is supposed to have been chiefly drained, by a rivulet, which flows from Lochflat, by the east of the church, and falls into the Tweed, below the mansion-house of Mertown. The abbey of Dryburgh was founded by David I., within this parish; and this munificent founder gave the parish church, with its pertinents, to his favourite canons of Dryburgh (*d*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Merton, within the deanery of the Merse, is rated at forty marks. While the church thus belonged to the canons of Dryburgh, the cure was served by a vicar (*e*). The church of Mertoun continued to belong to the canons of Dryburgh, till the Reformation introduced a very different regimen (*f*).

The name of the parish of *Earlstoun* is plainly a modern corruption of the celebrated appellation of *Ersildun*. In the charters, from the 12th century to the 16th, the name is written *Ersildun*, Erseldon (*g*). It may be derived, from the Cambro-British *Arcwl-dun*, signifying the prospect hill. The church, and

(*a*) Henry de Murdeville, who enjoyed the lands of Glengelt, during the reign of William, the lion, granted to the canons of Dryburgh an indemnity, that the chapel of Glengelt should not injuriously affect the mother church of Childin-kirk. Chart. Dryb. 139.

(*b*) In the 13th century, John de St. Clair, who possessed the lands of Carfrae granted an indemnity to the canons of Dryburgh, that his chapel of Carfrae should not injure the mother church of Childin-kirk. Ib. 143.

(*c*) For modern notices of Channel kirk, the inqnisitive reader may consult the Stat. Acco. xiii. 384, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*d*) Ch. Dryb. Dug. Monast. ii. 1054.

(*e*) In 1483, Dene David Dewar, the vicar of Merton, had some pretensions to the abbey of Dryburg; and, in this character, he leased to Adam Bell, the tithes of the church of Salton, which Bell collected; and being prosecuted, in parliament, by the abbot, Bell brought his action against the vicar: On the 23d of January 1488-9, the Lords found, that Dene David being a *spiritual* person, and the abbacy litigious, the abbot ought to summon him before the spiritual judge. Parl. Rec. 352.

(*f*) For more recent particulars of that parish, see the Stat. Acco. xiv. 586, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*g*) In Pont's Map of the Merse, during the reign of Charles I., the name appears, in the form of *Ersildun*.

village.

village of Earlstoun stand on the east side of the Leder, having on the south a hill, which commands an extensive view over that riveret, and the Tweed. The corrupted name of Earlstoun is attributed, by popular tradition, to the supposition, that the Earl of March had of old resided here. But, though those Earls do not seem to have ever had a residence, at this place, they were undoubtedly the principal proprietors of Ersildun, from the 12th century till 1435, when they incurred a forfeiture. David I. sometimes resided here (*h*). In the 12th century however, the family of Lindsay held the manor of Ersildun (*i*). The donations of the Lindsays, to the monks of Coldingham, were confirmed by Richard, who ruled the see of St. Andrews, from 1168 to 1177 (*k*). William de Lindsey conferred on the canons of Dryburgh, two bovates of land, in the parish of Ersildun (*l*). The Lindseys, who were thus bountiful, seem to have retired from Ersildun, at the conclusion of the 12th century, when the Earls of Dunbar became here more conspicuous. Patrick, the Earl, the son-in-law of King William, confirmed to the monks of Coldingham, the church of Ersildun (*m*). There was a perambulation, soon after, for settling Earl Patrick's boundaries of Ersildun, with the monks of Dryburgh's grange of Cadesley, on the western side of the Leder (*n*). Earl Patrick, dying, in 1332, his son, Patrick, granted the same monks a confirmation of the limits, between his territory of Ersildun, and their grange of Cadsley (*o*). Those opulent barons seem to have granted

(*h*) In 1136, David I. gave to the monks of Melros, the lands of Melros, Eldun, Dernwick, Galtonside, a fishing in the Tweed, and the use of his forest, between the Gala, and the Leder, by a charter, dated, "apud ercheldon in junio." The witnesses were: Henry, his son, John the bishop, William, his nephew, William, the chancellor, Madd, comes, with other men of the country; such as, Gospatrick, the Earl, Ulfchil, the son of Ethelstan, Osolf, the son of Huctrix, Maccus, the son of Unwin, Hutred, the son of Sioth, Huctred, the son of Gospatrick, Orm, the son of Eilaf, Eilaf, the son of Gospatric, Edulf, the son of Norman, Osolf, the son of Edin, Osolf, the son of Elfstan, Robert Brus, le Meschin [younger,] Radulf, the son of Turstan, Roger, the nephew of the bishop. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xiv. Earl Henry's charter, confirming this, was granted, at *Ercheldun*, in presence of the same witnesses: But, Gospatrick is called the son of Gospatrick. Chart. Mail. 55; Hutch. Northumb. i. apx. 3.

(*i*) Walter de Lindsay, who lived under David I., granted the church of Ersildun to the monks of Kelso, who, in 1171, exchanged it, with the monks of Coldingham, for the church of Gordon. The monks of Coldingham procured from William de Lindsay, the son of Walter, a confirmation of the church of Ersildun. Chart. Cold. 19-71.

(*k*) Ib. 42.

(*l*) Chart. Dryb. 83. The Lindseys gave the same canons, Cadeslea. Ib. 76-7.

(*m*) Chart. Cold. 12. About the same time, Earl Patrick gave the monks of Dryburgh, Elvinsby, two bovates of land, in Ersildun, with a toft, a croft, and pasturage, for 100 sheep, 12 oxen, 12 swine, and two horses. Chart. Dryb. 82.

(*n*) Ib. 80.

(*o*) Ib. 81.

various

various portions of their domain of Ersildun to several tenants in fee. The most remarkable of all those tenants was Thomas, the Rymer, the earliest poet of Scotland, who flourished here, during the latter half of the 13th century (*p*). Ersildon appears now to have followed the fate, and the forfeitures, of the successive Earls of Dunbar. In February 1505-6, the king, and parliament, dissolved the annexation of the barony of *Ersildon* to the crown, in order that, it might be given to a favourite (*q*).: It was, on the 4th of March 1505-6, granted by James IV., to Mungo Home (*r*). John Home, and his son, Mungo, had established their residence, at Coldenknows, on the Leder, below the village of Ersildon, three quarters of a mile; and from this circumstance, became known, in the tradition of the country, by the designation of Home of Coldenknows (*s*). The church of Ersildun has undergone as many changes, as the barony. It was given, as we have seen, at the middle of the 12th century, by Walter de Lindsey, to the monks of Kelso (*t*). It was by them, with the church of St. Laurence, at Berwick, transferred, in 1171, to the monks of Durham, at Coldingham, in exchange for the church of Gordon (*u*). It was confirmed to them, by the lord of the manor, and by the diocesan, Richard, the bishop of

(*p*) Chart. Soltre, 24; Fordun. L. x. c. 43: Popular tradition tells, that Thomas, the Rymer, lived in a tower, at the west end of the village of Ersildun, the ruins whereof may still be seen, by willing eyes. A stone, which is built into the front wall of the church, says the minister, bears this inscription:

"Auld Rhymer's race
"Lies in this place."

(*q*) Parl. Rec. 523.

(*r*) Dougl. Peer. 346. who quotes the charter in the Pub. Archives, for the grant of Ersildun. James IV. seems to have already given Ersildun, before the passing of that act, to the father of Mongo Home. In 1489, John Home, of Whiteriggs, the second son of Alexander, the apparent heir of Home, and the father of Mungo, obtained from James IV. a charter, "terrum et villæ de "Ersilton." Ib, 346, wherein the charter is quoted. It should be recollected, that the Homes, in the year before, 1489, had greatly contributed to dethrone, and slay James III., on Stirling field, whereby the grantor of those charters ascended the bloody throne of his father, at the age of sixteen.

(*s*) Their lineal descendant, Sir James Home, of Coldenknows, succeeded, in 1636, to the earldom of Home, upon the death of Earl James, without issue. The Kirktown of Ersildon, had, on the 1st of February 1590-1, been made *a burgh of barony*, in favour of John Home, of Coldenknows, the great grandson of Mungo: And the grant of James VI. was confirmed, in 1592. As a *burgh of barony*, Earlston has two annual fairs; one of great resort, on the 29th of June, for sheep, cattle, and horses; and the other, on the third Thursday of October, for cattle, and horses. Stat. Acco. iv. 252.

(*t*) Chart. Cold. 19. (*u*) Ib 71.

St. Andrews;

St. Andrews (*x*). The church of Ersildon was valued, in the ancient *Taxatio*, at 40 marks. This church continued with the monks of Coldingham to the Reformation, which introduced a very different system (*y*).

The parish of *Legerwood* has a name, singular, and obscure. In the ancient charters of the 12th and 13th centuries, the word was written, *Legerdewode*, *Legeardwode*, *Legerdeswode*. *Legere*, in the Saxon, as we may learn from Somner, signifies, secondarily, *sepultura*, burial: Hence, *Legerstow* means *coemeterium*, the burial place, the church-yard: And, we may thus infer, that *Leger*wode must mean, literally, burial wood. It is in vain to quest, for the particular circumstance, which gave rise, in the Scoto-Saxon, to such a name, for such a wood. About the year 1160, Malcolm IV. granted to *his stewart*, Walter, the son of Alan, Birchenside, and *Legerdeswode*, by the same boundaries, as they had been held, by his grandfather David, in *his demesn* (*z*). Walter, the son of Alan, granted the church of *Legerwode*, with its pertinents, to the monks, whom he brought from Shropshire to Paisley (*a*). This grant was confirmed, by Malcolm IV., and his successor William (*b*). It was confirmed, by the diocesan, Richard, who ruled the see of St. Andrews, from 1163 to 1177 (*c*). It was ratified, by several of his successors (*d*). And, it was made still more sure, by the various bulls of successive popes, from Alexanderr III. to Clement IV. (*e*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Ligeardwode was valued

(*x*) Chart. Cold. 42. In a charter of Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, soon after 1189, he confirmed to the same monks, with other estates, "capella de Ersildun." Ib. 12. It was already a chapel, in 1171: It seems to have become a *chapel*, from the epoch of Lindsay's grant of the same church to the monks of Kelso. In the chartulary of Coldingham, there is an "Index quarandam cartarum "de *controversia* pro *capella* de Ercheldun." Ib. 68.

(*y*) It was served of old as a vicarage. There is a letter of Gamelin, the bishop of St. Andrews, "de admissione clerici ad vicariam de Erceldun," upon the presentation of those monks. Ib. 45. In Bagimont's Roll, the tenth of the vicarage was rated at 5l. 6s. 8d. In the tax roll of St. Andrews, 1547, there was recorded the *vicaria de Ersildoun*, in the deanery of the Merse. For more recent notices of this parish, see the Stat. Acco. iv. 248, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*z*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xxii. Birchenside lyes on the Leder, in the western division of Legerwood parish. Walter, the third *Stewart*, and the grandson of the first, gave the lands of *Birchenside* in marriage, with his daughter, Euphemia, to Patrick, who succeeded, as Earl of Dunbar, in 1232. The Countess, Euphemia, in her widowhood, by the death of her husband, in 1249, gave the monks of Dryburgh a mark of silver, from her firms of her marriage lands of Birchenside. Chart. Dryb. 15. Robert, the stewart, who succeeded to the throne, in 1371, granted to Alan de Lauder, his tenant of Whiteslade, many manorial rights, in Birkenside, *Legeardwode*, and Morristown, and within this parish; and this grant was confirmed by king Robert II., on the 13th of June 1371. Roberts. Index, 93.

(*a*) Chart. Paisley, 7—9. (*b*) Ib. 8—10. (*c*) Ib. 13.
(*d*) Ib. 16, 17, 18. (*e*) Ib. 11, 12. 152.

at

at forty marks. This church continued with those monks, who served the cure, by a vicar, till the Reformation established a different practice (*f*). On the 28th of August 1296, Walter, the vicar of Legerwode, swore fealty to Edward, at Berwick (*g*). On the 30th of May 1453, Thomas de Fersith, the vicar of Legerwode, obtained, from the English king, a passport, for three years, to visit, as a pilgrim, the shrine of the apostles (*h*). The church, and manse, of Legerwood, are modern; and are situated about half a mile, eastward, of the old village of Legerwood (*i*).

The parish of *Gordon* derives its Celtic name, from the appellation of the ancient territory of *Gordon*. During the 12th, and the two following centuries, this word was written, in charters, *Gordun*, and *Gordyn*. The original term was probably *Gor-din*, signifying *upon the hill* (*k*). In fact, there are two villages, called West-Gordon, and East-Gordon, which are distant somewhat more than a mile; and which both stand on the summits of their several hillocks: And, at West-Gordon, stands the church, near some remains of an ancient fortlet. The church of Gordon was, originally, dedicated to St. Michael, the archangel. The monks of Coldingham acquired the advowson of Gordon during the reign of David I. In 1171, according to the spiritual traffick of that pious age, they exchanged the church of Gordon, with the monks of Kelso, for the chapel of Ersildun, and the church of St. Lawrence, at Berwick (*l*). Richard, the diocesan bishop of St. Andrews, who died, in 1177, confirmed to the monks of Kelso the church of Gordon, with the entirety of

(*f*) Bishop William, who ruled the see of St. Andrews, from 1202 to 1233, confirmed to the monks of Paisley, for their proper use, the church of Legerwood, which, by his episcopal authority, he ordained thus: That the *vicarius de Legerwode* should have, for the vicarage, the whole altarages, besides the land, saving the possession of Robert, the king's chaplain, who, according to what he had ordained, with the monks assent, was to enjoy the church during his life; rendering to the monks, yearly, 15l. in money, in the name of Pension. Chart. Paisley, 15.

(*g*) Prynne, iii. 666. (*h*) Rym. xi. 338.

(*i*) See the Maps of this Shire. For other particulars, the inquisitive reader may consult the Stat. Acco. xvi. 484. and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*k*) There is in Caernarvonshire, a place named *Gorddin-og*; the final *og* being the Welsh diminutive.

(*l*) Chart. Cold. 71. At the epoch of that exchange, Richard de Gordon, who then held the territory, granted to the monks of Kelso, and to the church of St. Michael, at Gordon, in *free alms*, a piece of land, lying adjacent to the church-yard at Gordon, and an acre of land upon Todlaw, and an acre of meadow, in Hundley-strother: And he conceded to the monks, that whatever chaplain, they should place, in the church of Gordon, should have the usual privilege of pasturage, within his territory of Gordon, as his own men enjoyed the same. Chart. Kelso; and the Charter is copied into the Hist. of the Gordons, i. 385.

the parish of Gordon, and of Spottiswoode, which it enjoyed, on the same day, that the cemetery was made, at the request of the abbot of Kelso: Yet, did he provide, that as long as the abbot, and his monks, pleased, the people of the other Gordon might take the sacrament, and bury their dead, either here, or at the mother church of Home, as they might think proper (*m*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of *Gordyn* was rated at thirty marks. The diocesan, Gamelin, on the 27th of May 1270, granted to the monks of Kelso, that the churches of Gordon, and Home, which they enjoyed to their proper use, should be served, not by vicars, but by honest chaplains, and sufficient clerks, for whom he, and his successors, might be able to answer (*n*). The church of Gordon continued in the hands of the monks of Kelso till the Reformation. In the ancient parish of Gordon, which comprehended the present parishes of Gordon, and West-Struther, there were of old several chapels. In 1309, the monks of Kelso agreed, that Sir Adam Gordon might have a private chapel, at any place, within the parish of Gordon, with all oblations; yet, without prejudice to the mother church: In return, Sir Adam renounced all claims on a carrucate of land, with its nsual easements, in the district of West-Struther, which had been granted to those monks, by Sir Andrew Fraser; and for which they had agreed to pay two marks, yearly (*o*). There was also a chapel, at *Huntleywood*, within the parish of Gordon, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and the advowson of which appears to have passed into the family of Home, during the reign of James IV. (*p*). During the reign of David II., John de Spottiswoode built a chapel, which was called Whitechapel, at his hamlet of Spottiswoode; the ruins

(*m*) Chart. Kelso, 417; Hist. Gordons, i. 400: The church of Gordon was also confirmed to the monks of Kelso, by bishop Roger, who finished his useful life, in 1202. Ib. 82. The ancient parish of Gordon, which was thus established, was double the extent of the present parish of Gordon, and the greatest part of Westruther.

(*n*) Chart. Kel. 426; Hist. Gordons, i. 400. When the monks drew up a state of their temporal matters, under Robert Bruce, they stated, that they had the church of Gordon, to their own use, which used to be valued at 20 l. a year. Ch. Kel. 32. They also stated, that they had, at Gordon, half a carucate of land, pertaining to the church, with pasture, for 100 young cattle, and 400 sheep; and they had here a toft, whereon to build a mansion house, for the chaplain. Id. They had other property, and easements, at Gordon, for which they yearly paid two marks to the Lords of the manor. Ib. 19—20.

(*o*) Chart. Kelso, 124: On that land, the monks had various kinds of property, that were of great value to them. Ib. 19—20.

(*p*) On the 26th of January 1506-7, Alexander, the Earl of Huntley resigned into the king's hands the lands of East Gordon with the patronage of St. Mary's chapel, at *Huntleywood*: And, thereupon, the king granted the same to Alexander, Lord Home. Dougl. Peer. 345.

whereof

whereof were to be seen, during late times (*q*). The parish church stands on the north side of the village of West-Gordon. The patronage of the church had long been in the king: Yet, in 1767, the Earl of Home claimed, before the Court of Session, the same right of patronage, without being able to support his suit (*r*). The territory of Gordon, which was anciently of great extent, appears to have been granted, during the reign of David I., to an Anglo-Norman settler, who assumed from it the surname of *Gordon* (*s*). He left two sons, Richard, and Adam, who enjoyed his lands of Gordon, during the reigns of Malcolm IV., and his brother, William: Richard inherited the principal part of the territory of Gordon; while Adam enjoyed some portion of Gordon, with the lands of Fanys, lying on the southern side of the territory of Gordon (*t*). Alicia de Gordon married her cousin, Sir Adam Gordon, the grandson, probably, of Adam, the brother of Richard; and thus united the two branches of this munificent family; and, thereby, re-uniting their whole estates (*u*). Of this marriage was Adam of Gordon, who inherited all those estates, and died, during the troublous year of 1296; fighting probably for his country's independance (*x*). Adam, and Margery, left a son, Adam, to inherit their estates; and to support their country's cause, during difficult times: He appears to have

(*q*) Dougl. Baron. 446. (*r*) Stat. Acco. v. 92.

(*s*) There appears to have been a manor of *Gordon*, in Normandy, which was possessed, during the 12th and 13th centuries, by a family, who took their name from their lands. Hoveden, 791: Rym. i. 92-411-760. Douglas has, absurdly, mingled the Normandy Gordons, with the Berwickshire Gordons. Peer. 295-6.

(*t*) Chart. Kelso, 117-18-19: Richard de Gordon granted to the monks of Kelso some land, at Gordon, near the cemetery, a right of pasturage, an acre of ground at Todlaw, and an acre of meadow in Huntleystrother. Ib. 117. Richard de Gordon was succeeded by his son, Thomas, who confirmed the grants of his father. Ib. 125: And, dying under Alexander II., Thomas was succeeded by his son Thomas; who dying soon after 1258, and leaving by his wife, Margery, an only child, Alicia, she inherited his estates. Ib. 119. The second Thomas confirmed the grants of his father, and added his own. Ib. 126. He conferred on them some other lands, with a part of his *peatary*, called *Brun-moss*, the liberty of taking timber from his woods, and of pulling heath anywhere within his estates. The monks, in return, gave the liberal Sir Thomas Gordon the right of burial, in the cemetery of the abbey of Kelso. Ib. 120-21. He was alive on the 28th of August 1258.

(*u*) Adam de Gordon granted a peatary in his estate of Fawnys to the monks of Dryburgh. Chart. Dryb. 146: And Alicia, during her widowhood, after the death of her husband, in the Holyland, during the year 1270, granted a confirmation of former charters to the monks of Kelso. Ch. Kelso, 110.

(*x*) On the 3d of September 1296, Margery, the widow of Adam de Gordon, obtained restitution of their estates, having swore fealty to Edward I. Rym. ii. 727.

extended his estates far into the north, and into the west; planting the principal branch, in Aberdeenshire; and the inferior, in Galloway: Sir Adam, who appears to have been a statesman, and a soldier, fell, at length, on Halydonhill, in the grievous year 1333; leaving to his eldest son, Sir Alexander Gordon, the estates of Gordon, in Berwickshire, with the lordship of Strathbogie, in Aberdeenshire; and to his son William, Stitchel, in Roxburghshire, and the Glenkens, in Galloway: Thus, to Sir Adam Gordon, who supported Bruce, the restorer of the monarchy, and died, for his infant son, David, the Duke of Gordon, and the Viscounts of Kenmare, trace up their several descents. The worthy descendants of Sir Adam Gordon continued to possess their original estates, in Berwickshire, till the reign of James I., and the odious administration of the regent Albany (*y*).

The parish of *Westruther* is modern. In the 17th century, it was formed, by uniting to the parish of Bassendean the lands of *West-Struther*, and the ancient territory of Spottiswoode, which had belonged to the parish of Gordon (*z*). The church of Bassendene does not appear in the ancient *Taxatio*: It was then only a chapel; belonging to the nuns of Coldstream. At the epoch of the Reformation, the church of Bassendene was merely a vicarage, which was served, by a vicar (*a*). In 1647, the lands of *West-Struther*, Spottiswoode, and others, were, upon a representation of their distance from the church of Gordon, annexed to the parish of Bassendene (*b*): And, a new church, having been built, soon after, upon a more central site, at the village of *West-Struther*, gave its obscure name to the parish. This appellation appears, in charters of the 12th century, in the form of Strother, and Struther; and appears, frequently, in the topography of the south, and east of Scotland, but not in England: Its meaning is indicated, by its uniform application to marshes,

(*y*) Roberts. Index, 163. For more recent notices of the parish of Gordon, see the Stat. Acco. v. 38, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*z*) The name of *Bassendean* was derived from the Saxon *Basing*, locus pugnæ, and dene, a valley: Whence the many names of Basing-stoke, Basing-field, Basing-ham, Basing-thorpe, and others.

(*a*) Soon after that epoch, Andrew Currie, vicar of Bassendene, conveyed to William Home, the third son of Sir James Home, of Coldenknows, "terras ecclesiasticas, mansionem, et glebam "vicariæ de Bassendene:" Whereon, Home obtained, from James VI., a charter for the same, on the 11th of February 1573-4. William, who thus built his house on church lands, was the progenitor of the Homes of Bassendene. Dougl. Peer. 347.

(*b*) The church of Bassendene stood near the mansion-house, on the south-east; and the walls still inclose the burying place of the Homes of Bassendene. Stat. Acco. vii. 109.

turbaries,

turbaries, and to swampy places (*c*): And, in this instance, the name was applied to an extensive swamp, in the bosom of which the village was placed: Now, this swamp was denominated *West-Strother*, in contradistinction to another extensive marsh, at some distance, eastward, which is now called Dogden-*moss* (*d*). The subsequent history of the parish is as obscure, as the origin of the name (*e*). Thus much, then, with regard to the several parishes, in the presbytery of Lauder.

Within the neighbouring presbytery of Kelso, there are two ecclesiastical districts, that are now to be, particularly, mentioned. The name of the parish of *Nenthorn* is obviously a corruption of the ancient appellation, which, in the charters of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, is written *Naythansthirn*: The prefix is unquestionably the name of a person; and the termination, or affix, may be regarded, as the Saxon *thyrn*, a thorn. The late minister of the place

(*c*) As *Struthers*, in Kinloss, Struthers, the seat of Lord Crawford, in Fife: Stock-*struther*, on the Tweed: During the reign of William, the lion, David de Lyne granted to the monks of Newbotle, a peat moss, called Ulne-*strother*, in Mid Lothian. Ch. Newbotl. 23. During the same reign, Alexander de St. Martin granted to the same monks a peat-moss, called Crumber-*struther*, in East Lothian. Ib. 108. As early as the reign of Malcolm IV. the word, *strother*, for a *meadow*, or *marsh*, had passed into the common speech of the southern shires: There is a very instructive charter of Malcolm, in 1159, to the monks of Kelso; wherein he confirms to them Traverlin "cum omnibus aisiamentis vicini *Strodre*, quod cameri dicitur." Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xxv. Yet, *Strodre*, *Strother*, Struther, appear not, in any of the Scotish Glossaries. We have seen, that it means, in fact, a moss, a marsh, a meadow, or any moist place: But, it is not easy to etymologize this singular word, which seems to remain, only in the topography of Scotland. Bullet has collected, *staer*, *ster*, *sten*, for a river, water, in general, a fountain, a stank; And, he found, in Thomasin, *stur*, in the ancient Saxon, for a river, though he could not find the word, in Spelman, in Somner, in Gibson, in Hicks, nor in Skinner: Bullet might, however, have found, in Skinner, *Stur*-bridge, in com. Cantab. (i. e.) Sturi fluvii pons. *Stour*, in Dorset, rises near *Stur*-ton, and runs by *Stur*-minster. Stour, in Worcester, runs by *Stur*-bridge, and Kidderminster. Stoure, in Kent, runs by Ashford, and Canterbury, and forms Thanet into an island, by two mouths: And at the entrance into Thanet, after passing the marshes, is *Sarre*. We may learn, indeed, from Ihre that, in the Swedish, *Stöer* signifies *palus*. And thus may we probably discover, in those ancient, but dark passages, the obscure origin of *Strodre*, *Strother*, Struther, signifying *a place of moisture*. In 1371, Alayn de *Strother* was the English sheriff of Roxburghshire. Parl. Rec. 119. There seems to have been a family of *Strothers*, in England. Ayloffe's Cal. Index.

(*d*) In the 13th century, Adam, the son of Adam de Gordon, granted to the monks of Kelso, "pasturam in *mariſco* meo, quod dicitur *West-strother*, pro xxx vaccis et eorum exitui, sive bobus "cum animalibus meis, usque ad annum completum." Chart. Kelso, 118. A swamp, in the lands of Huntley, on the south-west of Gordon parish, was called, in the reign of William, the lion, Huntley-*strother*. Ib. 117. See all those places, in the maps of Berwickshire.

(*e*) For other notices, see the Stat. Acco. vii. 109, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

talked

talked of a thorn, which he remembered: And there are on the bank of the Eden, within this parish, two remarkable rocks, which are known, as the mickle *Thairn*, and the little *Thairn*, which a willing mind may connect with the name of the district. If the ancient spelling were Naythans*thorn*, of which there is no example, it might be deemed a corruption of Naythan's *thorp*, of which mutation there are several instances, in Scotland, and in England. The parish of Nenthorn appears to have been established, during the 13th century: And, was formed of the ancient manors of Nathansthirn, and Newton, which are joined together, by a narrow isthmus, which is intersected by the Eden. In the 12th century, both those manors belonged to the opulent, and liberal family of the Morvilles, the hereditary constables of Scotland (*f*): And, the lands were held under them, by various vassals: To the Morvilles succeeded, as we have seen, the Lords of Galloway, a still greater family, which was equally enfeebled, by female heirs. After the death of Alan, the Lord of Galloway, in 1234, Naythansthyrn was inherited, by his youngest daughter, Dervorgilla, the munificent wife of John Baliol, from whom it passed to the competitor, for a dependant crown; and it was forfeited, by his fall, on the accession of Bruce (*g*). In the 12th and 13th centuries, the territories of Naythanthirn, and Newton, were served, by two chapels; the one, at Naythansthirn, and the other, at Newton; which were both subordinate to the mother church of Edenham, and which, with the mother church, belonged to the monks, at Coldingham (*h*).

(*f*) Hugh, the first Morville, gave to the monks of Dryburgh, the tenth of the multure of the mills of Naythanthyrn, and Newton, with half a carucate of land in Newton, with pasture for nine oxen, and one work horse. Chart. Dryb. 64-153. William, the bishop of St. Andrews, the diocesan, in 1281, confirmed to those monks the tenth of the multure of those mills. Ib. 113-14.

(*g*) John, the king of Scots, confirmed to the monks of Dryburgh, the *tenth* of the multure of the mill of Nathansthirn, for the salvation of the soul of Hugh Morville, of his own soul, and of the soul of his wife, Ada. Chart. Dryb. 112. Between the years 1388, and 1400, Richard de Hanganside, a vassal of *the Earls of Douglas*, gave to the monks of Kelso all his land, "in terri-"torio villæ de Litel Newton, in *constabulario de Lauder*." Chart. Kelso, 489. This description evinces, that Newton, and perhaps Nathansthyrn, though they lay, without the limits of Lauderdale, were comprehended, in the *Constabulary of Lauder*, which thus seems to have comprehended all the lands, in Lauderdale, that had belonged to the Morvilles, and their successors, and were granted, by Robert Bruce to Sir James Douglas. Roberts. Index, 10.

(*h*) Robert, the diocesan, who ruled St. Andrews, from 1128 to 1158, confirmed a convention between the mother church of Edenham, and the chapel of Newton. Chart. Cold. 41. Arnold, the succeeding diocesan, confirmed to those monks the church of Edenham, and the chapels of Naythanthirn, and Newton. Id. In 1204, those monks made a composition with William, the bishop of St. Andrews, "*super Can* et *Cuneveth* concessis episcopo capellis de Newton et Naythanthirn. Ib. 91.

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The church of Naythansthirn, as it thus belonged to the monks, does not appear, in the ancient *Taxatio.* Another change had taken place, before the year 1316; the territories of Naythanthirn, and of Newton, had been formed into a parish, whereof the chapel of the first was made a parochial church, while that of Newton continued only a chapel. In March 1316-17, William de Lamberton, the bishop of St. Andrews, gave to William de Alyncrom, the abbot of Kelso, the *parish church* of Naythanthirn, and the chapel of Little Newton, in exchange for the parish church of Cranston, in Mid-Lothian (*i*). The church of Naythansthirn, and the chapel of Little Newton, continued under those influences, till the Reformation, which introduced a very different regimen (*k*).

The name of the parish of *Home* is obviously derived from the Saxon *Holm*, signifying a hill, which has been perverted, by colloquial use, into *Howm*, and *Hume* (*l*). The castle, and village of Home, stand on the summit of a conspicuous hill, which rises 898 feet above the level of the sea. The parish of Home, which is ancient, was of old four times the extent of the present district: During the 12th century, Home parish included a considerable part of Gordon, and West-Struther. The patronage of the church of Home, which was dedicated to St. Nicolas, belonged to the Earls of Dunbar, who were of old lords

(*i*) Ch. Kelso, 309. The bishop, at the same time, engaged, to pay the abbot 25 marks sterling, a year, for ten years, in consideration of the above exchange, "et quod dicta ecclesia nostra "de Naythanthirn, et capella de Newton, sunt exiles et per communem guerram destructe et de-"vastate." The bishop's obligation is dated at Newbotle, the 17th of March 1316-17. Chart. Kelso, 310. And, he immediately issued a declaration, that the exchange of those parishes was not intended to derogate from the rights of the monks of Kelso. Ib. 311. On the 4th of June 1317, the diocesan issued a precept to *his stewart* of Lothian, directing him to give the abbot, and monks, of Kelso seisin of the church of Naythanthirn. Ib. 312. And two days, after, the stewart issued a precept to Henry Stulp, the baillie of Wedale, directing him to give the seisin as commanded. Ib. 313. The archdeacon of Lothian gave the abbot, and monks, an assurance, that in future no procurations should be required of the church of Naythanthirn, and the chapel of Little Newton. Ib. 314. Such are the facts, which show clearly how such spiritual matters were transacted, in those times.

(*k*) See the Stat. Acco. vi. 336, and *Tabular State*, annexed, for other notices.

(*l*) *Holm*, in this sense, which must not be confounded with the Saxon *Holm*, signifying a river island, is frequent in the maps of Scotland, and of England. See Somner, in vo. *Holm*, collis, mons, clivis. Gibson, in his *Regulæ Generales*, which are annexed to his Saxon Chronicle, only notices *Holme*, *Howme*, for little islands, moist meadows: And, in this sense, the Scotish lyrists have celebrated, in song, "The Dowie *Howns* of Yarrow."
In the other sense, however, there are *Home*, in Shropshire, *Home*, and *Home* Lacy, in Herefordshire.

of

of the manor of *Home* (*m*). The monks, soon after, obtained a confirmation by the diocesan, Bishop Robert, who died, in 1159, of the church of Home, with the whole parish, the village, and also a part of Gordon (*n*). The monks having obtained, by exchange, the patronage of the chapel of Gordon, in 1171, obtained the territory of Gordon, and a large part of West-Strother, to be erected into a separate parish, by Bishop Richard, who, on that occasion, gave the people of that part of Gordon, which belonged to Adam Gordon, liberty to take the sacrament, and to bury their dead, either at the church of the new parish, or at the mother church of Home, as long as it should please the monks of Kelso (*o*). By this measure, the old parish of Home was nearly reduced to its present limits. The mother church of Home, however, retained its superiority over the chapel of Wederley, which continues to serve the inhabitants of the lands of Wederley, in the present parish of West-Struther (*p*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Home was rated, at the reduced value of 24 marks. After all those transactions, and that traffic of churches, and chapels, the Reformation introduced into this parish, as into other districts, a very dissimilar regimen (*q*).

The parish of *Cockburnspath*, lying on the northern verge of Berwickshire, within the presbytery of Dunbar, comprehends the ancient parishes of *Aldcamus*, and of *Colbrandspath*. *Ald-camus* derives its name, from the Gaelic *ald*, and *camus*, a creek, or bay: And, the village, in fact, stands on a streamlet,

(*m*) During the reign of Malcolm IV., Earl Cospatrick gave to the monks of Kelso the church of *Home*, with two carrucates of land, and the meadow, called Hare-*strother*, within the same parish. Ch. Kelso, 70. 286. Earl Cospatrick also granted to the same monks the church of St. Nicolas, of Home, a carrucate of land, and the village, and the half of Gordon. Ib. 287.

(*n*) Ib. 82. (*o*) Ib. 417.

(*p*) *Wederley* derives its name from the Saxon *Weder*, a castrated ram, the wether of the English: And *leaz*, or leay, or lea, or pasture. It was formerly the name of a small territory, and village, which belonged, in 1258, to Robert de Poulsworth, knight. Chart. Kelso, 301. And, it continues the name of an estate, and mansion-house, in the parish of Weststruther. How all those lands passed from the Earls of Dunbar, by a daughter, Ada, who was the mother of *the Homes*, we have already seen. In the reign of William, the lion, Gilbert, the son of Adam, of Home, gave to the monks of Kelso the chapel of Wederley, with ten acres of land, with pasture for sheep, and cattle. Chart. Kelso, 298. About this chapel, there are several documents, in the same Chartulary; the monks taking care, the *mortuaries*, for the dead, which might be buried at Wederley, should belong to the mother church of Home. Ib. 299-300. The monks obtained from the diocesan, David, who ruled St. Andrews, from 1233 to 1253, a right to hold the chapel of Wederley to their proper use, provided the cure should be served not by a vicar, but by a clerk, for whom, he, and his successors, should be answerable. Ib. 452. There is a bull of Innocent, in the 13th century, respecting the churches of Hornden, and Wederley. Ib. 466.

(*q*) For other notices, see the Stat. Acco. iii. 290, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

which,

which, at no great distance below, falls into an *inlet* of the sea (*r*). The Scotish Edgar granted to St. Cuthbert's monks of Durham the manor of Aldcamus, with the lands, woods, waters, tolls, shipwrecks, and other customary dues, which appertained to that manor (*s*). And Aldcamus, thenceforth, belonged to the monastery of Coldingham, as a cell of Durham. The church of Aldcamus was dedicated to St. Helen, the mother of Constantine, whose festival was on the 18th of August (*t*): And its ruins are still called St. Helen's-kirk (*u*). This was a *vicarage*, as we might suppose, from the circumstance of the church being the property of the monks of Coldingham: In the ancient *Taxatio*, the vicarage of Aldcamus is rated only at 15 marks (*x*). On the 28th of August 1296, Huwe, the vicar of the church of Aldcamus, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick (*y*). In 1446, some doubts were entertained, whether the vicarage of Aldcamus was absolutely annexed to the priory of Durham: Now, Eugene, the pope, empowered the abbot of Melros to examine the point: And the abbot appears to have confirmed the union of the church of Aldcamus to the priory of Coldingham (*z*). Aldcamus parish was annexed to the adjoining district of Coldbrandspath, in modern times. When Pont surveyed Berwickshire, during the reign of Charles I., Aldcamus seems, at that period, to have been separate: Those two parishes were united, sometime before the year 1750: And the church of Aldcamus, which stood near the sea-shore, was a ruin before the year 1770. The name of *Cockburn's*-path was anciently *Colbrand's*-path (*a*): The corruption of the old name began, however, as early as 1506 (*b*). The original name was nothing more than the *path* of *Colbrand*, the name of some particular person (*c*). The church of Colbrands-path does not appear in the ancient *Taxatio*;

(*r*) The recent map makers have vulgarized this name into *Old*camus, supposing the prefix to be the Saxon *ald*, or old, and not the Gaelic, *ald*; which is here, in fact, applied to a rivulet, that it signifies; and it is compounded with the Gaelic *camus*, which is also applied to the inlet here: And, both those significant words are joined together, in the celtic form of construction.

(*s*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. vi.

(*t*) Eng. Martyrologie, 186; L'Art de verefier les Dates, in the Catal. of Saints.

(*u*) The minister of the parish says, "from the nature of the building, and other circumstances, "the church is supposed to have been erected, in the *eleventh* century." Stat. Acco. xiii 231. We have seen above, that Edgar granted the manor, but not the church of Aldcamus: Whence, we may be led to doubt, whether the church then existed.

(*x*) In the Chartulary of Coldingham, there is an "estimatio valoris vicariæ de Aldcamus." There is also an obligation, in 1249, of William, the vicar of Aldcamus, "in viginti quatuor solidos "pro securitate warrene Prioris." Chart. Cold. 20.

(*y*) Prynne, iii. 659. (*z*) MS. Abstract of the Chart. 77—92.

(*a*) Charters of the 12th, 13th, 14th centuries, throughout, call it *Colbrandspath*. (*b*) Parl. Rec.

(*c*) Tradition talks of Colbrand, a Danish general, who performed some action here: There is a hamlet, at the top of the ascent, by that path, called *Pathhead*. The Kirktown stands, in the north-west corner of Berwickshire, near the march with East Lothian.

as it was, perhaps, then only a chapel: And it seems never to have been connected with any religious house. The patronage of the church appears to have remained with the lord of the manor, till its union with Aldcamus. The territory of Colbrandspath belonged of old to the Earls of Dunbar, where they had a castle, in which they sometimes resided (*d*). This manor followed the fortunes of its lords. On the forfeiture of the earldom of Dunbar in January 1434-5, it was annexed to the crown (*e*). It was granted, in 1453, to his infant son, Alexander, the Duke of Albany: In 1483, Colbrand's-path, as a part of the earldom of Dunbar, was forfeited, by the Duke of Albany. In 1487, the earldom of March, the baronies of Dunbar, and Colbrandspath, with the castle of Dunbar, and the fortalice of *Colbrandspath*, and the advowson of the churches, prebends, and chapelries, to the same belonging, were annexed to the crown, by act of parliament (*f*). The earldom of Dunbar, and the lordship of Colbrandspath, were settled, by James IV., on the princess Margaret, as a part of her dower, with the usual grant of the *churches*, *prebends*, and *chapels* (*g*). But, the Reformation introduced here, as into every other district, a very different regimen (*h*). Thus much, then, as to the one-and-thirty parishes, in Berwickshire, which are comprehended in the presbyteries of Chirnside, Dunse, and Lauder, Kelso, and Dunbar.

After all those notices, with regard to the *Ecclesiastical History* of Berwickshire, the *Tabular State*, which is annexed, will be found to be an *useful supplement*; as it contains much information, in a little compass, on very interesting topicks.

(*d*) George, Earl of Dunbar, granted a charter, on the 8th of August 1374, "apud manerium "nostrum de Colbrandspath." MS. Col. of Charters. In 1401, there was a park, and a wood, at Colbrandspath. Bower. l. xv. c. 10. While the expatriated Earl resided in England, his Countess wrote to the English king, in 1406, complaining, that though the plague prevailed around their residence, they could not retreat to her husband's fortress of Colbrandspath; by reason of the enmity of Percy's followers. Pink. Hist. Scot. i. 470. (*e*) Parl. Rec. 72.

(*f*) Parl. Rec. 324. The ruins of the tower of Colbrandspath stand on the western bank of Ewis-burn, 7 furlongs, south-east, of the church of Colbrandspath; and seems to have been a place of strength, during ancient warfare.

(*g*) In Rym. xiii. 66, may be seen the act of seisin, 1503, of Margaret, in the earldom of Dunbar, and lordship of *Cowburnspecht*, by reason of her marriage: In the body of the act, it is called *Caubrandspeth*. And yet, the king, with the consent of parliament, on the 16th of February 1505-6, granted to Alexander, Lord Home, the Great Chamberlain of his realm, the *dene* of *Cokburnspeth*, from the *brae-head* to the *burn-end*, notwithstanding the annexation to the crown. Parl. Rec. 523. But, it seems to have been forgotten, that the queen was seised of the *dene* of *Coubrandspath*: It was the *Great Chamberlain*, who was the proper guardian of the property of the king, and queen, who solicited this grant, for some interested purpose.

(*h*) The more curious reader may see other notices, in the Stat. Acco. xiii. 221, and in the *Tabular State*, annexed. The parliament of 1633 passed an act, in favour of the minister of *Colbrandspeth*; and another act on behalf of Mr. James Nicolson of *Colbrandspeth*. See the unprinted Acts.

The

The TABULAR STATE.

The Presbyteries.	The Names of the Parishes.	Their Extent. Length Miles.	Their Extent. Breadth Miles.	Their Inhabitants In 1755.	Their Inhabitants In 1791.	Their Inhabitants In 1801.	The Number of Ministers.	Their Stipends. In 1755. £. s. d.	Their Stipends. In 1798. £. s. d.	Their Patrons.
CHIRNSIDE	Chirnside	3½	3	510	961	1,147	1	67 12 2	101 12 0	Hall of Whitehall.
	Ayton	4	3½	797	1,264	1,453	1	85 16 11	150 0 0	The King.
	Coldstream	5½	3½	1,493	2,110	2,269	1	81 8 4	147 8 0	Lord Binning.
	Mordington	4	1½	181	335	330	1	56 8 10	96 13 7	Renton of Lamerton.
	Ladykirk	3½	1¾	386	534	516	1	72 13 4	112 8 4	The King.
	Whitsom and Hilton	4	2	399	590	560	1	95 6 8	157 3 6	The Earl of Wemyss.
	Swinton and Simprin	3½	3	494	898	875	1	116 12 8	204 19 2	The King.
	Foulden	2½	2	465	344	393	1	53 4 5	124 3 0	Wilkie of Foulden.
	Coldingham	7	7	2,313	2,391	2,391	1	94 17 9	181 9 4	The King.
	Hutton	4	3	751	920	955	1	67 2 2	132 0 0	The King.
	Edrom	6½	3	898	1,338	1,355	1	76 14 5	120 11 6	The King.
	Eymouth	2	1	792	930	899	1	57 2 7	124 3 5	The King.
DUNSE	Dunse	6½	3	2,593	3,324	3,163	1	97 1 9	213 18 3	Hay of Drumellier.
	Greenlaw	7½	3	895	1,230	1,270	1	73 0 0	115 0 0	The Earl of Marchmont's heirs.
	Eccles	5½	3½	1,489	1,780	1,682	1	74 3 4	134 0 0	The King.
	Fogo	4½	2	566	473	507	1	94 17 6	115 0 0	The King.
	Longformacus	11	4	399	452	406	1	91 11 8	110 0 0	Home of Longformacus.
	Abbay of St. Bathans	4½	2½	80	164	138	1	53 11 1	66 0 0	The King.
	Cranshaws	4½	3½	214	164	166	1	41 9 5	51 19 5	Watson of Saughton.
	Bonkle and Preston	4½	3½	691	622	674	1	72 15 6	102 7 8	Lord Douglas.
	Langton	5	2½	290	435	428	1	60 11 1	105 13 8	The Countess of Breadalbane
	Polwarth	3	1½	251	288	291	1	61 7 0	128 18 0	The Earl of Marchmont's heirs.
LAUDER	Lauder	10	5½	1,795	1,820	1,760	1	65 8 6	115 12 8	The Earl of Lauderdale.
	Earlstoun	6	3	1,197	1,351	1,478	1	87 6 8	133 10 0	The King.
	Westruther	6	4¼	591	730	779	1	63 12 10	105 16 8	The King.
	Channelkirk	6	4½	531	600	640	1	59 17 7	137 10 5	The Earl of Marchmont's heirs.
	Legerwood	5	3½	398	422	495	1	62 17 9	101 0 0	Ker of Kersfield.
	Mertoun	4	3	502	557	535	1	67 6 8	111 10 8	Scott of Harden.
	Gordon	6	3	737	912	802	1	73 2 6	140 14 8	The King.
KELSO	Nenthorn	4	1½	497	390	395	1	62 4 2	109 12 0	The King.
	Hume (annexed to Stitchell)	—	—	432	428	415				
DUNBAR	Cockburnspath	6	3½	919	883	930	1	69 9 5	123 5 8	The King.
	Oldhamstocks (part of)	—	—	118	94	109				
				24,114	29,734	30,206	31	2,256 14 8	3,874 1 7	

CHAP. IV.

Of Hadingtonshire.

§ 1. *Of its Name.*] THE county plainly derived its appellation from the shire-town. The name of the town is said to be of Saxon origin, but of difficult etymology. In a charter of Richard, the bishop of St. Andrews, who died, in 1163, there is a grant "de ecclesia de *Hadintun:*" This was followed, by a confirmation of Earl Henry, "de ecclesia de *Hadintun.*" In a charter of David I., the same place is called *Hadintun* (*a*). By a charter to Dumfermlin, a mansion was granted, by the same king, "in burgo de *Hadingtoun*" (*b*). The *toun*, and *ton*, of the Scoto-Saxon, are obviously the *tun* of the Anglo-Saxon; signifying a dwelling-place, a hamlet, a village, a town; as we may learn from Somner (*c*). And a thousand circumstances, in the topography of North, and South-Britain, evince, that the *tun* was generally affixed, in the Anglo-Saxon practice, to the name of some person, as the appropriate designation of his hamlet (*d*). One of the witnesses, in the *Inquisitio Davidis*, 1116 A. D., was

(*a*) Trans. of the Edin. Society, of Antiq. i. 65.

(*b*) Dal. Col. Appx. No. iii. There is a grant of David I. to the bishop of St. Andrews of the church of St. Mary de *Hadintune*, with the ecclesiastical dues, de tota *Hadintunschire*: There is another grant of David I. of a toft, "juxta ecclesiam, in *villa* de *Hadintune.*" Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xvii. The Hadinton*shire* of David's charter was, merely, the *parish* of Hadinton. This is the *Hadina* of Camden; and the *Hadintona* of Fordun, and Buchanan. The inscription on the common seal of the burrough of Hadington is *Sigillum Burgi* HADINA. See the Index Locorum, which is prefixed to the Diplom. Scotiæ, in art. *Hadintun*.

(*c*) *Tun, ton*, saith Gibson, in his *Regulæ Generales* to the Saxon Chronicle, in the end of the names of places, are deduced from the Sax. *tun*, sepes, *vallum*; and secondarily, *villa*, vicus, oppidum: The *tun*, he adds, is derived, if he mistook not, from *dun, mons*; as towns of old were built on mountains.

(*d*) Leland's Collect. i. 377. Yet, ought it to be observed, that the A. S. *Hading*, signifies *ordinatio, consecratio*, a giving holy orders. Somner in vo. The place of ordination. But, without some fact to justify this application, it is more safe, to consider the name of this shire-town, as being the *ton* of some person, according to the usual analogy. Somner says, that *tun* is used, in the termination of many places names: And, indeed, (as Verstegan hath it) it is one of the greatest terminations we have, according to that rhyme of his:

In Ford, in Ham, in Ley, and *Tun*,
The most of English sirnames run.

Halden,

Halden, the son of Eadulf (*e*). It is apparent, then, that some such person gave his name to the town, ton, or tun, though he cannot now be, personally, introduced to the more curious reader (*f*). Hadinton does not much appear, on the face of the national annals, during the middle ages. Yet, we have seen, that it had acquired the privileges, and pre-eminence, of a *burgh*, as early as the reign of David I. Thus much, then, with regard to the shire-town, and its name. The area of this county seems to have been called *Bernicia*, from the abdication of the Romans, till the epoch of 1020, when the whole district was ceded, by the Northumbrian earl to the Scotish king (*g*). From the epoch of 1020, the ample country lying along the sea, and the Forth, from the Tweed to the Avon, was denominated, by the Saxon settlers, from their native language, *Lothian*, with an allusion to its peculiar jurisdiction, on a litigious frontier. *Lothian* was still known, as a country, distinct from Scotland, during the reign of David I. (*h*). During the reign of his grandson, William, the lion, the Lamermoor range became the southern boundary of *Lothian* (*i*). Soon after, both in popular tradition, and in public proceedings, the area of this shire

(*e*) Dal. Col. p. 340. We may see, in Speed's map of Northumberland, 1610, a place named, *Haden*-bridge. There are *Haden*-ham, in Cambridgeshire, *Halden*-hall, in Derby, Haddon, in Huntingdon, and Haddon, in Northampton. See the villare of Adams. Adington, which often appears, in the topography of North, and South-Britain, is the same in substance, with the Saxon aspirate (H) prefixed; And, there is a place named *Hadington*, in Lincolnshire; as we know, from the *Inquisitio Post Mortem*, 305.

(*f*) The writer of the prefatory introduction to the account of Lothian, in Blaeu's *Atlas Scotiæ*, 1662, supposes the name of this shire-town to be *Hadtyn-town*; as it is situated upon the river *Tyne*. Yet, this form of the word is assumption against the charters of the 12th century; and is, moreover, inconsistent with the analogy of the thing.

(*g*) See Smith's Bede: "Berniciorum a mari Scotico terminata est." Ib. Appx. ii.; and the map annexed to it. Such, then, was the *Bernicia* of Bede.

(*h*) Caledonia, i. 258-9. Even before the demise of David I., Coldbrandspath, which is situated, in the north-west corner of Berwickshire, appears to have been deemed a boundary. David I., when he founded Holyroodhouse, granted to its monks the tenth of all the marine animals, which might be thrown ashore "ab Avon usque ad Colbrandspath," with the tenth of his pleas, and other dues, within the same limits. These grants were confirmed by David II., referring to the same limits. Roberts. Index, 90.

(*i*) There is a charter of Rolland, the son of Uchtred, who became constable of Scotland, in 1196; granting some land, in Upper-Lauderdale, to Alan de Saint Clair, which William de Morville had given him; and settling its limits "de capite langild [the rivulet] usque ad *divisas* de *Laodonia* versus *Lamberlauwe*," [Lamer-law.] Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. lxxxi. From the age of David I. to the reign of David II., the extent of Lothian seems to have been, from the Avon, to Coldbrandspath.

was

was called *East-Lothian*, in order to distinguish it from Edinburghshire, or Mid-Lothian, and from Linlithgowshire, as West-Lothian (*k*).

§ 11. *Of its Situation, and Extent.*] The shire of Hadington lies between fifty-five degrees, forty-six minutes, and fifty-six degrees, four minutes of north latitude; and between eleven minutes and fifty-two minutes of longitude, east from Edinburgh, or two degrees and eight minutes, to two degrees forty-nine minutes, west from London (*l*). It has Edinburghshire, on the west, Berwickshire, on the south, and the frith of Forth, which is supposed to commence at St. Abbs-head, on the north, and east. The rivulet of Dunglas, for nearly two miles, from its influx into the Forth, divides Hadington from Berwickshire: And, the stream of Ravensheugh, for about half a mile, from its confluence, with the same frith, separates Hadington, from Edinburghshire. The extreme length of Hadington, from east to west, is about twenty-five miles: The mean length is rather above twenty-three miles. The breadth, at the west end, is twelve miles, in the middle sixteen, and at the east end ten miles: The mean breadth, from north to south, may be regarded, as sixteen miles (*m*). The measurements, from the more recent map, give a superficies of two hundred and eighty square miles, or a hundred and seventy-nine thousand two hundred English acres. And, since the whole inhabitants of Hadingtonshire have been recently found to be twenty-nine thousand nine hundred and eighty-six, this population amounts to rather more than one hundred and seven individuals to a square mile. Hadington contains four and twenty parishes. This district has been several times surveyed. During the troublous age of Charles I., it was inspected, with an accurate eye, by Timothy Pont, who left a delineation of *Lothian*, which Blaeu soon after published (*n*). The landholders of Hadington-

(*k*) At the epoch of Bagimont's-Roll, it was already distinguished, by the modern name of *East*-Lothian. In a *compositio*, between the canons of St. Andrews, and the monks of Hadington, which was made, in the church of Lauder, during the year 1245, the chapter "*Orientali* "*Laodoniae*," oriental, or *Eastern* Lothian, is spoken of, as a known province, in that age. Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 119; Roberts. Index, 90—126.

(*l*) Armstrong's map; and Arrowsmith's map: The shire-town of Hadington lies in 55° 57′ 50″ N. Latitude; and 2° 48′ 40″ Longitude W. of London.

(*m*) Arrowsmith's map.

(*n*) It is No. 9. facing p. 43, in his *Atlas Scotiæ*. There was a one sheet map of Hadingtonshire, by John Adair, which was engraved by R. Cooper. Hadingtonshire was included, by the Armstrong's, in their six sheet map of the *three Lothians*, 1773, on a scale of one inch to a mile. A very fine map of Hadingtonshire was published by W. Forest, in 1799, on a scale of two inches to a mile. And there is a very useful sketch of this county, prefixed to Somerville's General View of the Agriculture of East-Lothian, 1805.

shire

shire have been since gratified, by successive surveys of its area; but, it is to be regretted, that old localities are generally sacrificed to an idle desire of new objects.

§ III. *Of its natural Objects.*] The western declivity of the Lamermoor equally forms, in this shire, as the eastern does, in Berwickshire, a considerable district, which affects its atmosphere, and produces many of its streamlets. At the west edge of this vast moor, which has always been of importance, for its pasturages, stands Lamer-law, which probably gave a pleonastic name to the whole ridge. From Lamermoor, the face of the whole country has a general inclination to the northward. The surface of this shire is broken into many inequalities, by its] sudden ascents, and frequent declivities. Yet, the county cannot be said to be mountainous: And its hills do not rise to great elevations, though Spartleton-hill is said to be one of the highest in the range of Lamermoor, which rises 1615 feet above the level of the sea. Yet, though most of the western declivity of this unsightly ridge be occupied, by alternations of moor, and moss, there is much of a better quality in the intervals of the hills, where the plough performs its usual operations, and the sower's hand produces a regular rotation of crops. Traprene-law, which was formerly called Dunpender-law, is a rocky hill of an oval form, and rises, singly, in an open country, to the height of seven hundred feet above the sea-level. From its summit there is a distinct prospect of East, and West Lothian, of Fife, the Isle of May, the Bass, the Frith of Forth, and the German Ocean. And, on its utmost top, there are the remains of an ancient wall, which is formed of rough stones, that have been rudely piled by the unskilful hands of former times. North-Berwick-law is a conical hill of beautiful shape, which rises to the height of eight hundred feet from a level country, at the distance of half a mile from the sea. Down, or Dun-hill, in the parish of Spot, rises five hundred feet above the sea; and is memorable for having been the safe encampment of Leslie, the Scotish general, till fanaticism delivered him, in an evil hour, into Cromwell's hands, during the fatal year 1650. The Garleton hills begin to rise in the western extremity of the county, and continue their elevation, eastward, for many miles. And, Hadington may generally be thus considered, as a much less mountainous country, than Roxburghshire, and still less, than Berwickshire.

The greatest part of the shire lies upon a bed of granite. The whole county is full of pit-coal (*o*): This useful mineral abounds in the parishes of Tranent,

(*o*) See the Stat. Acco. throughout.

Ormiston,

Ormiston, Gladsmuir, in Preston-pans, and in Inveresk: Here, was it dug, as early as the beginning of the 13th century, if not earlier (*p*). Limestone abounds, in every part of this shire: And, it would be difficult, perhaps, to find any place within it, which exceeds six miles from some limestone rock (*q*). It has marle throughout in equal abundance: On the coast of Dirleton, there is a pond, which is called *marle*-loch, in Forest's map. At Saltoun, and at Hermiston, shell-marle has been found, though no satisfactory trial has been made of its usefulness, since a manure; as the lime seems to preclude the notion of necessity (*r*). So commodiously has nature disposed the surface of East-Lothian, into ranges of hill, and dale, that ingenious tourists have, from topographical retrospection, declared Hadingtonshire to be *the Northampton* of North-Britain.

(*p*) Caledonia, i. 793. Yet, so slow is the progress of information, that the latest *Treatise* on the *Coal Trade* of Scotland refers to the coal of Dunfermlin, as the earliest, in North-Britain, whereof there is any authentic account. The fact is, however, that the monks of Newbotle had the merit to discover, and to work coal, on their lands of Preston-grange, as early as 1200 A. D. There remains a charter of Seyer de Quincey, the lord of the manor of Tranent, to those monks; granting to them "*carbonarium*, et quararium," on their lands of Preston, bounded by the rivulet of Pinkie, with the exclusive power to work them. This charter must have been granted, between the years 1202, and 1218: For, the grantor set out for the holy land, in 1218, and died there, in 1219; as we may know from Dugdale; and one of the witnesses was William, who became bishop of St. Andrews, in 1202. The *second* notice of the existence of coals, in Tranent, is the charter of James, stewart of Scotland, on the 26th of January 1284-5, when he granted his lands in Tranent, with the moors, marshes, "petaries, et *Carbonariis*," and other easements. The autograph is in my library. Here, then, are two charters, which precede the charter, mentioning *coals*, in Dunfermlin, in 1291: So that coals were worked *ninety* years at least, in East-Lothian, before they were known, in Fife. Robert I. granted to Henry *Cissor* [Taylor] the lands of Kilbaberton, "et illud *Carbonarium*, infra baroniam de Travernent, quod vocatur Gawaynes-*pot*, the coal-*pot* of Gawyn. Robertson's Index, 7. Fordun, under the year 1322, states, familiarly, the *collieries* of Tranent, when he speaks of the invasion of Edward II., who remained some time, in East-Lothian. L. xii. c. 4. From the age of Robert Bruce, there is a series of charters, granting coalliaries, in East-Lothian.

(*q*) There was advertised to be let, in 1802, the extensive *lime* rock of *Rhodes*, in East-Lothian, within a mile of the harbour of North-Berwick, where there is an extensive sale, to the north country, as well as the great demand, for this lime, in East-Lothian. There remains a charter of Charles II., dated the 9th of February 1663, to John Cant; confirming to him several lands in Innerwick, with *the privilege* of *burning limestone*. Public Archives. Lime every where abounds, and is manufactured, as well for the uses of the builder, as of the agriculturalist. Stat. Acco. throughout.

(*r*) Wight's Tour, ii. 248.

At

At the entrance into the harbour of Dunbar, which is very narrow, between two rocks, there is a production of nature, which resembles *the Giants Causeway*, in Ireland. On the west side of the harbour, there is a promontory, stretching out about a hundred yards to the north, and is about twenty yards wide, having the sea on each side of it, on the flow of the tide. This rocky head is a natural curiosity of an uncommon kind; being composed of a red stone, which is not limestone, but rather a very hard freestone; resembling, on both sides, the Giants Causeway (*a*). This peninsular rock is called, by the people of Dunbar, *the isle*. Freestone seems to abound, in every part of this shire (*b*): Near Barra, freestone quarries of excellent qualities are wrought, for daily use; so are they, in Pencaithland, and Tranent (*c*). Iron ore abounds, in Humbie, and Keith, and in Oldhamstocks: And there is an iron-work, at Fawside, in Tranent (*d*).

From such topicks, it is easy to diverge to *mineral waters*. In Humbie parish, there is a spring of acidulous water, which was much resorted to, formerly, for scorbutic disorders (*e*). In Pencaithland parish, there are several mineral springs, which are highly esteemed, by the common people, for the same diseases (*f*). Kist-hill-well, in the parish of Spot, was formerly resorted to, by many people, for similar complaints (*g*). Near Saltonhouse, there has been discovered a mineral spring of the same nature, and virtue, as the Bristol waters (*h*). We may thus perceive, that East-Lothian, in addition to its minerals, has also waters, with mineral qualities, which contribute their aid, with better food, better shelter, and better clothing, to restore, or preserve, the health of its people.

About a mile from the shore of Hadington, facing the village of Castleton, lies *the Bass*, a rock of great height; on the south side, the top appears of a conical shape; but, the other overhangs the unfathomable sea, in a most tremendous manner. This, naturally, is the annual resort of water-fowl, which find the *Bass* a commodious breeding place: Among these, the most numerous are the gannets, or Solan geese, whose young are sold, for the benefit of the proprietor of the rock: The next, in number, are the kittie-wakes, a species of gull, which have derived their singular name from their constant

(*a*) There is a minute account of this *natural production*, by the bishop of Ossory, in the Philosoph. Transact. lii. 98. Pennant describes those *columnar* rocks, as a very surprizing stratum of stone; consisting of great columns, either triangular, quadrangular, pentangular, or hexangular; their diameter is from one to two feet, their length, at low water, thirty; dipping, or inclining a little to the south. Tour, i. 44.

(*b*) Stat. Acco. throughout. (*c*) Ib. xiii. 358; xvii. 43; and Forest's map of this shire.
(*d*) Stat. Acco. vi. 161; vii. 42; and Forest's map. (*e*) Stat. Acco. i. 161.
(*f*) Ib. xvii. 34. (*g*) Ib. v. 455. (*h*) Ib. x. 261.

cry (*i*). Here, also, Ray saw the *scout*, the *scart*, and a bird, called the *turtledove*, whole footed, and the feet red. This perpendicular rock is celebrated, in the *Polemomiddinia* of Drummond, as "the *solangoosifera Bassa* (*k*)."

Hadingtonshire cannot boast of being well watered. It seems to have no lakes, either for ornament, or use. The White-Ader, which circulates through Berwickshire, with so much convenience, and beauty, rises in Hadington. The *Tyne*, which springs from the moor of Middleton, in Edinburghshire, "flows "tortoise-like," through Hadington. From the parishes of Crighton, and Cranston, it enters this shire; and holding its devious course, from west to east, it washes the county-town, and falls into the frith, at Tyningham; after receiving, in its progress, Salton-water, Coalstown-water, and several rills. The Tyne, however, is subject to floods; and has, often, damaged the shire-town, on its banks, by its torrent. There are not any other streams, in this shire, which merit the appellation of brooks (*l*): Hadington, then, does not derive

(*i*) Stat. Acco. p. 47; facing which, there is a sketch of *the Bass*, from Tamtallon-castle. The castle on the Bass, which had been a state prison; and at the Revolution, was relinquished; was afterward directed, by King William's order, of the 2d February 1701-2, to be demolished. Warrant Book, in the Paper Office. In July 1706, the Bass was granted to Sir Hew Dalrymple, the Lord President of the Court of Session, for paying a Scots penny. By the recital of the grant, it appears, that the Bass had been conveyed to Charles II., by Sir Alexander Ramsay of Abbotshall: A right to the Solan geese was reserved to Lord Alexander Hay; and there was also reserved the power of re-fortifying the Bass, if the government at any time should think proper. Id. On the 29th of January 1744, died, at the age of 85, Captain Edward Burd, who was noted, for taking the Bass, during King William's war, from the French. Scots Mag. 1744, 50. See John Ray's Itineraries, 191—4, for his curious account of the Bass, in August 1661.

(*k*) Gibson says, in his notes on that macaronic poem, that *bas*, in the old Danish, "loca inter "*cautes* augustiora significat." But, he does not quote his authority. According to Andreas, *basse*, in the Islandic, signifies *pinnaculum*? And, this signification does apply, indeed, to the nature of the thing, whatever may have been the origin of the application. Bullet has collected, with his usual industry, that *bass*, in the Celtic, signifies a rock, a rock under water: But, this signifies something *low*, not something *high*. There is a truncated tumulus, near Inverury, in Aberdeenshire, which is also called the *Bass*. [Stat. Acco. vii. 335.] But, if this be a *barrow*, it may have derived its name from a Celtic source. *Bass*, a mat, at the door, for the feet; and *bass*, a mat, in the church, for the knees, are derived, by Jamieson, the Scotish glossarist, from the Teut. *bast*, cortex, who changes the form of the word, to suit his purpose. Whatever Junius, or Johnson, may say, the English word *bass*, signifying a *mat*, may be properly derived, from the French, *bas*, what is *low*, or *under*; secondarily, *base*, or *basement*. See Menage. As to the French etymologists running into the Greek, for what they might have found, in their own Gaulish, or Breton, [see Pelloutier, in vo. *bas*, low], it is like the English, and Scotish glossarists, who mount to the moon, for what they may find on earth.

(*l*) The West, and East-Peffer, rise in the same county; but take different courses: The former runs in a north-west direction, and mingles its waters with the Forth, in Aberlady bay, at Luffness; The

derive from its internal waters, either the benefit of abundant fishery, or the advantage of augmented fertilization. Yet, however penurious nature may have been, in supplying this shire, with lakes, and riverets; she has abundantly made up, by surrounding the whole northern shore, by the sea, and Forth.

§ IV. *Of its Antiquities.*] The successive settlers, within this fine district, which, we have just seen, does not abound with natural objects, and the peculiar languages of each colony, are undoubtedly the earliest, and most interesting antiquities of this county. At the epoch of the Roman invasion of North-Britain, during the first century, the great tribe of the British *Ottadini* inhabited the whole coast of the Forth, as high, perhaps, as the Esk (*m*). Their language is the clearest evidence of their lineage; and the names of the rivers, and the appellations of places, are the best proofs of their language. The *Tyne*, the *Peffer*, the *Adar*, the Dy, the Eye, Aberlady, Trebrun, Tranent, Trapren, *Pen*-craig, Pencaithlan, Soltre, Barra, Nodref, [Niddrie], Keith, Yester, Carfrae, *Pen*-trak-*hill*, are Cambro-British words, which still testify the truth of the British origin of the *Ottadini* people, the Celtic inhabitants of this district, during the second century (*n*). The hill-forts, the caves, the weapons of war, the ornaments, the modes of sepulture, which have been all investigated, are additional evidences of the descent of the original people here, and of the genuine *Celticism* of their speech (*o*). The abdication of the Roman government left those British people, in the quiet possession of their original country. Neither the congenerous Picts, beyond the Forth, nor the Scots, in Ireland, disturbed their repose.

The East-Peffer assumes a north-east direction, and falls into the Forth. The Garvalt, and the Saughit rivulets, mix their kindred waters, near Biel, which gives them its own name; and fall into the Firth, at West-Barns. The streamlet of Spot, which is properly Brocs-burn, and corruptly Brox-burn, flows into the Forth, at Brox-mouth, that has given its name to a seat of the Duke of Roxburgh: The rivulets Dunglas, Dry, and Thornton, mingle their tributary waters with the Estuary, which bounds the north-east coast of Hadington.

(*m*) See Caledonia, bk. i. ch. 1. 2.

(*n*) *Tra pren*, in the Cambro-British, signifies beyond the tree; *tre-pren* would signify timber-town. *Soltre*, which is now Soutra, is merely the *Swltre* of the same language, signifying prospect-ham. Pen-casith-lan, signifies, in that descriptive tongue, the head, or end of the narrow inclosure. Niddrie, the *Nodref* of the chartularies; Noedd-tref means the naked dwelling. Tre-brun signifies hill-town.

(*o*) In 1782, there was turned up, by the plough, within Gilmerton field, the head of a hatchet of polished yellow marble, which had been sharpened at both the ends, in length nine inches, and in breadth, from one and a half to upwards of two inches. This curious weapon was presented, on the 2d of April 1782, to the Antiquarian Society of Edinburgh. Acco. of the Antiq. Soc. Edin. p. 91.

At the end of a century, however, they were awakened to a sense of their insecurity, by the intrusion of a Teutonic people, who came from the settlement of a kingdom, on the south of the Tweed, to enlarge the sphere of their settlements, on the Tyne. With the predominance of the Saxon people, their speech was superinduced upon the British tongue (*p*). The worthy Cuthbert succeeded the respected Baldred, during the seventh century, in preaching to the confiding Saxons of this *shire*, in their own language. The Saxon settlers were sometimes over-run by the Picts, after the battle of Drumnechton. They were at length overpowered by the Scots, after the suppression of the Pictish power. And the Saxon settlers here, with their country, were at length, in 1020, ceded, by the Northumbrian earl, to the Scotish king. The Scotish people, during almost a century, predominated in Lothian, as well as, in Scotland (*q*). In this manner, then, are the names of places, the best proofs of the successive settlements of all those people, in different ages, within the agreeable area of Hadingtonshire.

The most prominent objects, which next attract the antiquarian eye, are the hill-forts of the earliest people. Of this nature probably is, the camp, in Bolton parish, comprehending five, or six acres, and is called *Chesters* (*r*). Of a similar

(*p*) It may, easily, be supposed that, on the face of this district, the Saxon words would, at length, out-number the British: We may now recognize here, the Anglo-Saxon Shiel, Lee, or Lea, Law, Dod, Ham, Tun, or Ton, Dean, Rig, Wic, By, Cleugh, Hope, Threap, Chester, and above all the Lamermoor, without considering the English of latter times, beside those we now contemplate. The names of the waters generally are significant, in the Cambro-British speech, as well as the names of some of the parishes of Hadingtonshire: But, the names of most of the parishes are pure Anglo-Saxon; while there cannot be found a single trace of the Scandinavian tongue.

(*q*) There are, in this shire, a greater number of Gaelic names of places, than in Berwickshire; a fact this, which testifies that the Scotish people settled, in greater numbers on the northern, than the southern side of the Lamermoor. The most obvious Gaelic names are: Balgone, Balncrieff, Craig, Craigindinnas, Creignes, Clackmae, Culmad, Dunbar, Dun-glas, *Down*-hill, Drummore, *Dun*-cra-hill, *Dun*-pender-law, Dalgowrie, *Drem*, Garvald, Cairn, Kilspindie, Kilmurdie, Luffenach, now Lufnes, Pressminnen, Stoop-horn-*rind*, *Torbucklin*-hill, Torrs, Fantassie, Gulan, Linplume, Nuckle-*Duns*, Tamtallon, Wamphrey. In Lothian, says the late Lord Hailes, the names of the *hills*, and *rivers*, are *Gaelic*; the names of the most ancient villages, and hamlets, are generally *Saxon*: This shows, he adds, that the Saxons once possessed the country; And that they succeeded a nation of a different language. Sutherland Case, 69. Yet, his lordship did not see the truth, distinctly; He did not perceive, that the Celtic-British are the earliest names on the map of Lothian; that the Saxon are the second; that the Gaelic are the third, and that the English are the fourth; corresponding to the several successions of the colonizing people.

(*r*) Stat. Acco. iv. 287.

origin

origin is the *circular* camp, at Garvald, which has a circumference of fifteen hundred feet. At no great distance, westward, at Carfrae, there was till lately an encampment of nearly the same shape, and dimensions (*s*). On Priestlaw, in Whittingham parish, is a circular camp, which, as it is encompassed by four ditches, and measures two thousand feet in circumference, seems to have been of great importance. From the number of envelops, the art of construction, and the strength of the whole, we may infer, that this encampment among the Lamermoor laws, may have been the labour of successive years; and was strengthened, by the Ottadini people, after the abdication of the Roman power had made way, for the attacks of a very different race (*t*). It is unnecessary, and would be tedious, to examine the circular fortlets, on the summits of every hillock, when the difference between the British hill-forts, and the Roman square encampments below, are once distinctly understood; and it is clearly known, that this fine district was never defiled, by Danish feet. The Lothians do not abound, in *druid* monuments. It has been already intimated, in the account of Berwickshire, that the druid temples seem to have been destroyed, by the ardent heat of the Saxon christians, who built their religious houses on more ancient ruins. Whatever *cairns* may have been thrown up, by the British people, or by their Gaelic successors, as tributes to their ancestors, have been removed, by improvers, who neither cared, for the manes of the dead, nor regarded the triumphals of the living (*u*). The map of Hadingtonshire exhibits many *ruins*, without any intimation, whether they be the remains of a church,

(*s*) Stat. Acco. xiii. 361-2. A few years ago, when the workmen were digging up the entrenchments of the camp at Carfrae, they found the brass handle of a sword.

(*t*) Ib. ii. 346. There are other camps, in this shire, of a similar nature, the efforts, probably, of the same people. In Innerwick parish, and on Blackcastle-hill, is an encampment of that sort, which is supposed, by ignorance, to be *Danish*. Ib. i. 124. There is a similar camp on Dodrig-law, in Ormiston parish, which has been attributed, both to the Danes, and to the Romans. Ib. v. 70. In Athelstaneford parish, is the vestige of a camp, which is also attributed to the Danes, by those inquirers, who do not recollect that, in Scotland, the Danes were never allowed to settle. Ib. x. 175. In Garvald, and Baro, there are some strengths, on artificial mounts, which are called the Blackcastle, and the Greencastle. Ib. xiii. 361-2; and these, also, are given to the *Danes*, by inquirers, who never reflected, that the object of the Danes was depredation, and not residence. See King's Munimenta, b. i. ch. i., concerning the British forts.

(*u*) On the summit of Whitekirk hill, there is a cairn, indeed, which malignant tradition supposes to be the sepulchre of two young men, who were killed by the garrison of the Bass, at the troubleous epoch of the Reformation. Stat. Acco. xvii. 580. Near the south-western boundaries of Berwickshire, may be seen, in Armstrong's map of the Lothians, several heights, which are called Harehope *Cairn*, Harelaw *Cairn*, Whitestone *Cairn*, Cape *Cairn*.

or a castle. In the parish of Innerwick, are two beautiful tumuli, which are obviously sepulchres: On the coast of the same parish, are the ruins of a chapel, though we are not told, when it was built, or to what use it was applied (*x*). In Dirleton parish, on Fidrey isle, there is a ruined building, which is supposed to have been a place of worship for the living, or perhaps a lazaret for the sick (*y*). There is a ruin on a sandy hillock, near North-Berwick shore, which is surrounded by a cemetery, that shows the building to have been dedicated to some holy use (*z*). In Humbie parish, besides encampments, there are several tumuli, wherein have been found urns, containing bones, and ashes. The many ruins of religious houses, and of *castles*, as they originated, during more recent times, can merely be deemed *modern antiquities*, by judicious readers.

With the warfare of feudal ages, arose *the castles*, which were the residences of feudal chiefs, who introduced into them, by turns, vigorous conflict, and coarse hilarity. On the entrance, from Berwickshire, into Eastern-Lothian, stands the castle of *Dunglas*, which is often mentioned, in the Scotish annals, as the guard of that pass into North-Britain. It was long the hospitable residence of the Homes; and gave the title of Lord *Dunglas* to the Earl of Home (*a*). The castle of *Innerwick* was one of those many fortalices, which were built, during feudal times, against sudden invasion, or popular tumult. It was, for ages, the inheritance of *the Stewarts*; and became one of the baronial strongholds of the Hamiltons: It was attacked, and taken, during the protector Somerset's expedition, in 1547 (*b*). The castle of *Thornton*, which belonged to Lord Home, was, on that occasion, overpowered with more ease, as it was less strong from nature, and less fortified by art.

The castle of *Dunbar* has often furnished a larger theatre, for warlike exploits, in earlier times. The ruins of this fortalice, which is seated on a rock above the sea, is the Dun-bar, or strength upon the summit, of the ancient people. As the land, in this vicinity, was given by Malcolm Canmore to Cospatrick, the expatriated Earl of Northumberland, we may easily suppose, that he here strengthened a castle, which was completed by his warlike, and opulent successors,

(*x*) Stat. Acco. i. 124. (*y*) Ib. 194.

(*z*) Grose's Antiq. Scot. ii. 77, to which is prefixed a sketch of the ruin.

(*a*) Stat. Acco. of Oldhamstocks, vii. 409. The castle of Dunglas had the honour to receive King James, on his journey to London, in 1603. On his return, he was again received here, on the 17th of May 1617: And here the *Muses Dunglasides* offered their gratulatory *welcome*. See *The Muses Welcome*, 1618.

(*b*) There is a drawing of this castle, in Grose's Antiq., facing p. 91.

the

the Earls of Dunbar, and March (*c*). The sieges, which it successively sustained, by the most warlike princes, are satisfactory proofs of its strength, from its natural position, and artificial works. The foul deeds, and flight of James, Earl Bothwell, induced the parliament of December 1567, to direct its demolition (*d*). The neighbouring town derived its existence, and its name, from the castelated cliff (*e*). The castle of *Dirleton* cannot be traced, so distinctly, to so early an origin. Like other feudal houses, it was erected on a rock, in the parish of Gulan. It had the honour, to stop the progress of the ireful Edward I., in 1298, when it was the baronial residence of the family of Vaus. After many vicissitudes, in war, and in peace, it was demolished by Cromwell, in 1650 (*f*). The castle of Hailes, the ruins whereof stand on the southern bank of the Tyne, was also a feudal strength, during the middle ages; and was demolished, during the same civil wars (*g*). The castle of *Tamtallon*, which stands two miles eastward of North-Berwick, on a high rock, overhanging the sea, that surrounds three of its sides, is now a wretched remain of the factious greatness of other times. The era of its foundation is unknown: It was demolished, in 1639, by the furious insurgents of that age (*h*). At the romantic foot of the Garleton hills, stands the house of Garleton, which shows, in its present ruins, its ancient magnificence (*i*). Winton-house, the stately residence of the Seatons, in other times, is now a sad memorial of mistaken politics, which were carried into rebellious action, upon honourable principles. Upon a peninsula, which is formed by the Hope-water, on the east, and a large rivulet on the west, stand the ruins of Yester-castle, the baronial residence of the Giffards, during the middle ages (*k*) The castle of *the Bass*, which had the honour to receive, and to shelter James, the infant heir of Robert III., and

(*c*) Sim. Dunelm. Col. 205; Holland's Camden, Scotia, 11.

(*d*) Skene's Acts of the 1st Parl. Ja. IV. In 1801, Lord Lauderdale's labourers, in clearing away some high ground, under the castle, in order to open a view of the sea, discovered the ancient cemetery of the fortlet, containing many bones of all ages, as well as a good number of stone balls of different sizes, and some of them as large, as the twenty-four pounders of the present times. The Rev. Doctor Carfrae's Letter to me of the 28th October 1801. Trans. Antiq. Soc. Lond. xiv. 279.

(*e*) Penant's Tour, v. i. p. 44; There are two plates of the ruins of the castle of *Dunbar*, in Grose's Antiq., facing p. 83-89.

(*f*) There is a plate of *Dirleton* castle in Grose's Antiq., facing p. 73.

(*g*) There is a plate of *Hailes* castle in Grose's Antiq., facing p. 89: Stat. Acco. v. xi. p. 86.

(*h*) There are two plates of *Tamtallon* ruins in Grose's Antiq., facing p. 77-81: There is an etching of *Tamtallon*, in Cardonel's Antiquities.

(*i*) Stat. Acco. x. 175. (*k*) Stat. Acco. of Garvald, xiii. 361-2.

was,

was, during Charles II.'s reign, used as a state prison, was relinquished, by King William, as of no use, for the purposes of war.

Of towers, and bastel-houses, Hadingtonshire cannot boast of the same numbers, as the shires of Berwick, and of Roxburgh, which were nearer the hostile borders, and wanted such a shield, as the Lamermoor. And it will be found, from every inquiry, that the most instructive *antiquities* of East-Lothian is its *topography*, which illustrates the obscurities of its colonization, in successive ages, and exhibits, at this day, the languages of the several settlers, within its diversified area, which are the best proofs of the real genealogy of every people.

§ v. *Of its Establishment as a Shire.*] The origin, and the settlement of the sheriffwick of Hadington, are extremely obscure. Hadintunschire is mentioned, indeed, in the charters of David I. (*l*): But, the term *scire*, in those grants, meant merely the *parish* of Hadington, which was, probably, in those times, of very large extent. This intimation continued equally true, during the age of Malcolm IV.; and in the reign of William, the lion (*m*). Under Malcolm IV., and his brother, William, Alexander was, certainly, sheriff of Hadington (*n*). It is apparent, then, that a certain district, around Hadington, during those early reigns, had been already placed under the appropriate regimen of a sheriff (*o*): But, there is no evidence, on the other hand, of Hadington being a *constabulary*, in those times. The appointment of a *constable*, when

(*l*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xvii. It is to be, however, remembered, that in his second charter above, by which he granted *Clerchetune*, according to its limits, on both sides of the Tyne, as William de Graham, "et Durundus, vicecomes," and others, had perambulated the same, he mentions Durand, the *sheriff*: We must always recollect, when discussing such subjects that, in the Sax. Glossary of Ælfric, *scir* signifies *provincia*.

(*m*) Malcolm IV. confirmed a grant of his mother, the Countess Ada, of the lands, which were of Robert, the son of Galfrid, called Bereford, in Hadington-*sire*. Chart. New-botel, No. 78. There is a charter of William, the successor of Malcolm, confirming to the same monks the lands of Bereford, in Hadington*scire*. Ib. No. 176.

(*n*) He is mentioned, in the Chart. of Newbotel, No. 13; and Alexander is again mentioned, in 1184, as a perambulator of lands, with Symon, the sheriff of Traquayr, in a charter of William, the lion, who calls Alexander *his sheriff of Hadington*. Ib. 30.

(*o*) Sometime before 1200, Hugh Giffard of Yester had his sheriff, who was named Alexander. Chart. Newbot. 89. The Morvilles had also their sheriff, in this county: And Henry Sinclair of Herdmanston was the sheriff of those opulent barons. Chart. Glasg. 163—5; Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 75.

there

there does not appear a *castle*, is as obscure, as the establishment of the sheriffwick. Yet, it is certain, that before the end of the thirteenth century, Hadington, to whatever extent, had been made a constabulary, though we hear nothing of any castle of Hadington (*a*). The first record, wherein we see, distinctly, the sheriffwick of Edinburgh stretched over Hadington, on the south, and Linlithgow, on the north, is the ordinance of Edward I., 1305, for settling the government of Scotland (*b*). The earliest charter of the Scotish kings, which, explicitly, mentions the *constabulary* of Hadington, is a grant of Robert I. to Alexander de Seton (*c*). There is a proceeding of parliament, in 1385, which opens the political economy, which then existed, as to the *constabulary* of Hadington, and the *shire* of Edinburgh. William de Fentoun complained to the king, in parliament, of wrongs done him, by the baron of Dirlton. William had been prosecuted "in curia baronis de Driltoun," upon his tenement of Fentoun; and being ousted, by the sentence of this court-baron, appealed to the superior jurisdiction of the sheriff of Edinburgh, who restored William to his tenement, "per suum *constabularium* de Hadington," notwithstanding the frequent interruptions of the baron of Dirlton. And complaint was now made to the king in his council, and to the king, in parliament, of the outrageous wrongs done, by the baron of Dirlton to William de Fentoun. All proceedings considered, it was determined, by the *general council*, that William of Fentoun should be

(*a*) Even, in 1334, when Edward Baliol granted the whole districts of Southern Scotland to Edward III., he gave his liege lord the *constabulary* of *Hadington*, while he equally transferred the town, *the castle*, and the county of Edinburgh. Rym. iv. 614. This document marks very distinctly *the castles*, wherever any existed. Nor, must we be deluded, by Ayloff's Cal. 298, to suppose, that there was a *castrum* de Hadington.

(*b*) Riley's Placita, 504: John de Adeburgh was thereby appointed the sheriff of Edinburgh, of Hadington, and of Linlithgow. In the English Records of that age, this anomalous jurisdiction is variously denominated; sometimes East-Lothian is called the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, and often the sheriffdom of Hadington; as we may see in Prynne, and Rymer. When the corporation of Hadington-town swore fealty to Edward, in 1296, they are described, as "en le counte de "Edenburgh." Prynne, iii. 653. In March 1306, Hugh de Newton did homage to the same king, for his lands "en le counte de Hadington." Rym. ii. 1015. But, East-Lothian is never called a constabulary, in the English Records, at that epoch. Robert I., however, in granting the forfeiture of William de Ferrers, within the barony of Tranent, to Alexander Seton, reserved the *service* of "unam sectam *curie nostre* de Hadington." This reservation seems to imply, that there was of old, at Hadington, the king's court, to which the constable may have been attached.

(*c*) Robert Bruce granted to Alexander de Seton the barony of Tranent, "in *constabularie* de "Hadington." Roberts. Index, 20. From the accession of Bruce till the restoration of Charles II., Hadington continued a constabulary. From David II.'s charter, in 1369, it appears that the *shire of Edinburgh* then stretched to *Colbrandspath*, on the south. Roberts. Index, 90.

restored to his tenement " per potenciam regiam et ejus authoritatem; and for his wrongs, by spoliation, and waste, William was referred to his action at *common law* (*d*). Robert III. granted to William Lindsay of the Byres, for life, the offices of sheriff of Edinburghshire, and constable of Hadington constabulary (*e*). Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, was appointed sheriff of Edinburgh, and *constable* of Hadington, as early as the 15th of February 1489-90 (*f*). This consequential baron died, in 1508; and was succeeded, by his son, Adam, the second Earl of Bothwell: And, he obtained from James IV., on the 27th day of August 1511, in *fee*, and *heretage*, the several offices of sheriff of Edinburgh proper, the sheriff of Edinburgh, within the constabulary of Hadington, *constable of Hadington*, and admiral of Scotland (*g*). From this ample grant, all those offices, with other rights, and privileges, descended, hereditarily, in this ambitious family, till the whole were forfeited, in 1567, by the odious James, Earl of Bothwell. Soon after 1584, King James was so imprudent, as to restore Francis, Earl of Bothwell, to the whole forfeitures of the former: To his earldom; to his baronies of *Hailes*, *Oldamstocks*, and *Moreham*, with the offices of sheriff of Edinburgh, sheriff of Edinburgh *within the constabulary of Hadington*, sheriff of Berwick, Baillie of Lauderdale, and Great

(*d*) Parl. Rec. 133-4. The baron of Dirlton appears to have acted, with all the outrage of a lawless age: He prosecuted his neighbour, in his own court; he resisted the sheriff's process; he opposed, pertinaciously, the king in his judicial council: Yet, we do not see, in the Record, that the baron of Dirlton was committed, for his violent contempt of the constituted authorities. William de Vaus was then baron of Dirlton; and died, in 1392. Dougl. Peer. 321. Yet, in 1467, the parliament spoke loosely of the *shire* of Hadington; and, actually appointed Duncan of Dundas, and the laird of Congilton, to make an inquisition, and retour of every man's rent, in Hadingtonshire. Parl. Rec. 151.

(*e*) Robertson's Index, 142. Sir William Lindsay of the Byres, who was one of the sureties, for the truce of 1398, as mentioned, in Rym. viii. 35, is supposed to have died, in 1424. Dougl. Peer. 160.

(*f*) Parl. Rec. 364. In 1503, the same Earl of Bothwell was sheriff of Lothiane, [from the Avon to Coldbrandspath]; and *constable of Hadington*. Balfour's Practicks, 16.

(*g*) Privy Seal Rec. lib. iv. 151. Adam, Earl of Bothwell, fought, and fell, with James IV., on Floddon-field. He was succeeded, by his son Patrick, who was also sheriff of Edinburghshire, and constable of Hadington constabulary, in October 1545. Parl. Rec. 689; Keith's Hist. 41. He died, in September 1556: And, he was succeeded in his earldom, and various offices, by his son James, who will not soon be forgotten. On the 19th of April 1567, all his estates, titles, and offices, were confirmed by a charter of Queen Mary, which was ratified, by parliament. Parl. Rec. 754. Hewas expelled, and forfeited, during the same unlucky year, for his misdeeds. An attention to those accurate notices would illustrate the obscurities of the Scotish history.

Admiral

Admiral of Scotland (*h*). Such improvidence in the giver only created ingratitude in the receiver: This miscreant earl committed a thousand treasons against his benefactor, before his forfeiture, in 1594. It is vain to inquire, which of the nobles were next made ungrateful, by sharing his forfeiture: The same regimen of a sheriff-principal of Edinburgh, a sheriff of Edinburgh, for the constabulary of Hadington, long continued (*i*). James VI. seems to have conferred on the corporation of Hadington "the office of *sherefscip*," within its limits (*k*) Hadington continued a constabulary, at the Restoration, and, perhaps, throughout the reign of Charles II. (*l*). Hadington was a sheriffdom, at the Revolution; and it continued so, till 1748. Soon after the Revolution, John, the second Marquis of Tweedale, was appointed sheriff-principal of Hadington; a trust, which he continued to execute, till his death, in 1713 (*m*). On the 9th of January 1716, Thomas, Earl of Hadington, was appointed sheriff of this shire, during the king's pleasure; but was continued till his decease, in 1735. As this trust was not hereditary, it could not be claimed, when such trusts were to be resumed, by purchase. At the epoch of the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions, in 1748, there were but few, and inconsiderable

(*h*) Dougl. Peer. 36.

(*i*) See Certain Matters of Scotland, 1597, which were published, in 1603. Sign. C. 4. As early as 1579, *Lauder* appears to have been comprehended, in the constabulary of Hadington. Wight on Elections, 431. Sir William Seatoun succeeded the Bothwells, as sheriff of Hadington: On the 19th of January 1613, as sheriff-*depute*, he gave in to the commissioners of parliament, "the "taxt-roll of the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, *within the constabulary of Hadington*. MS. Roll. This Parliamentary Record, then, clearly expresses what had long been, and what long continued, after the accession of King James, to be both the fact, and the law, with regard to the subordinate jurisdiction of East-Lothian.

(*k*) The charter of King James was confirmed, by act of parliament, on the 29th of June 1633, which declared the same burrough "to be within the *shrefdome* of Edinburgh, and constabularie of "Hadington." See this act, in the Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 96.

(*l*) From 1663 to the 8th of December 1670, John Hayof Barra was sheriff-depute of Edinburgh, within the *constabulary* of Hadington. George Brown of Coalston succeeded him, till 1681; when he was followed by George Halyburton of Eaglescarney, till 1687. Yet, in the act of the 1st Ch. II. c. 14., for raising the annuity of £4,000, Hadington is called *a sheriffdom*, only Edinburgh is still called "the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, *principal*. The well-known Duke of Lauderdale was sheriff, within the constabulary of Hadington, in 1677; and so continued till his decease, in 1682. The first act of James VII. ch. xii. considers Edinburgh, which was not called *principal*, and Hadington, as distinct shires. In 1689, the 1st parl. K. William, ch. 32, for raising four months supply, also speaks of Edinburgh, and Hadington, as separate shires.

(*m*) Dougl. Peer. in art. Alexander Hay, advocate, was sheriff-depute, under the marquis, as the principal.

claims, to be compensated, by the public, in Hadingtonshire (*n*). The first sheriff, who was appointed, at that epoch, under the improved regimen, was James Hamilton, advocate, a brother of Lord Belhaven (*o*).

§ VI. *Of its Civil History.*] The ample district, extending from Colbrandspath, on the northern limit of Berwickshire, to the Avon, on the Forth, which comprehends modern Lothian, has fully partaken of the successive events, which have either saddened, or exhilarated Scotland, throughout many ages (*p*).

But, in the annals of Hadingtonshire, the county-town is the first object of rational curiosity. It derived its name, from a Saxon settler here, whose *ton* it became; and who here sat down with his followers, on the northern margin of the Tyne. We first see it, in record, during the 12th century, as the demesn town of the Scotish king. The beneficent David I. possessed it, as his *burgh*, with a church, a mill, and other apurtenants of a manor; but no castle of Hadington appears, in any charter (*q*). Its agreeable site, however, made it a proper place of regal dower. And, in 1139, on the marriage of Earl Henry, the heir of David I., to Ada, the daughter of the Earl of Warren, and the Countess of Melent, Hadington, and its territory, were settled on her, as her matrimonial provision (*r*). And, this mother of kings seems to have been attentive to *her burrough* of Hadingtun, till her decease, in 1178 (*s*). On this

(*n*) John Hay was paid £800 Sterling for the bailliery of Dunbar; and John Hamilton, for the regality of Drem, had £500. MS. Orig. Report. Hadingtonshire is comprehended, within the commissariate of Edinburgh.

(*o*) Scots Mag. 1748, 155.

(*p*) For the history of Lothian, during the Pictish period, from 446 A. D. to 843, see Caledonia, bk. ii. ch. 3; and for its history, in the subsequent period, extending from 843 A. D. to 1097, see bk. iii. ch. 6.

(*q*) His charter, granting the church of St. Mary of Hadintune to the church of St. Andrew, at Kilrimont, was given "apud Hadintune." Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xvii. In 1159, Malcolm IV. granted to the monks of Kelso a toft, in *Hadington*. Ib. xxv. David I. granted to the church of St. Mary of Hadington one full toft, near the church, in the town of Hadington. Ib. xvi. He granted to the priory of St. Andrews a toft in Hadington. Rel. Divi Andreæ, 165. He granted, to the monks of Dunfermlin, "unam *mansuram*," in the burgh of Hadington. Sir Ja. Dalrymp. Col. 384. David granted to the monks of May a full toft, "in *burgo meo* de Hadintune, free of all custom, and service." Chart. May, No. 6.

(*r*) Chron. Mail. 166; Dug. Bar. i. 75: And, in her charter to the canons of the church of St. Andrew, she gave a full toft "in burgo meo de *Hadintuna*." Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 118.

(*s*) Chron. Mail. 174. She founded a nunnery, at Hadington. She granted to the monks of Cambuskenneth a toft, in Hadington. Chart. Cambus. No. 29-197. In 1178, Pope Alexander confirmed to the monks of Inchcolm two tofts, in Hadington, which had been formerly granted to them. Chart. Inchcolm, No. 76.

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event, *Hadington* returned to her son, William, the lion, as a demesn of the crown (*t*). William, the lion, seems to have sometimes resided, at this pleasant town, though we hear nothing of *his castle*. Here, in 1180, was the famous controversy, between the monks of Melros and Richard Morville, the constable, about the forest, and pasture, on the Galach, and Leder, decided, in their favour, before William, the king, and his brother, Earl David, and many clergy, as well as laymen, innumerable (*u*). In 1191, William, the lion, gave his daughter, Isobel, who had been the wife of Robert de Brus, to Robert de Ros, at *Hadintun* (*x*). On the 24th of August 1198, was born, at *Hadingtun*, to William, and Ermengard, their son, Alexander, who succeeded him, in the Scotish throne (*y*). During those joyous times, Hadington seems not to have felt the miseries of war, throughout the three reigns of David I., Malcolm IV., and William, the lion. It was first involved in warfare, after Alexander II. had taken part with the English barons against their unworthy sovereign. In 1216, King John penetrated into Lothian; and burnt Dunbar, and Hadington (*z*). Alexander II. seems never to have followed the example of his father, in making Hadington the place of his residence. In 1242, was assassinated, at Hadington, Patrick Earl of Athol; a terrible deed, which involved the king, and the nation, in many troubles (*a*). As this town had been hastily rebuilt of wood, after John had carried his torch through Lothian, it was accidentally burnt, in 1244 (*b*). Hadington seems not to have suffered many miseries,

(*t*) There remains a charter of William, confirming to the canons of St. Andrew the church of Hadington, with the lands of Clerkington, the tithes, and other pertinents: This charter was given "apud *Hadintune.*" Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 118. He granted a toft, in Hadington, to the monks of Coldingham. Ch. Cold. 5. Roger de Quincey, the Earl of Winton, gave the canons of Dryburgh a toft, "in villa de Hadington." Ch. Dryb. 106. William's charter to the monks of Newbotle, which was granted, between 1179 and 1189, was dated, "apud Hadington." There is reason to believe, that the Scotish kings had *a court*, at Hadington, to which they were studious to reserve certain *services*.

(*u*) That decision was triumphantly recorded, by the chronicler of Mailros, 174, as having happened, "apud *Hadingtun*, dominica media quadragesima, et Dei adjutori." Happy! had he explained the manner of the trial: He speaks, indeed, of their charters, which were, no doubt, exhibited, and of *the authority* of the church of Rome.

(*x*) Ib. 179.

(*y*) Ib. 181; Fordun, l. viii. c. 61: "In cujus nativitate multi gaudebant," adds the chronicler of Mailros.

(*z*) Chron. Mail. 190.

(*a*) Lord Hailes' An. i. 157. In order to conceal that odious deed, the perpetrators, Bisset, and his partisans, set fire to the house, in which he lodged.

(*b*) Ford. lix. c. 61:

from

from the succession war: In 1293, indeed, it was formally demanded of John Baliol, by Edward I. (*b*). In Hadingtonshire, every parish had its *kirk-town*: But, there was no other place, probably, than Hadington, which had acquired the dignity of a *burgh*, till after the Scoto-Saxon period had closed, with the accession of Robert Bruce (*c*).

If we except the devastation of King John, in 1216, Hadingtonshire suffered little from foreign, or domestic hostility, till the demise of Alexander brought on the succession war. Hadingtonshire partook, indeed, of those servile scenes, which were acted, at Brigham, at Usettlington, and at Berwick (*d*). But, it was not till Edward I. threw aside the flimsy guise of Lord Paramount, that real war began. His progress into the north was obstructed, by the castle of Dunbar. And, on the 28th of March 1296, Earl Warrenne laid formal siege to this fortlet, which was defended by the Countess of March. Her fortitude gave the bravest men, in Scotland, time to come to her aid. At the end of a month, was fought, under its walls, the battle of Dunbar, with persevering, but unlucky valour. And, the appearance of Edward himself, on the 29th of April 1296, was the signal for the surrender of that well-defended castle. The fate of Baliol, of Hadington, and of Scotland, was now decided, for the present. The valour, the enterprize, the fortune of Wallace, during the memorable year 1297, taught the ambitious Edward, that the Scotish people, however divided, were not conquered. He again penetrated through the Merse, in June 1298, when he was opposed, by the castle of Dirleton, the strength of the Vauses: After a resolute defence, it surrendered, at length, to Anthony Beck, the bishop

(*b*) There is in Ayloffe's Cal. 110, a writ "de summonitione regis Scotiæ coram rege, respon-" suri pro villis de Berewyk, et *Hadington*: Berewyk, here, was probably North-Berwick, in Hadingtonshire.

(*c*) On the 28th of August 1296, "Alexander le *Barker Provost* del burg de Hadington et " tote la commune de meme burg, swore fealty to Edward I. Prynne, iii. 653. Another *le Barker* of this burgh swore fealty to Edward, on the same occasion. Id. We may remember the old English story of the King, and *The Barker* of Dantre, in Ritson's *Ancient Popular Poetry*. We are instructed, by his Glossary, that *Barker* was a tanner, so called from his using *bark*. From all those circumstances, we may infer, that tanning was a trade of some importance, in Hadington, at that epoch.

(*d*) In the numerous parliament of Brigham, there seem to have been only three barons, who could be deemed the representatives of Hadingtonshire; namely, Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar, Nicol de Graham, David le Marischal, and John de Vallibus, or Vaux: The diocesan, William, bishop of St. Andrews, sat, indeed, in that parliament; but, no other ecclesiastic, from Haddingtonshire.

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of Durham (*e*). This is the second castle of Hadingtonshire; which opposed the fatal entrance of that ambitious king into Scotland: And, he now marched forward, through the three Lothians, to Falkirk, where he again triumphed over a divided people, on the 22d of July 1298, upon a well-fought field (*f*). Yet, many a brave man still remained unsubdued. And, Edward was induced, during the year 1303, to penetrate to the utmost verge of Moray, before he could consider himself, as superior of Scotland. In 1305, he endeavoured, by his well-known ordinance, to settle the government of this distracted country, when the domestic rule of this constabulary was placed in the hands of Ive de Adeburgh, as sheriff of the shires of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Hadington.

The accession of Robert Bruce, in 1306, to the Scotish throne, made a great change in the affairs of Hadingtonshire, and of Scotland. Robert I. gave to *his* town, and people, of Hadington, a grant of *their liberties*, political, and commercial (*g*). Robert II. appears to have granted the *burgh* of Hadington "to the burgesses and community thereof," for payment of £15 sterling, yearly, into his exchequer (*h*). We may here see the ancient manner of England, by which a town, in the royal demesn, was converted into the freer form of a town, *in firm*. There were no representatives of *towns* admitted into the Scotish parliament, during the Scoto-Saxon period: The epoch of their

(*e*) Lord Hailes' An. i. 256; who says that, from the ruins, this castle seems to have been a mighty fabrick.

(*f*) Ib. 261.

(*g*) Roberts. Index, 10: In 1371, Robert II. confirmed a grant of *the baillies*, and *community* of the town of Hadington, to Hugh de Selkyrk. Ib. 93. This intimation shows what was the regimen, in elder times, of this ancient burgh.

(*h*) Ib. 132. Before that epoch, in the affairs of Hadington, its revenues had been saddled with several pensioners, who were, no doubt, troublesome riders. Robert I. granted to the abbot of Melros an annuity out of *the customs* of Hadington. Ib. 3. David II. granted an yearly pension of £20 to Alexander Cockburn out of *the great customs* of the same burgh. Ib. 43—69. David II. gave an annuity to Angus Dunbar out of the customs of Aberdeen, and Hadington. Ib. 53. In 1381, Robert II. granted to James de Douglas, knight, the son of William, the first Earl Douglas, a pension of 200 marks sterling, "pro servitio et retinentia suis," to the king, and to John, his eldest son. Ib. 121; and this curious document was printed, in Hay's Vindication of Elizabeth More, 54. This pension was to be paid out of the king's *great customs*, and other rents, within the king's *burgh* of Hadington, by the hands of the king's *customer*, and his baillies of the same burrough. The pensioner to whom those payments were to be made, at two terms yearly, as *retainer* to *the Stewarts*, was James Douglas, who succeeded his father William, the first Earl Douglas, who died, in 1384; he married the Lady Isobel, one of the daughters of Robert II., the grantor; and he died, the 31st of July 1388, fighting Hotspur, at Otterburn, without any issue of his marriage. Crawf. Peer. 97.

admission

admission among *The Estates* is 1326: And, it is more than probable, that Hadington had the honour of being one of those burroughs, who were first allowed to sit in the legislature of their country. The town of Hadington, with other burroughs, contributed to the restoration of David II. On the 26th of September 1357, Adam de Hadinton, and Adam de Congalton, were appointed, by Hadington, to meet other burgesses, for treating of the liberation of David II. (*i*).

The town of Dunbar naturally grew up under the shelter of the castle of the same name: And, from the age of Malcolm Canmore, when Gospatrick, the expatriated Earl of Northumberland, settled here, Dunbar became the town, in demesn, of the successive Earls of Dunbar, and March; partaking of their influences, whether unfortunate, or happy. In 1369, Dunbar, by the Earl's influence, was created by David II., a "free burrough," with limits, as extensive as the earldom of March, with a "market cross," with power to buy, and sell, with a *cocquet*, and *trone*, and with a "free port, at le Bellehaven:" And it was granted a concurrent commerce with Hadington, which also was thus entitled to a concurrent commerce with Dunbar (*k*). This burrough was now admitted, by its representative, with other corporations, into the Scotish parliament (*l*). And, throughout many a change, Dunbar flourished, or declined, according to the fortunes of the nation, whether lucky, or adverse.

North-Berwick, which cannot altogether rival Dunbar, in its antiquity, belonged of old to the Earls of Fife, with the territory around it: It continued, in this great family, till the demise of David II. (*m*). Robert II. had scarcely ascended the throne, when he granted to William, Earl Douglas, the privilege of a port, with the usual pertinents, to North-Berwyk, in emulation, probably,

(*i*) Rym. vi. 45.

(*k*) Roberts. Index, 89. There was a grant of Robert III. to William Danielstoun of a pension of 20 marks sterling, out of the *great customs of Dunbar*, till the king should provide him, in ten marks of land. Ib. 158.

(*l*) Parl. Rec. 282.

(*m*) Isobell, the Countess of Fife, as daughter, and heir of Earl Duncan, granted to Margaret Hog an annual rent of two marks, issuing out of her lands of Sydserf, "infra *baroniam nostram* de North-Berwyk." MS. Charter. It was dated at that epoch. She outlived David II.: And, her charter to Hog was, after her decease, confirmed by Robert II. Roberts. Index, 114. She had no issue by her four husbands: And, on the 30th of March 1371, she resigned her earldom to Robert, Earl of Menteith, the first Duke of Albany, who was heir of entail. Sibbald's Fife, 97. By some arrangement, the Earl of Menteith conveyed the barony of North-Berwick, at that epoch, to William, the first Earl of Douglas.

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of Dunbar (*l*). It was made a burgh, by a charter of Robert III. (*m*). And, its representative was admitted into the parliament, among the other commissaries of the Scotish burroughs (*n*). Hadington, Dunbar, and North-Berwick, are the only burroughs, in this shire, which, since the Union, join with others, in sending a representative to the united parliament. Yet, are there, in this shire, some burroughs of barony, which do not send commissioners to parliament. Robert I., in consideration of the services of Alexander Seyton, erected his town of Seyton, into a *free burgh* (*o*), with all the liberties, and privileges, which any other free burgh, belonging to any earl, or baron, possessed; yet, with this exception, that the people of Seyton should not enjoy the privilege of buying wool, and skins, for manufacture. Such was the nature of a *free burgh* of barony, in contradistinction to a royal burgh. In latter times, the town of Cockenzie was erected into a burgh of *barony* (*p*). The two towns of Preston-pans are both *burghs of barony*. In 1489, Dunglas was made a *burgh of barony*, in favour to Alexander Home, the heir of Home, who had contributed so much to the demise of James III., on Stirling-field (*q*). But, the towns of Hadingtonshire, whatever were their political state, never rose to any eminence, either from the numbers of their people, or the enterprize of their traffic.

When Patrick Earl of Dunbar, the sheriff of the Lothians, attached himself to Bruce, after the battle of Bannockburn, in 1314, he thereby acquired the leading of the youth of Hadingtonshire: In March 1318, he led them to the surprize of Berwick, where they learned the art of desultory war, under Randolph, and Douglas. The people of the same shire were involved in the suspicion, and disgrace of the same earl, after the accession of David II. They were a while distracted, by the devious conduct of the Earl of Dunbar. They felt the ravages of Edward III, when

(*l*) That great noble gave an obligation, dated the 26th of April 1373, to resign the priviledge of a port, at North-Berwick, if the same should be found detrimental to the king, to the nation, or to the burroughs. Parl. Rec. 129; Roberts. Index, 111. In this document, the more curious reader may perceive, that there did not exist, at that epoch, in the Scotish law, such a proceeding, as that of England, under the important writ of *ad quod damnum*. In 1788, there were discovered, within the vault of a burial-place, near this town, a seal, with this inscription: "Sigillum "Willielmi Domini de Douglas." Stat. Acco. v. 443. But, the Douglases did not bury, at North-Berwick.

(*m*) Ib. 99. (*n*) Parl. Rec. 232.

(*o*) Roberts. Index, 27. There was granted by Robert I., at the same time, to Alexander Seyton, that he should have a market, "on the Sabbath-day." Id.

(*p*) Purvis's Exchequer MS. The burgh of Cockennie accounted in the Exchequer, for *burrough mail* £6 : 14 : 4; and for one gold penny £1 : 13 : 4. Id. See Dougl. Peer. 706, from the charter.

(*q*) Crawford's MS. Notes.

he advanced through the Merse, and Lothian, to the conquest of Scotland, in December 1334. They saw the English army, under the Earl of Salisbury, beleaguer the castle of Dunbar, in January 1337-8 (*s*). They witnessed the intrepid defence of it, by the heroic Countess of Dunbar. And, the bravest of their sons followed the gallant Sir Alexander Ramsay, in June 1338, when he marched to succour the castle; and, by a successful sally, to drive the besiegers from its walls (*t*). In 1432, Hadington partook of the pestilence, which then wasted the land (*u*). The people of East-Lothian were involved in the discomfiture of the battle of Durham, in 1346; and the losses, that were the result: And, they partook of the quiet, which followed the restoration of David Bruce, and paid their full share of his grievous ransom. They were again involved in those miseries, and waste, which were the effects of the hostilities, that began, in 1376, between the Earls of Northumberland, and Dunbar; and ended by a truce, in 1381. In the quick succession of warfare, and of truces, East-Lothian shared the misfortunes, and enjoyed the benefits. The revolt, and the expatriation of George, Earl of Dunbar, in 1400, entailed on his earldom many miseries. In August 1400, Henry IV. entered Scotland, with an overpowering army, while his fleet sailed into the Forth. He marched, through Berwickshire to Hadington; thence to Leith; and from it to the siege of Edinburgh (*x*). In February 1401, Earl Patrick led the Northumbrian yeoman, with the Percys, at their head, through Berwickshire, to Dunglas; and thence, through East-Lothian, beyond the Tyne, to Linton, and Preston. Their progress was obstructed, by the vigorous resistance of the castle of Hailes; yet, their repulse, by this obstinate strength, did not prevent the besiegers from burning the villages of Hailes, of Merkhill, and Trapren. At length, by the powers of Lothian, the earl, and his Northumbrian associates, were repulsed to Berwick: Yet, this disgrace did not prevent them, from invading the Merse, in the subsequent season. The youth of Lothian, under Hepburn of Hailes, fought the expatriated earl, at Nisbet, on the 22d of June 1402, with desperate valour, but final repulse: Many of them remained on *Slaughter-field:* And, many a mother had to lament, not so much their fall, as their defeat. On the 14th of September 1402, the youth of Lothian again opposed the Earl of Dunbar, at Homildon, where they were again discomfited. In the subsequent year, the

(*s*) Lord Hailes' An. ii. 198—200. (*t*) Ib. 202.

(*u*) Bower, l. xvi. c. 20.

(*x*) On the 15th of August 1400, Henry arrived, at Hadington, where he celebrated the assumption of the Virgin; and, after remaining three days, marched to Leith. Bower, l. xv. c. 2.

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earl conducted the Northumbrians through the Merse to Innerwick, with the usual waste of predatory warfare (*y*): Yet, he found none to hail his approach to Dunbar; but many to oppose his progress. The restoration of the earl, by intrigue, and sacrifices, in 1409, freed the people, a while, from such misfortunes, and disquiet.

The inhabitants of East-Lothian saw the earldom of Dunbar forfeited, in 1435, for those offences of George Earl of Dunbar, the father, rather than for the faults of his son (*z*). This is an epoch in the history of Hadingtonshire. Several of its barons, who held their lands of the Earls of Dunbar, as subjects superior, became tenants in chief of the king: And some of the landholders attached themselves to the Douglasses; as the weak, in those lawless times, could not exist, without the protection of the strong. Those dues, which used to be paid to the baillies of the earls, were, thenceforth, paid to the stewart of the king: Nor, were they unconcerned spectators of the rebellious broils, which ensued, between the Hepburns, and the Homes, in 1446, for the litigated spoils (*a*). In 1447, the Earl of Northumberland, entering the east borders, burned, and wasted Dunbar (*b*). And the people of East-Lothian were involved, in the various effects, which resulted from the grant of the earldom, with all its jurisdictions, in 1455, by James II., to the Duke of Albany, his second son. The profligacy, the artifice, the turbulence of that prince, as he grew up to manhood, did not promote their quiet, or contribute to their profit. One of the first effects was the incitement of hostilities with England (*c*). They saw his castle of Dunbar seized, and relinquished. And, in 1482, they beheld an English army, which was introduced, by his intrigues, encamp in the heart of

(*y*) It should seem, however, that an English garrison was left in the castle of Innerwick; as in 1403, the regent Albany took that fortlet, though with some loss, and rased it to the ground. Bower, l. xv. c. 16.

(*z*) Parl. Rec. 26.

(*a*) In the charter of Coldingham, 82, there is an instrument upon three letters of King James, "de rebellione Patricii Hepburn, miles, occupantis castrum de Dunbar." In the meantime, saith Pitscottie, Archibald Dunbar seized the castle of Hales, in Lothian; and, at the first assault, he won the same; and slew them all, that he found therein: But, shortly thereafter, he was seized by James Douglas, in whose will he put himself, and castle, without any further debate. Fol. Ed. 22.

(*b*) Ib. 24-5.

(*c*) The parliament of April 1481, under James III., ordained the "furnishing of castellis:" The king gave directions to provide, and *stuffe*, his *castellis* of *Dunbar*, and Lochmaban: And every lord was required, by the same example, to supply his castell; as *Tamtallon*, *Dunglas*, *Hailes*, Home, and Edrington; that they may be defendit. Black Acts, fol. lxvi. b.

Hadingtonshire, till their old adversaries obtained, from his treasons, the surrender of Berwick, for ever. After the forfeiture of Albany, his associates obtained many of his treasonous objects, by the dethronement, and death of the king, his indulgent brother, on Stirling-field: And, in October 1488, Patrick, Lord Hailes, and Alexander Home, were appointed, by the first parliament of the infant James IV., to be the king's lieutenants, with more than royal power, till the king became twenty-one, over the Merse, Lothian, the *wards of Hadington*, Linlithgow, and Lauderdale (*d*). Similar powers were invested, in particular persons, over every other shire. Such was the result of so much intrigue, and so many treasons. The people murmured, when they felt themselves delivered over to the domination of so many petty tyrants, while the assassination of their beneficent sovereign was passed over, in silence (*e*). In 1489, several persons were appointed, by parliament, in the different districts, throughout the realm, to collect the king's revenues, and dues. Patrick, Lord Hailes, the Earl of Bothwell, was named, for that end, within the shires of Edinburgh, *Hadington*, Kirkcudbright, and Wigton (*f*). Alexander Home, the Great Chamberlain, was appointed, for the same purpose, within the earldom of Marche, the lordships of Dunbar, and Colbrandspath, in Etterick-forest, and Stirlingshire (*g*). Thus were the people ruled, and over-reached, during the infancy of James IV. A new day dawned on East-Lothian, at the marriage of James with the Lady Margaret of England. With other great estates, which were settled on her, in dower, were the whole earldom of Marche, the lordships of Dunbar, and of *Coubrandspeth* (*h*). In this manner, then, did Queen Margaret become connected with East-Lothian, which partook of her adventures, her favours, and misfortunes.

Yet, was not Hadingtonshire much affected, in its domestic affairs, during the two busy reigns of James IV., and James V. The youth, and the aged of Lothian, indeed, felt, in 1513, the disasters of James IV., at Flodon-field: But, their firmness, on so mournful an occasion, did great honour to their fortitude. They profited little from the aid of France. Albany, the son of the expatriated duke of that name, claimed Dunbar castle, as heir of him, who had nothing to transmit. In November 1514, this ancient fortlet was delivered to

(*d*) Parl. Rec. 337. (*e*) Ib. 373. (*f*) Ib. 364. (*g*) Id.

(*h*) The castle of Dunbar, with the keeping thereof, the king reserved to himself. On the 26th of May 1503, James Logan, the sheriff of Edinburgh, went "ad crucem fori," to the market-cross of Dunbar; and there personally gave seisin, and possession, corporal, of the earldom of Dunbar, and lordship of *Cowburnspecht*, to the queen's attorney, in the presence of *the baillies of Dunbar*, and other respectable witnesses. Rym. xiii. 63—66-7.

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De la Bastie, as Albany's commissioner: And, it was possest, till 1536, when it was delivered to the Scotish government. A trigues of the regency of Albany, Lord Home obtained, on the 1516, Dunglas castle (*i*). The mis-government of Albany was succ the domination of Angus (*k*). After every attempt had failed to power, James v., by his own enterprize, effected his deliverance, in from the thraldom of that ambitious noble. Angus now retired to Tamta castle, where he defied all the powers of the Scotish government (*l*). This fortalice was besieged, by James v., without skill, or means, in September 1528; yet, was it surrendered to the king, on the 4th of December 1528, by a sort of compromise, which seemed to show the weakness of the contending parties. In July 1537, James v. is said to have inspected his artillery, with studious care, in the castles of Tamtallon, and Dunbar (*m*). And, in 1541, the connection of Margaret, the queen mother, with Hadingtonshire, whether happy, or unfortunate, ceased, when she was, honourably, laid by the side of James i., in the chartreuse of Perth, at the end of a diversified life of two and fifty years.

The premature demise of James v., on the 14th of December 1342, by its effects, entailed on Hadingtonshire many miseries. One of the first of those consequences was the struggle of Henry viii., and his son, to obtain James's infant daughter, with her kingdom, by any means (*n*). In May 1544, the Earl of Hertford conducted the English army, in two hundred ships, from Tynemouth to the Forth, "a notable ryver of Scotland," saith the old historian, "having thentry

(*i*) Amidst the struggles of those times, Dunglas castle was burnt, in 1536.

(*k*) In 1526, the Earl of Angus, accompanied by his brother George, and their associates, burnt, and wasted the house, and lands, of Patrick Hepburn of *Bolton*; and carried himself into captivity: For every oppression, Angus obtained, from his own parliament, an act of indemnity. See the Parl. Rec. 563—664, wherein those enormities are enumerated.

(*l*) The barony of North-Berwick, with Tamtallon castle, had been forfeited, by the Earl of Douglas, in 1455. In 1479, the lands, and castle of Tamtallon, were granted, by James iii., to Archibald, the fifth Earl of Angus; and were erected into a *free barony*. Dougl. Peer. 191, from a charter, in the public Records. The king was but ill requited by the earl: Angus constantly pursued James iii., to his dethronement, and death.

(*m*) On the 10th of December 1540, the lands, and lordship of Tamtallon, with the fortalice, were annexed to the crown, by parliament. Parl. Rec. 623. On the 15th of March 1542-3, the Earl of Angus's forfeiture was reversed. Ib. 650.

(*n*) See Sadler's Negotiations, throughout.

"betwene

islands, called the Basse, and the Maye (*o*)." On the 15th of glish army, having ravaged both the shores of the Forth, marched . Setting out from Leith, after firing every house, on the evening th of May, the army encamped at Preston, a town of Lord Seton's, ey burnt, and razed, his chief castel, called Seton, which was right and destroyed his orchards, and gardens, which were the best, that they in the whole country: "And they did Lord Seton the more despyte, be- cause he was the chief labourer to help their cardinal out of prison, the only "auctor of their calamytie (*p*)." The same day, the spoilers burnt a fair town of the Earl of Bothwell's, called Hadington, "with a great nonry, and a house "of freres (*q*)." The next night they encamped, at Dunbar: And, on the subsequent morning, it was fired; "men, women, and children being suffocated, "and brent (*r*)." And, after a slight opposition, at a streight, called *the Pease*, by the Lords Seton, Home, and Buccleugh, with the whole power of *the Merse*, and Teviotdale, the ravagers arrived, at Berwick, where they met their fleet, from Leith (*s*). The Scotish chieftains seem to have constructed a golden bridge over *the Pease*, for their retiring enemies.

Henry VIII., dying on the 28th of January 1547, left his passions, and his power, to the ministers of his son, Edward VI. His war, with Scotland, was immediately adopted. The protector Somerset, whose sword, and torch, had been already felt, by the Scots, entered the borders, on the 4th of September 1547. The castle of Dunglas, which, by Lord Home, was soon rendered; and was, by them, immediately razed. Marching forward, the invading army was soon stopped, by the two castles of Thornton, and Innerwick, which stood on craggy foundations; and were separated, saith Patten, a stone's-cast asunder, by a deep gut, wherein ran a little river (*t*). But, their resistance was soon overcome, by the English artillery. The invaders marched forward, leaving the castle of Dunbar,

(*o*) See the "Ancient Account of the expedicion in Scotlande, 1544," throughout. The writer delights to tell, in the fashion of the times, how much they *brente*, and how much they wasted.

(*p*) Thus, the old writer of the Account of the Expedition, 1544. (*q*) Id.

(*r*) The ancient historian of that expedition.

(*s*) The ancient historian of that invasion has left us a very useful specification, of the burroughs, castles, and towns, which were burnt, and desolated, by King Harry's army, in Scotland: And of these, there were, within Hadingtonshire, Preston-town, and the castle, Hadington town, with the freres, and nunnery, the town of Dunbar, Tranent, Markle, Traprin, Heatherwyke, Belton, and East-Barnes.

(*t*) See Patten's Expedition; and Grose's Antiq. i. 90, 91. Both those castles were destroyed, and the towns burnt.

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on the right, after some slight sk
Hailes, as if they looked onward to s
September, they defeated a part of the
border of Edinburghshire, when Lord
taken (*u*): This engagement seems to have
battle of Pinkie, on the subsequent day, wh
feated, with such mighty loss, as would ha
people (*x*).

The protector Somerset marched, on the mor
remained a week, when he departed southward; lea
ping, in flames; and marching by Cranston, and S
thence, to Kelso, and Roxburgh. Here, he busied him
that ancient fortalice: And, on the 29th of September, he
mand of his victorious army, and proceeded to London; leav
the king's lieutenant, on the borders, with English garrisons, in
Roxburgh, and Home, who soon after possessed Lauder fort.

Experience seems to have had little influence on the rulers of Engla
had learned the methods of dictation, in the school of Henry VIII.
prejudiced eyes could not perceive, that they would, by violence, and war
force Scotland, and her infant queen, into the bosom of France (*y*). In Apr
1548, Lord Gray advanced, from those forward positions, through Lothian;
and took the castle of Yester, and fortified Hadington. In this ancient burgh,
he left a strong garrison; and, after wasting the country, by every mode of
inveterate hostility, he retired into England. He had scarcely departed, when
six thousand French troops, under an able commander, arrived at Leith. It
was immediately resolved, to besiege Hadington. During the siege, on the 7th
of July, the regent Arran held a parliament, within the abbey, which stood
without the town, when it was resolved to send their queen to France (*z*). The
siege was finally raised; as it was found impossible, to prevent supplies, from
being thrown in to its resolute garrison (*a*). Meantime, the country wa
ravaged; and the town of Dunbar was burnt, by the German mercenaries, in

(*u*) Fallside castle was soon after burnt; and those within, for their ill-will, were smother
it. Patten.

(*x*) Patten; Border History, 561.

(*y*) They published, indeed, a conciliatory declaration, which was not heard amidst th
of arms.

(*z*) Keith Hist. 55; and Parl. Rec. 730-1.

(*a*) An attempt to surprize Hadington, in October 1543, also failed. Bord. Hist. 566.

the

r, Hadington was again beleaguered,
s now carried on, without an object:
by the king, who wished to marry her:
ered, though it might be distracted, by
(*d*). A peace was made, between England
ch 1549-50, which comprehended Scotland;
North-Britain Hadington, and Dunglas, restored
conterminous kingdoms (*e*). Yet, during such
es, such a peace could be only of short duration.
however, and the following truces, seem not to have
e, in their mischievous consequences.

Lothian much affected, by the fanaticism, and turbulence,
o distract Scotland, by the concussions of two religions, and
wo queens, after the return of Mary Stewart to her native king-
. The night after the murder of Rizzio, on the 9th of March
queen made her escape, from this odious scene, with her guilty
, to Seton castle; and thence to Dunbar, a fortlet of more security.
s strength, the seat of so many actions, the unhappy queen remained
e days, when she returned, in a sort of triumph, to the castle of Edin-

(*b*) Ib. 565-6.

(*c*) Ib. 569. On the 22d of March 1549-50, letters were written to Lord Bowes, not to proceed, in conveying the ordnance of Hadington, from Douglas; nor, to send too large a supply of victuals to Lauder, or Dunglas; there being a likelihood of peace. Privy Council Reg. of that date.

(*d*) Alexander Crichton, of Brunston, who is often mentioned by Sadler, was a very dangerous intriguer against his country. He was condemned, by parliament, as a traitor, on the 14th of December 1548. This attainder was, however, reversed, on the 5th of December 1558. Parl. Rec. 744. Cockburn, of Ormiston, was equally active against his country; and was also forfeited, by parliament, and restored. Ib. 746. In 1558, Cockburn again engaged in similar intrigues; and being engaged to bring from Berwick, £1,900, for the insurgents, was attacked, near Hadington, by James, Earl of Bothwell, acting, perhaps, as sheriff of Lothian, who seized the money. Keith's Hist. 43. On the 28th of February 1547-8, the governor, and council, considering the divers, and *grave* crimes of the lairds of Ormiston, and Brunston, and of Saltoun, ordered, that the houses of Brunston, Ormiston, and Gilberston, should be casten down. Ib. 56-7.

(*e*) Rym. xv. 255; Keith, 55-6. In consequence of this peace, the forts of Lauder, *Dunglas*, Roxburgh, and Aymouth, were ordered to be casten down: The forts of *Dunbar*, and others, were projected to be garrisoned, during the peace. Ib. 63. In 1551, the fort of Aberlady, at Lufness, which was built, during the late war, was ordered to be destroyed; but, the house to remain, as the property of Patrick Hepburn, of Waughton. Ib. 66.

burgh.

burgh (*f*). But, she was soon doomed to suffer other insults. On the 12th of April 1567, the queen, returning from Stirling to Edinburgh, was seized, by Bothwell, at Cramond bridge; and carried thence, to Dunbar castle, the present scene of his habitual baseness. After she was thus induced, by ravishment, to marry this guilty personage, she was obliged to flee with him, to Borthwick castle, on the 12th of June 1567; and thence, to retreat for refuge to Dunbar (*g*). In this secure fortalice, she was soon joined, by several nobles. Yet, was she so unadvised, as to set out for Edinburgh, the seat of her foes. Having advanced to Gladesmoor, which is noted for events, she issued a proclamation, in order to contrast her own conduct with that of her insurgent subjects (*h*). And, she went thence to the loyal house of Seton, where she was always welcome, and ever safe. On the morrow, she surrendered herself, on Carberry-hill, to the insurgents, who carried her, in mournful triumph, to Edinburgh, where she was dethroned; and whence, she was sent a prisoner to to Loch-Leven castle. From Carberry-hill, Bothwell returned to Dunbar castle; whence, after some days, he departed for Orkney; and from those unfriendly isles sailed, for the coast of Norway, where he was captured, as a pirate: In the prisons of Denmark, he finished, during the year 1576, his criminal career (*i*). On the 27th of September 1567, Dunbar castle was besieged, and demolished, by the regent Murray (*k*). The people of Hadingtonshire, owing to whatever influence, did not approve of that revolution. And, the regent Murray commanded some of the principal landholders to submit to his rule, on pain of treason (*l*). The town of Hadington was specially required to acknowledge the regent's title, and to obey his power (*m*). During the thirty years of civil broils, which ensued, under the misrule of four regents, and a feeble king,

(*f*) Spottiswood's Hist. 195. (*g*) Ib. 205.

(*h*) Her manifesto may be seen in Spottiswood's Hist. 206.

(*i*) Ib. 207; Keith's Apx. 142-45.

(*k*) Birrel's Diary, 12; Keith, 408. On the 23d of September 1567, "the *Browsters*, *Baxters*, "and *Fleshers*, of the town of Hadington, were ordered, by the privy council, to pass forthwith, "with *baked* bread, *brewed* ale, and flesh, to furnish the camp, besieging Dunbar castle, at compe-"tent prices, under the pain of being reputed aiders of the rebels." Keith's Hist. 456. The castle was delivered to the charge of the town of Dunbar, till parliament time. Id.

(*l*) Keith's Hist. 460.

(*m*) For those ends, the people of the town of Hadington were called together; and thereupon, with one voice, gave their assent, being unable to resist. Id. There was an attempt made, soon after, to surprise Dunbar; but, it failed, owing to the attachment of the towns men to Lord Home. Ib. 473.

Hadingtonshire seems to have suffered more of mortification, than of waste (*n*). On the 31st of March 1603, the accession of James VI. to the crown of England was proclaimed, at the cross of Edinburgh (*o*). And, he set out for London, on the 5th of April; taking his way through Hadington to Dunglas (*p*); and thence to Berwick-upon-Tweed, where he was received, on the morrow, with loud acclaims.

Throughout the subsequent century of successive changes, Hadingtonshire was debased, by the fanaticism, or ruined, by the follies, of those guilty times. East-Lothian felt its full share of the devastation, and discomfiture of the eventful year 1650. On the 22d of July, in this year, Cromwell passed to the northern side of the Tweed. The Scots, unwilling to meet him in conflict, adopted the wise policy of Robert Bruce, by laying waste the country, from Tweedside to Edinburgh. Here, Lesley, the Scotish general, entrenched himself, to await the onset of his able antagonist. It is a sad reflection, that it was of little importance to a harrassed people, whether the fanatical Lesley, or the miscreant Cromwell, should prevail. By resolute circumspection, Lesley obliged the enterprizing Cromwell to retrace his steps, through Lothian, to Dunbar. The Scots, as they were too much influenced by the fanaticism of their ecclesiastics, did not practice the wise policy of smoothing the ways, and clearing the passes, for a retiring enemy. Lesley seized the hills, which commanded Dunbar; But, the committee-men, who directed his spirit, would not allow him to obtain, by time, what might be lost, by action: And, on the 3d of September 1650, he marched down upon Cromwell, who gave him a total defeat, which decided the fate of Scotland, as an independant country (*q*). The Restoration only delivered Hadingtonshire to the domination of the rapacious Duke of Lauderdale. It partook of the disadvantages, and benefits of the Revolution. And, it at length enjoyed the thousand advantages of quiet, and security, which undoubtedly resulted to it, from *the Union*.

It had been happy, for the nation, if the ministers of George I. had been more circumspect, and less vehement! There would have been no treasonous insurrection, in 1515. On the 1st of August, in that year, the earl of Mar

(*n*) In May 1598, about a third part of Hadington town was burnt, for the reparation whereof, a general contribution was raised. MS. Notes, from the Aberdeen records of the 24th of July, in that year. There is a *prospect* of the town of Hadington, in Slezer, 1693, No. 21.

(*o*) Birrel's Diary, 18.

(*p*) King James, with his retinue, lodged during the first night of his journey, in Dunglas castle. Stat. Acco. xii. 409.

(*q*) In 1652, it was, by an act of the ruling powers, incorporated with England.

retired

retired from court; and on the 16th, raised the standard of revolt, in the Highlands of Aberdeenshire, without any appearance of opposition (*r*). Weakness pervaded every department, while violence predominated in the cabinet. Brave men, meantime, gathered round that standard, with swords in their hands, from every mountain, and from every glen. Brigadier Macintosh, with 2,500 Highlanders, passed the Forth, from Fife to North-Berwick, on the 9th of September, though several of the king's ships lay, in that estuary. He immediately advanced to Hadington; the Marquis of Tweedale, the king's lieutenant, retiring, on his approach, and withdrawing the garrison, from Seton-house. Macintosh marched forward, from Hadington, to Leith, when he seized its fortlet. The Duke of Argyle was too weak to assault him. Yet, the Highlanders, seeing preparations made to invest them, evacuated the place; and, marching southward, took possession of Seton-house, which could not be retaken, without artillery. Macintosh soon after marched forward to Kelso, in order to co-operate with the Northumbrian insurgents. The divisions among the rebels; the capture of the Lancashire Preston; and their doubtful conflict on Sheriff-moor; broke the spirit of this rebellion, which soon after ended, with the punishment of its chiefs. Yet, no good consequence ensued, from those sad events: Punishment did not operate, as an example; the same weakness induced a similar insurrection; and the safety of the state was again put, by improvidence, on the doubtful cast of several battles.

The year 1745 saw a new insurrection of the same nature, but of more dangerous progress. The standard of revolt was again raised, within the recesses of the Highlands. The rebels took possession of the metropolis of Scotland, on the 17th of September, in the same year, whatever could be opposed to their progress. General Cope, the king's commander, had marched from Edinburgh, on the 19th of August, to seek the insurgents, in their native wilds; and to fight with men, who had equal bravery, and more zeal, than his own troops, under chiefs, who knew how to command their obedience. He was glad to avoid them, by turning to Inverness, on the right. The insurgents now

(*r*) When John, Duke of Argyle, was appointed to command the king's troops, in North-Britain, he represented to the king's ministers the inefficiency of the force, with which he was to oppose such an insurrection. On his way to Scotland, he again wrote them for sufficient reinforcements; but, without effect. When he arrived, at Edinburgh, he again represented the insufficiency of his army to meet the insurgents; but, his solicitude was deemed want of zeal. The Duke's letter to Stewart, which remains, in the paper office, records the zeal of the king's general, and the imbecility of his ministers. Such was the state of Scotland, at that epoch, that the government was obliged to send down cash, for paying the king's troops. Treasury Registers.

marched, southward, with their usual energy. The king's general was thus reduced to the necessity of proceeding to Aberdeen, where he arrived, on the 8th of September; with design to transport his army by sea to Lothian: And, on the 16th of September, he landed his troops, at Dunbar. On the 19th, having received a reinforcement of dragoons, he marched through Hadingtonshire, towards the metropolis; whence the insurgents moved forward to meet him, in battle. On the 21st, the two armies met, at Preston, when the king's troops were discomfited. They now retreated, southward, upon Lauder, and Berwick; while the insurgents returned, triumphantly, to Edinburgh (*s*). This rebellion was completely quashed, by the battle of Culloden, on the 16th of April 1746. From that epoch, Hadingtonshire may be said to have enjoyed rather the benefits of peace, in common with other internal districts, than the waste of war, or the disturbance of insurrection.

The king's *rental* of Hadingtonshire, that was yearly accounted for, in the exchequer, at the Restoration, amounted to £9,988 : 1 : 10 Scots money; from which, however, there were deductions, amounting to £5,099 : 4 : 5; which had arisen from the penury, and rapaciousness of many years (*t*).

In this rental, the towns of East-Lothian were included. Hadington paid, yearly, £130 Scots, for its *firm*. How early this town of the royal demesn became a burrough, we have already seen (*u*): And, we have traced its history, through many eventful ages (*x*). The burrough of Dunbar paid into the exchequer £4 Scots, for its firm, yearly; and for its milns £17 : 6 : 8. Dunbar

(*s*) This conflict was sometimes called the battle of *Gledes-moor*. And there is a humorous petition, in the Scot's Magazine, 1745, 521, from Preston-Pans, Preston, Cockenzie, Seton, and Tranent; stating that, as the battle was fought on a field, which is almost surrounded by those towns of Hadingtonshire, they may not be deprived of the honour of giving it a name.

(*t*) Mr. Solicitor Purvis's Exchequer MS.

(*u*) There was a ratification by parliament of the burgh of Hadington, on the 5th of June 1592. Unprinted Act of that date. There was another act, in favour of this burgh, on the 19th of December 1597. Unprinted Act of that date. Sir William Seton was then provost of this burgh.

(*x*) In 1296 Hadington had a provost, who swore fealty to Edward I., as we have perceived, in Prynne. But, in 1624, King James granted to the burgesses, that they should have, in future, for their better government, a provost, baillies, a treasurer, and other officers. This charter of James VI. was confirmed by the first parliament of Charles I. The corporation consists of a council of 25 persons, including the provost, and baillies, 16 merchant counsellors, and 9 trades counsellors. The taxes, which Hadington paid, in 1556, in 1695, and 1771, evince how inconsiderable a corporation Hadington is. Gibs. Hist. Glasgow, 78, 103, 120. And, since the union, Hadington joins with Lauder, Jedburgh, Dunbar, and North-Berwick, in choosing one representative in parliament.

of

of old was the town in demesn of the Earls of Dunbar (*y*). It had arisen under the shelter of his castle. And, it obtained a charter from David II.; erecting it into a royal burrough; and another charter, from James VI., empowering the inhabitants, anew, to choose a provost, baillies, counsellors, with other corporate officers (*z*). The whole revenue of this incorporation, as reported to parliament, in 1788, was only £668 17s. Sterling. Dunbar seems, through every age, to have been a town of small inhabitancy, little means, and less ability (*a*). Since the Union, it partakes, with Hadington, North-Berwick, Lauder, and Jedburgh, in choosing one representative to the united parliament. North-Berwick is a town, ancient, but inconsiderable (*b*). It is not quite certain, whether it owed its origin to its religious establishment, or to its port. It owed its incorporation, as a royal burgh, to the charter of Robert III. (*c*). Its whole revenue, as returned to parliament, in 1788, was only £26 : 14 : 4 Sterling. It has always been inconsiderable, as we may infer, from the smallness of the taxes, which it has paid, at successive periods, to the public contributions (*d*). With the royal burroughs of Hadington, and Dunbar, Lauder, and Jedburgh, it votes for one representative to the united parliament.

From those considerations, with regard to the towns of East-Lothian, which have been inconsiderable, in every age, it is natural to advert to the *landowners* of the same district, during the 12th, 13th, and the 14th centuries.

The archbishops of St. Andrews were superiors of the lands of Brocksmouth, Tyningham, Aldham, Scougal, Gilmerton, and others, in East-Lothian, which were formed into *a regality*, that extended over the whole lands of the

(*y*) Earl Gospatrick, who enjoyed the earldom from 1147 to 1166, granted to the monks of May, a toft, lying near *his port* of *Bele*, [Bellhaven.] Chart. of May, 26. Robert III. granted to Robert de Danielston 20 marks sterling, out of the great customs of Dunbar. Roberts. Index, 158.

(*z*) Dunbar had of old *a serjeant*. And, there were allowed to this officer, in the exchequer account, 2 bolls of wheat, and 2 bolls of bear. This *serjeant* seems to have disappeared, amidst the confusions of Charles I's reign: "Et tuum deest officium deest beneficium," saith Mr. Solicitor Purvis, in his MS. Observ. on the Exchequer Rental. There was an act of ratification passed, in favour of the burgh of Dunbar, on the 11th of June 1640. Unprinted Act.

(*a*) See Gibson's Hist. Glasgow, 78. 103. 120.

(*b*) It is certainly as old as the 13th century; as Berwick-upon-Tweed was thus early called, sometimes *Suth*-Berwick: It was so called, in 1267, in the chartulary of Coldingham, 72, and in 1275, by the Chartulary of Kelso, 343.

(*c*) Roberts. Index, 99. Its municipal government consists of a council, formed of twelve persons, including two baillies, and a treasurer. There was a ratification of North Berwick's infeftment, passed on the 24th of June 1609. Unprinted Act.

(*d*) Gib. Hist. Glasgow, 78-103-120.

archbishoprick,

archbishoprick, lying southward of the Forth; and this jurisdiction was executed, by the archbishop's *justice general* (*e*).

The earls of Dunbar, of whom we have already seen so much, were, undoubtedly, during those times, the greatest proprietors of lands, and the only earls, on the south of the two friths. They enjoyed an extensive tract, along the eastern parts of this country; comprehending Dunbar, Whitingham, Spot, Pinkerton, Bele, Hales, Merkhill, and Fortoun, with other East-Lothian territories. Their castle was Dunbar: But, their manorial courts were held, at Whitingham. They had, as we may suppose, several vassals, who held their possessions under them, till the grievous forfeiture of this illustrious family, in January 1435 (*f*). Walter, the son of Alan, the *first Stewart*, obtained, from the bounty of David I., the extensive territory of *Innerwick*, in the south-eastern parts of this shire: And the superiority of the Stewarts of Scotland over Innerwick remained, till the recent times of Charles II.; as we know, from the public archives. We may easily suppose, that this very opulent family had many vassals, in the large territory of *Innerwick* (*g*). The manor of *Keith*, in East-

(*e*) On the 1st of October 1586, Patrick, the archbishop of St. Andrews, appointed Robert, Lord Seton to the office "Justiciariæ generalis terrarum nostrarum itineris justiciariæ et coronatoris "regalitatis Sanctæ Andreæ," south of the Forth. An act of parliament passed, on the 4th of August 1621, in favour of the Earl of Winton, anent the regality of St. Andrews, south of the Forth. Unprinted Act of that date. That office was sold, by the Earl of Winton, to the Laird of Hopeton; and John Hope, of Hopeton, obtained a charter for it, from the archbishop, in 1677. Reliq. Divi Andreæ, 68-9.

(*f*) Among those vassals, were the Dunbars of Beletun, who sprung from Edward, a younger son of Gospatrick, the Earl, who obtained, from his father, the lands of Beletun, with the mill. Edward granted to the monks of May, a chalder of meal, yearly, out of his mill of Beletun. Chart. May, 27. This branch seems to have early withered away. The *Londons* of *Fortoun*, were also vassals of those great Earls. Of those Londons, the earliest was John de *London*, who lived under David I. He left two sons, *Nes*, and *John*, who flourished under William, the lion: Nes, who inherited Fortoun, gave his brother, John, some lands, in west Fortoun, and some, in the parish of Linton, as we know, from the Chartulary of Newbotle. Nes was succeeded by his son, *Nes de London*, who held the territory of Fortoun, under the Earls of Dunbar, in 1202. Ib. 116-18-19. The Frasers, and the Gourlays, held Hales, under the Earls of Dunbar.

(*g*) Ranulf de Kent was one of the earliest of those vassals, who moreover obtained from Walter, the son of Alan, a mark of silver yearly, from his mill of Innerwick. Chart. Paisley. Ranulf seems to have been succeeded by Robert, who left three daughters, Ada, Emma, and Helena, who shared his lands, and married William de Hawkerston, Richard de Hawkerston, and John de Mundegumre. Chart. Kelso, 249. There were other vassals, some of them of less, and some of them of greater note. Among these, was a family of the surname of *Glay*, during the 13th century: Under David II. this family ended in a female heir, Isabel, the daughter of Sir Roger de Glay; and she married

East-Lothian, was obtained from David I., by Hervey, the son of Warin; and, from the lands, the possessors assumed the name of *Keith*. His son, Hervey de Keith, was mareschal of Scotland, under Malcolm IV., and his successor: And hence, the office became annexed to the manor; which was distinguished, by the name of Keith-*Marshal*. Philip de Keith, by marrying the daughter of Symon Fraser, obtained the other manor of Keith: And thus, the two manors became distinguished; the one, by the name of Keith-*Marshal*; the other, by the name of Keith-*Symon*. This family also possessed the territory of Johnestown, which adjoined Keith-Symon, on the south (*h*). The Keiths were raised, from some debasement, by Robert de Keith, who obtained from Robert Bruce a new grant of all those lands, with the addition of considerable territories, in Aberdeenshire: But, this great king, by his grant, again annexed the office of *marshal* to the manor of *Keith* (*i*).

The manor of *Saltoun* was held, during the 12th century, by the more opulent family of the Morvilles, who, with their posterity, were constables of Scotland, till the accession of Robert Bruce. Within this manor of Saltoun, lay the lands of Herdmanston, which were granted, by Richard de Morville, to Henry de St. Clair, who served this great family, as their sheriff (*k*). Henry was succeeded by his son, Alan de St. Clair, who obtained, from William de Morville, the lands of Carfrae, in Upper-Lauderdale. When the successors of the Morvilles, and the lords of Galloway, were forfeited, on the accession of Robert Bruce, the Sinclairs of Herdmanstown became tenants in chief. By the bounty of the crown, and the marriages of heiresses, the Sinclairs of Herdmandston acquired considerable estates, in other shires of Southern Scotland.

Robert de Quincy, a Northamptonshire baron, acquired the extensive manor of *Travernent*, the *Tranent* of modern maps, from William, the lion, who made

married John de Hambleton, the second son of Sir Walter Hambleton, of Hambleton: And from this marriage, sprung the family of Hamilton, of Innerwick, who acquired also the lands of Ballencrief, and Lufness, in East Lothian; and their posterity flourished here till our own times. Dougl. Baron. 460-3. The Earls of Hadington are descended from this family. Their progenitor was Thomas Hamilton, the second son of Hugh Hamilton, who flourished under James V.: And his grandson, Sir Thomas Hamilton, was created, in 1613, Lord Binning, and Byres, Earl of Melros, in 1619, and Earl of Hadington, in 1627. Dougl. Peer. 318.

(*h*) Chart. Soltre, 26-36-7. (*i*) Roberts. Index, 11.

(*k*) Diplom. Scotæ, pl. 75; Chart. Glasgow, 163-5. During the reign of Malcolm IV., the territory of *Brokesmouth*, in the east of this shire, was held by William de Morville, and Muriel, his spouse, who brought him no issue; and after the death of William Morville, married Robert de Landeles, who enjoyed, with her, this manor of Brokesmouth. Chart. Kelso, 320.

him

him justiciary. He was succeeded by Seyer de Quincy, the Earl of Winton; and died, amidst the holy war, in 1219. The manor of Tranent now passed to his son, Roger de Quincy, who, by marrying the eldest daughter of Alan of Galloway, became constable, in 1234: And Roger, dying in 1264, left three daughters; who shared his vast estates, in Scotland (*l*). This manor was forfeited, by their successors, William de Ferrers, and Alan le Zuche, who adhered to Edward II., when the fortune of Robert Bruce prevailed (*m*). On the manor of Tavernent lived, in 1289, Helen la Zuche, one of the co heiresses of Roger de Quincy: And then resided, with her, Alianor de Ferrers, who came into Scotland, to claim her dower, as the widow of William de Ferrers of Groby; and who was thence carried away, forcibly, by William Douglas of Douglas: The ravisher was now pursued by Edward I., for his violence, and for the avail of his wife's marriage; but, he made his peace, in 1291, by a fine of a hundred pounds (*n*): And, this was merely a feudal ravishment, which frightened the Scotish genealogists. Travernent was forfeited, by the adherence of its owners to Edward II.: And Robert Bruce conferred their forfeitures on Alexander de Setoun (*o*).

During the reign of David I., Seiher de Say, who emigrated from England, obtained from the Scotish king some lands, in East-Lothian, where he settled, and to which the emigrant gave the name of *Say-tun*. Seiher was succeeded by his son Alexander, who flourished under Malcolm IV., and enjoyed *Sayton*, and Wintoun, in Hadington, and Winchburgh, in West-Lothian. By several descents, all those lands came to Sir Christopher Seyton, who married a sister of Robert Bruce; and who fell, in 1306, in support of his crown, under the axe of Edward I. And, he was succeeded by Alexander de Seyton, who obtained, from his uncle, the Scotish king, various lands, in the Lothians, and in Berwickshire (*p*). This respectable family was enobled, by the title of Lord Seton, under James I., and in 1600 by the higher rank of Earl of Winton, which were all sacrificed to mistaken principles (*q*).

Under David I., settled, in East-Lothian, Hugh Gifford, an English emigrant. He was succeeded, by his son Hugh, who rose to eminence, under

(*l*) Dugd. Bar. i. (*m*) Roberts. Index.

(*n*) Dugd. Baron. i. 267, states those curious facts, from the Tower Records. Crawford's Peer. 95, intimates that marriage of Douglas: But, he idly miscalls the lady, Margaret, the daughter of Ferrers, Earl of Derby. (*o*) Roberts. Index, 7. 10.

(*p*) Alexander de Sayton thus obtained *Tranent*, including *Fawside*, the lands of le Zuche, in Nadref, Elphinston, and Barns, in East-Lothian. Gogar, in Mid-Lothian, Dundas, in East-Lothian, and Halsington, in Berwickshire. Roberts. Index, 7-10-11-15.

(*q*) Dougl. Peer. 701.

William,

William, the lion (*a*); who confirmed his po
tional territory of *Yester*, in this county, whic
He possessed other lands, in East-Lothian, and t
farshire: And, he was of sufficient importance to h
to the practice of a feudal age (*b*). By various desce
came down to John de Gifford, who flourished amid
Bruce, and acquired the manor of Morham, by marryi
of Sir John Morham. In 1418, the male heirs of thi
failed, with the death of Sir John Gifford, his large est
sisters; when Jean, the eldest, by her marriage, transferr
Hay, the progenitor of the Marquis of Tweedale (*c*).

During the twelfth century, an English emigrant, named
possessed of the territory, and port of *Luffenach*, which has b
Luffness, on the northern shore of East-Lothian. Under Wi
David de Lyndsay, the laird of *Luffenach*, enjoyed this estate (*d*).
seems to have failed, during the struggles of David II.'s reign (*e*)
temporary with those Lyndsays, David, the father, and David,
Luffenach, were the Lyndsays of Crawford, David, the father, and a
the son, who were benefactors to the monks of Newbottle (*f*). Du
reign of Alexander II., there flourished David de Lindsay of Brennewe
appears to have had some connection with Ermengard, the Scotish queen
died, in 1233; as he gave to the monks of Balmerinoch twenty shillings, y
to enable them, to celebrate her anniversary (*g*). This David de Lindsay
tained from Gilbert, the Earl-Mareschal of England, all his lands of Garmilt
and Byres, in this shire (*h*). Gilbert, Earl-Mareschal, who made that grant t
Lindsay,

(*a*) Rym. i. 40. (*b*) Chart. Newbotle, 89.

(*c*) Dougl. Peer, 709-10. But, Douglas, and Crawford, whom he copied, did wrong, in placing the Giffords, in the peerage of Scotland; as they appear to have never sat in parliament; and to have never enjoyed any title.

(*d*) Chart. Newbotle, 210. He was succeeded, by his son, David, who granted to the monks of Newbotle perpetual freedom from *tolls*, in the port of *Luffenach*. Ib. 219.

(*e*) David II. granted the barony of *Luffnes* to Walter Bickerton. Roberts. Index, 41.

(*f*) Chart. 144-54.

(*g*) Chart. Balmer. 19. This grant was confirmed, by her son, Alexander II., in 1233.

(*h*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. 352, who says, he saw this charter, in the hands of Thomas, Earl of Hadington. This grant of Earl Gilbert seems to have only comprehended Mid-Garmilton. During the reign of William, the lion, a great part of the lands of Garmilton was possessed, by William Noble, and was succeeded by his son, Ralph. Chart. Newbotle, 123-4-5: From his family, this division of the territory was long called Garmilton-*Noble*: While the smaller divisions

gery, the sister of Alexander II.; and probably Garmilton, and Byres (*i*). That David Lindsay dsay of Crawford, were the same, is probable, but temporary; and the lands of *Byres* were possessed during the reign of David II. During this troublous ay of Crawford resigned *the barony of Byres* to his nder de Lindsay of Glenesk, who thereupon obtained i. (*k*). Alexander de Lindsay had also acquired the lands constabulary, which had previously belonged, during the to a family, who had derived their name, from the lands (*l*). sey, in 1366, had resigned to David II., in the parliament of of *Byres*, to be regranted to his younger son, William de hereupon, immediately, obtained a charter from the king (*m*). ndsay, who thus obtained *Byres*, from his father, was the real f the Lords Lindsay of Byres (*n*). He died, under the regent 1413, or 1414, after acquiring, amidst corrupt times, very con- states, in West-Lothian, and in Fife. In 1371, William Lindsay of quired a large accession to his property, by marrying Christian, the f Sir William More of Abercorn: And, by her he is said to have had ons; John, who, undoubtedly, succeeded him, as his heir; William, s supposed, mistakingly, to have obtained from him the lands of Garmil-

he same manor were called, during the 14th century, Garmilton-*Dunning*, and Garmilton-*lexander*, or *Mid*-Garmilton: They are now known as Garmilton-*Easter*, and Garmilton-*Wester*; he former of which comprehends both *East*, and *Mid*-Garmilton.

(*i*) Earl Gilbert succeeded his brother, Richard, in 1234, married Margery, in 1235; and died, in 1241. Dugd. Bar. i. 605-6; Chron. Mail. 203.

(*k*) Roberts. Index, 62.

(*l*) Ormeston was given, by Alexander Lindsay, in marriage with his daughter, Jonetta, to John, the son of Alexander Cockburn; and they obtained from David II. in 1368, a grant of Ormeston, with the tenantries of the lands of Muirhouse, and the lands of Templehall, and Paistoun, in this constabulary, to them, and the heirs of their bodies, whom failing, to William de Lindsay, of *Byres*, and the heirs of his body. Ib. 84-5.

(*m*) Ib. 81.

(*n*) The peerage writer has committed an egregious mistake, in making William Lindsay, *the son*, to be *the brother* of William de Lindsay, the grantee of Byres. Dougl. Peer. 156-160. He is also mistaken, when he says, p. 160, that William Lindsay, the grantee, was created Lord Lindsay, of Byres, by Robert II., about 1376: For, Robert III. granted to William Lindsay, of the Byres, the offices of sheriff of Edinburgh, and constable of Hadington, for his life. Roberts. Index, 142.

ton,

ton, as his appanage; and Alexander, who is unknown to the genealogists (*o*). John de Lindsay inherited from his father, in 1413-14, not only the Byres, but *Drem*, in this constabulary, and other lands, in several shires: And, of all those possessions, he obtained, from the regent Albany, a charter of confirmation, by the name of John de Lindsay, which shows, that he was not yet Lord Lindsay of the Byres: He was created Lord Lindsay of the Byres, in 1445 (*p*): And, he is said, by ill-informed genealogists, to have died, 1479, when he had advanced to a great age; though it is much more probable, that they must have confounded two persons of the same name; the one, who must have died, early in the reign of James II.; and his son, John Lord Lindsay, who died, in 1479, after acting a conspicuous part, in the wretched scenes of his misgoverned country. The barony of Byres remained, in possession of the Lindsays, till the beginning of the 17th century; when it was sold to Sir Thomas Hamilton, the first earl of Hadington (*q*). In the beginning of the 18th century, the barony of Byres was sold, by the Earl of Hadington, to Charles, the first Earl of Hopeton, in whose family it still continues. In the meantime, the family of Lindsay emigrated to *the Struthers*, in Fife. John, Lord Lindsay, was created Earl of Lindsay, in 1633: And he, afterward, succeeded to the estates, and rank of Earl of Crawford (*r*).

Another

(*o*) Such is the statement of the old genealogy of Lord Lindsay, of Byres, in the MS. Ja. v. A. 7. 12. in the Advocate's Library. It is untrue, that the above William, the second son, had from his father, for his appanage, Garmylton: For, it is certain, that William de Lindsay, of *the Byres*, who died, in 1413, or 1414, granted the lands of Garmilton-Alexander to *his bastard son*, Andrew, and his heirs-male; and under this entail, Garmilton-Alexander descended to William Lindsay, who must be deemed his heir of entail, as he enjoyed the lands entailed, after the decease of *the bastard*, Andrew. The grant to this Andrew, by his father, is No. 33, in the title deeds of Garmilton-Alexander. From William, the son of Andrew, Garmilton-Alexander descended to David Lindsay, of the Mount, who obtained, in 1478, a charter of confirmation from John, Lord Lindsay, of Byres; and from David, who died, in 1507, Garmilton-Alexander descended to his son, and heir, Sir David, of the Mount, *the poet*, and lion-king, under James V. When I wrote the poet's *life*, I was deluded, I must confess, by the old genealogist, above mentioned, to conceive him to have been descended, from the supposed William, the second son of William, who died, in 1413-14, instead of William, the son of Andrew, the *bastard son* of William Lindsay, of the Byres, who died in 1413-14: The fact, then, as thus stated from charters, evinces, that Sir David, the poet, had for his great grandfather, *Andrew*, the *bastard son* of William Lindsay, who died in 1413-14. (*p*) Fordun. ii. 542.

(*q*) In 1615, 8l. for a pair of *gilt spurs*, payable for the lands of Byres, was remitted to the Lord Binning, who was then Secretary of State. MS. Observ. on the Exchcq. Rental. That great lawyer was successively King's Advocate, President of the Session, Secretary of State, Lord Register, Lord Privy Seal, and Lord Binning, in 1613.

(*r*) Dougl. Peer. 161; Crawf. Peer. 85. Garmilton-Alexander passed from the Lindsays, of the

Another scion of the Lindsays took root, at *Thorston*, in the 13th century, by a grant, from *the Stewart*, of a part of his territory of Innerwick. Walter de Lindsay, who enjoyed the manor of Thorstoun, at the epoch of the competition for the crown, had the honour to be appointed a nominee, by Robert Bruce (*s*). In the subsequent year, he had the mortification, perhaps, of having Edward I. for his guest, at *Thorstoun* (*t*). On the 28th of August 1296, Sir Walter Lindsay of Edinburghshire swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick (*u*). Thorston still remained in possession of the Lindsays, at the end of the disastrous reign of David II. (*x*). At the accession of Robert II., John de Lindsay resigned to John Wallays the lands of *Thurston*, in the barony of Innerwick (*y*).

The lands of *Dirlton*, and *Golyn*, in this constabulary, were possessed, as early as the middle of the 12th century, by an English family of the name of Vaus. William de *Vaus*, or *Vallibus*, enjoyed those manors, with a part of Fentoun, under William, the lion (*z*): He also held the mill of Hadington, from which he granted half a mark of silver to the monks of Arbroth (*a*). He was succeeded, in those estates, by his son, John de Vallibus, who flourished, under Alexander II. (*b*). He had a brother, William, who was rector of the

the Mount, by legal adjudication, to John Tours; who conveyed it to George Earl of Winton; who settled this property on his second son, whose descendant, Sir George Seton, transferred them, in 1720, to Sir Francis Kinloch; from whom Garmilton, [Garleton] passed into the family of the Earl of Wemyss. Title Deeds of the Estate, which were obligingly communicated by the late Lord Wemyss.

(*s*) Rym. ii. 555.

(*t*) On the 5th of July 1292, William de Douglas swore fealty to Edward, at Thoreston, "in "capella manerii domini Walteri de Lindsay, in quo tunc dictus dominus rex hospitabatur." Ib. 569. Rymer thus testifies the truth; and incidentally the falsehood of the historian of the Douglases, who repeatedly says, that this William Douglas constantly refused to take an oath of fidelity to the crown of England. Godscroft, 18-19. During the years 1289, and 1290, William Douglas had been in the contempt of Edward I., by the ravishment of Alianor de Ferrers: In 1291, by paying a fine of 100 l., he was allowed the benefit of her marriage. Dugd. Bar. i. 267. And, on the 5th of July 1292, as we have seen above, William Douglas came alone, as the record attests, to make his submission, and sweare fealty to Edward I. at Thorston. After the same William Douglas had surrendered the castle of Berwick-upon-Tweed, in 1296, Edward retained him, in his pay, during the war, with the 200 men, who were with him. W. Hemingford, i. 91.

(*u*) Prynne iii. 662.

(*x*) David granted to John Lindsay, of Thorstoun, the office of *coroner* of Ayrshire. Roberts. Index, 46-97-8.

(*y*) Ib. 131.

(*z*) See the Chartularies of Coldingham, Dryburgh, and Newbotle.

(*a*) Chart. Arbroth, 151.

(*b*) Id. In 1243, he granted to the church of Glasgow five marks yearly, from his manor of Golyn. Chart. Glasgow, 417.

parish

parish church of Golyn (*c*). John de Vallibus was succeeded, by his son Alexander, who enjoyed the manors of Dirlton, and Golyn, with other lands, in this constabulary, under Alexander III. (*d*). Before 1290, he was succeeded by his son John, who had to struggle through the succession war: And, in February 1305-6, he confirmed his father, and grandfather's grants, to the church of Glasgow (*e*). He was succeeded by William de Vaus, whose daughter, during the reign of David II., married John Haliburton, the second son of Sir Adam Halyburton of Halyburton: And Willian, dying without issue male, his daughter carried his large estates, in this constabulary, into the family of Halyburton. In 1392, Sir Walter Halyburton, the grandson of that marriage, succeeded his father, in the estate of Dirlton: And, in the beginning of the following century, Sir Walter succeeded his cousin, Sir John Halyburton, in his estate of Halyburton, which was thus joined to Dirlton. Sir Walter, as an opulent, and able baron, acted a conspicuous part, in the embarrassed scenes of his country, throughout the regency of Albany, whose daughter he married: And, in 1440-41, he became a peer, by the title of Lord Halyburton of Dirlton (*f*). Dying in 1447, he was succeeded by his son John, who partook of the infelicities of James III.'s reign: And, after various transmissions, the estates, and title, came to Patrick, Lord Halyburton, who died, in 1506; leaving three daughters, who carried his property, but not his peerage, to Lord Ruthven, Lord Home, and to Ker of Faudenside (*g*).

The manor of *Bolton*, in this constabulary, was early enjoyed by the St. Hilaries, who were succeeded, by William de Vetereponte, who married Emma de St. Hilary. The Vetereponte were involved in the terrible disasters of the succession war, as we know from Rymer, and Prynne. Yet, was Bolton, with lands, in other districts, enjoyed by William de Vetereponte, under Robert I., and David II. (*h*). Bolton, was at length acquired by Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, after some struggle, in parliament (*i*). He gave this manor of Bolton to a cadet of his family, who bore the same name: And, in 1568, John Hepburn of Bolton was executed, among other retainers of James, Earl Bothwell, for the murder of Darnley (*k*).

(*c*) Chart. Dryb. 18.

(*d*) Chart. Dryb. Alexander de Vallibus granted to the church of Glasgow, five marks of silver, yearly, from his mill of Hadington, in lieu of the five marks, which had been granted, by his father, from the manor of Golyn. Chart. Glasg. 413.

(*e*) Ib. 417. (*f*) Dougl. Peer. 321. (*g*) Crawf. Peer. 183.

(*h*) Roberts. Index, 79. (*i*) Parl. Rec. 563, under the year 1494.

(*k*) Birrel's Diary, 14.

The

The manor of *Morham* was held, during the 12th century, by the family of Malherb, who chose the surname of Morham, when local names were sought for (*l*). This manor came down to Sir Thomas de Morham, who flourished under Robert Bruce; and who left a daughter, Euphemia, who carried Morham, with other estates, to Sir John Gifford of Yester (*m*).

The lands of *Ormestoun*, were early enjoyed by *Orme*, who communicated his name to his settlement. His descendants held Ormestoun, during the 12th and 13th centuries. It passed from them to the Lindsays. And, in 1368, as we have seen, Sir Alexander de Lindsay gave Ormestoun, with other lands, to his daughter Jonnetta, on her marriage, with John Cockburn (*n*): From this marriage arose the family of Cockburn of Ormeston, who possessed this estate, till recent times.

The district of *Pencaithland* was enjoyed, during the 12th and 13th centuries, by a family, who took their name, from their lands (*o*). In 1276, John de Penkaithland resigned Wester-Penkaithland to Herbert de Maxwell (*p*). The other part of the lands of Pencaithland was forfeited by Thomas de Pencaithland, during the succession war; and were thereupon granted, by Robert Bruce, to Robert de Lauder (*q*).

The lands of *Congalton*, on Peffer-water, have been held, by a strange fortune, from the 12th century to the present, by the same family, who acquired their name, from their property. By various transmissions, from father to son, this estate was held, in 1296, by Walter de Congalton, who swore fealty to Edward I. (*r*). In the reign of James I., the Congaltons held the lands of West-Fenton, under the lairds of Dirlton (*s*). This family lost its ancient property, by acting upon mistaken principles, in 1715, and in 1745: But, the forfeiture was repurchased, by the heir of Robert Congalton, who fled from the law, in 1746 (*t*).

(*l*) Chart. Newbotle, throughout.

(*m*) Roberts. Index, 61-166. (*n*) Roberts. Index, 84-5.

(*o*) Everard de Pencaithland, who held it, during the reign of William, the lion, gave the advowson of the church of Pencaithland to the monks of Kelso. Chart. Kel. 367-87.

(*p*) Dalrymple's Col. 353. This part of Pencaithland was held by Sir John Maxwell, the grandson of Herbert, during the reign of David II. Roberts. Index, 38; Dougl. Peer. 516. During the subsequent reign, West-Pencaithland was held, by John Maitland, of Thirlestane, under Sir Robert Maxwell, who granted the superiority to the monks of Dryburgh. Ch. Dryb. Dougl. Peer. 517.

(*q*) Roberts. Index, 7.

(*r*) Prynne, iii. 657; Rymer, ii. 727; Dougl. Bar. 521, who has, mistakingly, cut out one link from the chain of succession.

(*s*) Dougl. Bar. 521. (*t*) Ib. 524.

The

The manor of Elstaneford was enjoyed, by the Countess Ada, from the decease of Earl Henry, her husband, in 1152, till her own death, in 1178. It now became the Estate of the Montforts (*u*). John de Montfort swore fealty to Edward I., in 1296 (*x*). He forfeited this Estate, during the succession war; and it was thereupon transferred, by Robert Bruce, to Richard Hereis (*y*).

The manor of North-Berwick, and the town, were possessed, by the Earls of Fife, during the 12th, the 13th, and a part of the 14th centuries. The last of this family, who enjoyed this estate, was Isabel, the Countess of Fife, who lived, during the revolutionary reign of David II. (*z*). At the accession of Robert II., William, Earl Douglas, acquired the barony of North-Berwick, by some arrangement with Robert, Duke of Albany, which appears not on record (*a*). On this foundation was laid, at that epoch, the influence of the Douglasses, in East-Lothian. Their influence was strengthened, by the acquirements of the Douglases of Dalkeith (*b*).

East-Lothian seems to have been the original country of the Frasers. Symon Fraser held the manor of Keith, at the middle of the 12th century (*c*). And from him, this manor became known, by the name of Keith-*Symon*. He left a daughter Eda, who married Hugh Lorens, who thus acquired his estate: And of this Marriage was a daughter Eda, who, marrying Philip de Keith, the Mareschal, transferred to him her manor of Keith-*Symon*. In this manner, then, were the two manors of Keith united into one demesn, as the estate of one

(*u*) Chart. Newbotle, 216. (*x*) Prynne, iii. 662 (*y*) Roberts. Index, 2.

(*z*) The Countess Isabell, by marrying four husbands of various ages, endeavoured, without success, to leave issue, to enjoy her ancient patrimony: She married, 1st, William de Ramsay, who died, in 1358, or 1359: 2d, She married Walter Stewart, the second son of Robert II., by Elizabeth More: 3d, She married Sir Thomas Bisset, in 1360: and 4th, She married John Dunbar, after the death of Bisset. Crawford's Hist. Stewart Family; Duncan Stewart's Hist. of the Stewarts; Douglas's Peer.; Roberts. Index 52: Yet, the late Lord Hailes, in his Sutherland Case, asserts, that Walter Stewart, who married the Countess Isabel, was *not* the son of Robert II. but the son of Robert, the third son of the same Robert II.; relying on the copy of a copy of an indenture, in Sir Robert Sibbald's Hist. of Fife. Now, Robert, the Duke of Albany, the third son of Robert II. died, in 1419, aged 80; and, consequently, must have been born, in 1339; and became 21, in 1360, when his elder brother, Walter, died, after marrying the Countess Isabell. The above Indenture is in the Harl. Lib. No. 4694. Brit. Mus. which proves Lord Hailes's error.

(*a*) Parl. Rec. 129.

(*b*) In 1372, James Douglas, of Dalkeith, obtained from George Earl of March, the lands of Whittingham, in marriage, with Agnes, the Earl's sister. In 1564, James Earl of Morton obtained, from Queen Mary, a charter of confirmation of the barony of Whittingham, with his other lands; and this was ratified in parliament. Parl. Rec. 763.

(*c*) Chart. Kelso, 84-97; Chart. Soltre, 26.

family.

family. Another branch of the Frasers took root in East-Lothian, during the 12th century. While Malcolm IV. yet reigned, a considerable part of the territory of Hales appears to have been held, under the Earls of Dunbar, by a person, who was named Kylverc, and who had several children, that shared his Estates: But, the greatest part of his property was assigned to his eldest son, Oliver, who lived during the last division of the 12th century (*b*). Oliver, dying without issue, was succeeded in his possessions, by his nephew Adam, by Maria de Hales, the daughter of Kylverc, and the sister of Oliver (*c*). Adam enjoyed those possessions, under Alexander II.; and was succeeded, by his son, Laurence, who flourished under Alexander III. (*d*). Contemporary with Adam Fraser, the son of Udart, was Bernard Fraser, who held a part of the lands of North-Hales, and of Fortoun, under the Earls of Dunbar (*e*). He flourished, under Alexander II. (*f*). And, after acting a distinguished part on the Scotish theatre, in that age, he probably died, soon after the accession of Alexander III. (*g*). During the 13th century, the Frasers appear to have emigrated from East-Lothian to Tweedale, where they greatly distinguished themselves.

In the district of *Hales*, the Frasers seem to have been succeeded, by the *Gourlays*, who came into Scotland with William, the lion. Hugh Gourlay possessed *Hales*, under the Earls of Dunbar, at the end of the 13th century (*h*). Under David II., Hugh Gourlay forfeited *Hales*, with other lands (*i*).

In this district of *Hales*, within East-Lothian, the next possessors were the *Hebburns*. They originated, from Hebborn, or Hebburn, within Morpeth-ward,

(*b*) Some time before 1199, Oliver, the son of Kylverc, granted to the monks of Newbotle a carrucate of arable land, in the territory of Hale, with common of pasture, for 300 sheep. Chart. Newbot. 81.

(*c*) Adam, the son of Udart Fraser, confirmed his uncle Oliver's grant to the monks of Newbotle. Ib. 82. This confirmation vouches his right. He gave them, in addition, half a carrucate of the land, called Southrig, within South Hale, with common of pasture, for 100 sheep. Ib. 84-5. Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, as superior, confirmed those grants. Ib. 83-7. Maria de Hale, during her widowhood, granted to the same monks her lands in the *Milnhalech* of North-Hale. This was witnessed, by her brother, Adam; and confirmed by Patrick, the Earl of Dunbar. Ib. 99-100.

(*d*) He confirmed those grants of his father, and of his grand-uncle Oliver. Ib. 86. This confirmation evinces his descent, and title.

(*e*) Chart. Newbot. 82; Ib. 101; Ib. 102; Ib. 114-16-21. (*f*) Ib. 117; Ib. 101.

(*g*) He was alive, in 1247. Roberts. Index, 76. Bernard Fraser seems to have disappeared, soon after that date.

(*h*) He confirmed the charters of his predecessors, the Frasers, to the monks of Newbotle. Chart. Newbot. 104. Four several Gourlays of the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, which then comprehended East Lothian, swore fealty to Edward I., in 1296. Prynne, 655-6-7-62.

(*i*) Roberts. Index, 42.

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in Northumberland. The first of this family, who rose to much notice, in Scotland, was Adam de Hebburn, who distinguished himself, during the eventful reigns of Robert I., and David II. Adam de Hebburn appears to have been a dependant on the Earl of Dunbar, whose confidence he gained: And, from Earl Patrick, he acquired the lands of South, and North-Hale, which became known, by the name of Hales, lying on the Tyne, in East-Lothian, and Trepren, that is now called Traprain, adjoining to Hales, with Rollandstown, in the parish of Greenlaw, and Mersingtown, in Eccles, and some lands in Colbrandspeth, within Berwickshire; the whole being within the earldom of March, and held of the earl (*k*). Adam, the first of the Scotish Hebburns, died, during the reign of David II.; leaving many lands to his eldest son, Patrick; and John Hebburn, who seems to have been educated, in the family of Earl Patrick (*l*). Patrick Hepburn of Hales was an eminent baron, who flourished, during the reigns of David II., Robert II., and Robert III. He went on the fashionable pilgrimage to Canterbury, in May 1363 (*m*). On the 26th of March 1371, he acted, conspicuously, at the coronation of Robert II., and at the recognition of John, Earl of Carrick, as the king's son, and heir (*n*). He seems to have associated much with Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, his chief (*o*). And Sir Patrick Hebburn of Hales, with his son, Patrick, followed the Earl of March, in 1388, into the renowned battle of Otterburn, where they displayed their valour, in saving the pennon of Douglas, from the indelible disgrace of falling into hostile hands (*p*). But, the father was too old, and too prudent, to follow his expatriated chief, when he fled to Henry IV., in July 1400. His want of attachment, on

(*k*) The grants of Earl Patrick to Adam Hebburn were confirmed by the charters of David II. early in his reign. Roberts. Index, 41-2. It should seem that Adam de Hebburn enjoyed, under some grant of the same Earl, Mordington, as, in 1320, Adam granted to John Renton, burgess of Berwick, some land, "in villa de Mordington;" and his charter was witnessed, by Sir Alexander Seton, "Custos villæ Berwicæ." Nisbet's Heraldry, i. 237.

(*l*) John de Hebburn, who was called *alumnus* of Earl Patrick, received from him the lands of over, and nether Merkhill, in East Lothian; and to his heirs-male; whom failing, the same lands were limited over to his brother Patrick, and his heirs-male. This grant of Earl Patrick was confirmed in 1363, by David II. Roberts. Index, 74; Dougl. Peer. 83, who mistakes the obvious meaning of *alumnus*. John de Hebburn was the progenitor of the Hepburns of Waughton, from whom sprung the Hepburns of Smeaton, of Bearford, of Beinstoun, Humbie, &c. Contemporary with Patrick, and John de Hebbun, was Robert de Hebburn, of Peebleshire. Ib. 44.

(*m*) Rym. vi. 408. In 1365, and 1367, he witnessed charters with Patrick Earl of Dunbar. Rob. Index, 79-82.

(*n*) Hay's Vindication of Elizabeth More, Apx. 121.

(*o*) Roberts. Index, 136.

(*p*) Pink. Hist. i. 39, from Froissart.

this occasion, the Earl of Dunbar did not easily forgive. In February 1401, when the Earl, with Henry Percy, penetrated, through the Merse into East-Lothian, they ravaged the lands, and assaulted the castle of Hailes: But, the aged knight, with his son, who had fought by his side, in the gallant conflict of Otterburn, repulsed two of the best generals, in Britain; the one remarkable, for his skill; the other, for his heroism. The assailants, after encamping, at Linton, on the northern side of the Tyne, were obliged to make a speedy retreat to Berwick (*q*). Patrick Hebburn, the son, in the subsequent year, led an inroad into England; where he remained long enough to enable the Earl of March to pursue him so closely, as to encounter him, on Nisbet-moor, in the Merse: A very desperate conflict ensued, which was so valourously fought, as to remain long doubtful: At length, young Hebburn, with the youth of Lothian, were slain, while several gentlemen of the same vicinage were led into captivity (*r*). The aged Sir Patrick had now to lament, at the age of 80, the fate of his valiant son. This afflictive event, the venerable warrior did not long survive. The younger Patrick, as he had fought by his father, at Otterburn, in 1388, must have been well advanced, in life, when he nobly fell, on Nisbet-moor, in 1402: And, as he had married one of the co-heiresses of Vaus of Dirlton, he left, by her, two sons, Adam, who succeeded his grandfather; and Archibald Hebburn, who obtained the Lands of Flemington, in Berwickshire.

In addition to the large estates of his grandfather, who died, not long before the demise of Robert III., Adam enjoyed his mother's portion of the Vaus's estates, in East-Lothian, which lay, in the vicinity of Hales, on the north. He does not appear conspicuous, in the national annals, during the odious administration of the regent Albany. He seems to have concurred, zealously, in the restoration of his captive sovereign, James I. (*s*). When the king caused the earl of March to be arrested, in 1434, he sent Angus, Crichton, and Adam Hebburn of Hales, to take possession of the castle of Dunbar, which was not defended; and which was immediately committed to Adam de Hebburn (*t*).

(*q*) Bower. l. xv. c. 10. (*r*) Ib. l. xv. c. 13.

(*s*) In December 1423, he repaired, with others, under a safe conduct, to Durham, to meet the king, at Durham. Rym. x. 309. In July 1425, Adam de Hebburn was one of the hostages, who were then given, in exchange for other pledges, on account of the king's ransom. Ib. 348. There was a safe conduct, in February 1426, for Patrick de Hebburn, William de Hebburn, who were probably, the sons of Adam, and John Halyburton, the servants of the Laird of Hales, to go to their master, in England. Ib 351. And, on the 9th of November 1427, Adam de Hebburn, Miles, was released, in exchange, for William Douglas, of Drumlanrig. Ib. 381.

(*t*) Bower. l. xvi. c. 24.

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When the parliament, on such pretences, as power will always find, forfeited the earl of March, who had so many vassals, the Hebburns became *tenants in chief* of the crown, who had before owed their services to the Earls of March. In September 1435, the Earl of Angus, Adam Hebburn of Hales, and Ramsay of Dalhousie, defeated the Northumberland yeomen, under their earl, below the Cheviot range, at Pepperden (*u*). On the 31st of March 1438, Adam Hebburn of Hales was appointed one of the conservators of the truce, which gave quiet to the conterminous borders (*x*). But, during the turbulent scenes of James II.'s minority, we see no more of Adam de Hebburn (*y*): And, he certainly died, before the year 1446; leaving four sons, and two daughters (*z*).

During the perturbations of the year 1446, Sir Patrick Hebburn of Hales surprized the castle of Dunbar; and Archibald Dunbar, in his turn, took the castle of Hales; but, he was soon dislodged, by the Earl of Douglas (*a*). After domestic quiet had been somewhat restored, Sir Patrick Hebburn was employed, as one of the negotiators of the frequent truces, with England (*b*). Sir Patrick seems to have first appeared, in parliament, on the 19th of October 1456, when he was chosen one of the barons, for the administration of justice (*c*). And, he was, soon after, raised to the yet higher honour of a lord of parliament (*d*). Patrick, Lord Hales, sat in parliament, on the 6th of March 1457-8, when he was appointed one of the members, who were appointed, to distribute justice, at Edinburgh (*e*). Amidst the turbulence, which succeeded, in May

(*u*) Bower, l. xvi. c. 25. (*x*) Rym. x. 695.

(*y*) The dowager queen retired to the castle of Dunbar, while it was kept by Hebburn, of Hales: She died, the 15th of July 1445. Abercromby, ii. 337.

(*z*) Patrick, his eldest, and his heir; William Hebburn; George Hebburn, of Whitsom; John Hebburn, who was bishop of Dunkeld, one of the lords of the council and session, 1467, and died, in 1486; Elizabeth married Andrew, the heir of Montgomery; and Janet married Lord Somerville.

(*a*) Abercromby, ii. 366. In the Chartulary of Coldingham, there is an instrument, "super "tribus literis Jacobi regis de rebellione Patricii Hebburn, militis, occupantis castrum de Dunbar, "A° 1446." Pitscottie, 41-2.

(*b*) He was thus employed, on the 15th of November 1449, (Rym. xi. 253); on the 14th August 1451, (Ib. 300); on the 23d of May 1456, (Ib. 334). In 1449, he was appointed, as we have already seen, sheriff of Berwickshire.

(*c*) Parl. Rec. 39.

(*d*) He was created a lord of parliament, sometime between the 19th October 1456, and the 11th of June 1457; and not *before* 1456; as Douglas asserts, Peer. 85. As Patrick, *Lord* Hales, he was again appointed one of the conservators of the truce, which was made, at Coventry, on the 11th June 1457. Rym. xi. 397.

(*e*) Parl. Rec. 40. He was again appointed one of the conservators of the truce, which was made, at Newcastle, the 12th September 1459. Rym. xi. 434.

1466, the death of Bishop Kennedy, the able minister of James III., Lord Boyd, Adam Hebburn, *the heir* of Hales, John, Lord Somerville, and others, engaged in a design, to seize the king's person (*f*). But, he was present in the parliament, which assembled, on the 14th of October 1467, when he was chosen one of the committee of justice (*g*). He was again present in the parliament, which assembled on the 6th of May 1471; and was once more appointed one of the auditors of causes, on petitions for justice (*h*). This is the last time, that Patrick, Lord Hales, appears to have sat in parliament (*i*). Early in 1479, he lost his eldest son, Adam, who then deceased; leaving Helen, his widow, and many children (*k*). In April 1481, Helen, who had meantime married Alexander Erskine, summoned Patrick, Lord Hales, before the parliament, to answer, for the profits of the lands of Monynetts, in the parish of Aldamstocks (*l*). In March 1482, the lords auditors directed an inquest to ascertain whether Monynetts were a part of Aldhamstocks (*m*). And, on the 6th of December 1482, it was finally decided in parliament, on the finding of the inquest, that Monynetts was a pertinent of Aldhamstocks, in which Helen, the complainant, had a conjunct infeftment (*n*). In the meantime, Lord Hales acted faithfully, as the governor of Berwick-castle, a trust of great consequence: And when Albany conducted Glocester, with the English army, to the Tweed, in July 1482, Lord Hales defended the fortress, with a skill, and resolution, equal to

(*f*). Abercromby, ii. 394. For this act of treason, they were all pardoned, on the 5th of October 1466. Scotstarvit's Calendar, in Pink. Hist. i. 255. This was done a few days before the meeting of parliament, on the 9th of October. Parl. Rec. 141—7. Patrick, Lord Hales, seems not to have attended that parliament; owing probably to his son's misconduct.

(*g*) Ib. 149-50. On the 12th of January 1467-8, Lord Hales, though he was not present, was one of those members, to whom was delegated the power of the Estates, during the recess. Ib. 150. He did not attend the parliament, which met, on the 20th November 1469. Ib. 153.

(*h*) Ib. 159. (*i*) Ib. 168, 198, 217-18, 251.

(*k*) Adam Hebburn, who was old enough, as we have seen, to engage, in 1466, with others, in an attempt on the king's person, married Helen Home, a daughter of Sir Alexander Home of Home, who brought him five sons, and four daughters: His eldest was Patrick, who succeeded his grandfather, as Lord Hales; his second son was Adam, who married Elizabeth, the co-heiress of Ogston, who brought him three daughters, who shared her estates; his third son was George, who rose in the church to be abbot of Arbroth, and bishop of the Isles; and who died on Floddonfield; the fourth son of Adam was John, who rose in the church to be prior of St. Andrews, and died, in 1522; and his fifth son was James Hebburn, who became bishop of Moray, in 1516, and died, in 1524: And his four daughters married the heirs of four peers.

(*l*) Parl. Rec. 269. (*m*) Ib. 277. (*n*) Ib. 284.

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the treachery, and force, wherewith it was assailed (*o*). As early as the parliament of March 1478-9, Patrick, the son of Adam, sat among the Estates, as *the heir* of Lord Hales (*p*). His grandson now sat, in the several parliaments, till the decease of the aged Patrick, Lord Hales, who died early in the treasonous year 1483, while Albany, and Angus, were plotting the overthrow of the state (*q*).

Patrick, the second Lord Hales, now succeeded his grandfather, in his title, and estates (*r*). During the turbulence of that period, Patrick, the second Lord Hales, entered, forwardly, into all the guilty scenes, which terminated, in the assassination of James III., on Stirling-field (*s*). He was very amply rewarded, on the accession of James IV., for his forwardness, and his crimes, against the king's father. He became one of the principal ministers of the infant king (*t*). He was one of the commissioners who opened the first parliament of James IV., on the 6th of October 1488 (*u*). He was immediately chosen one of the committee of articles, to propose measures, for the adoption

(*o*) Abercromby, ii. 452; Bord. Hist. 444: On the 24th August 1482, Lord Hales surrendered Berwick castle to the English general, in pursuance of a treaty, and subsequent orders of the Scotish government. The faithful execution of the office of governor of Berwick castle precluded Patrick, Lord Hales, from a frequent attendance, in parliament.

(*p*) Parl. Rec. 232: He is called, in the Record, *the master of Hales.*

(*q*) Ib. 269. On the 27th of June 1483, Patrick, the grandson, sat in parliament, as Lord Hales. Ib. 295. Patrick, the first Lord Hales, had two sons: Adam, who died before him, as we have seen; and George, who was dean of Dunkeld, and treasurer of Moray: And two daughters, Margaret, who married Patrick, the heir of Lord Halyburton; and Eupheme, who married Andrew Macdougal of Makerston.

(*r*) Dougl. Peer. 84, is so idle, as to place Adam, the son, who died, as we have seen, in 1479, in the succession to his father, Lord Hales, who died, early, in 1483. On the 23d of December 1483, we may see Patrick, the second Lord Hales, acting as sheriff of Berwickshire, with Oliver Lauder, for his deputy. Parl. Rec. 310. In September 1484, Lord Hales was appointed one of the conservators of the peace. Rym. xii. 241.

(*s*) In 1485, Lord Hales confederated with Angus, Gray, Home, and others, to imprison the king, and to appoint his son regent; but, they were then disappointed. Ferrerius; Lesley, 327; Pink. Hist. i. 323. In March 1488, Lord Hales took the field, with other rebel lords, against the king: And, he was at the head of those insurgents, who made the articles of Blackness. Parl. Rec. 339. In May 1488, Lord Hales was one of the rebel envoys to London. Rym. xii. 340. And, on the 11th June 1488, he carried his followers into Stirling-field, where the king fell before their treasonous spears. In 1488, James III. was slain, at Bannockburn, [Stirling-field], by Home, and *Hebburn*, saith honest Birrel. Diary, 3.

(*t*) In July 1488, Patrick, Lord Hales, was made "great admiral of Scotland, for life." Scotstarvit's Calendar, in Pink. ii. 5. He was appointed master of the houſehold. Parl. Rec. 329.

(*u*) Parl. Rec. 329.

of

of the Estates (*x*). The shires of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Hadington, and Berwick, were assigned to the keeping of Lord Hales, jointly, with Sir Alexander Home: And Wigtonshire, and Kirkcudbright, were delivered to his lordship's single domination (*y*). James, Duke of Ross, the king's brother, was committed to the governance of Lord Hales, who had the keeping of Edinburgh castle (*z*). And, the lands, and lordships of Bothwell, and of Crichton, were granted to him, on the 14th of October 1488; and three days, afterward, those estates were erected into an earldom, which was granted to Lord Hales, who incidentally became Earl of Bothwell (*a*). The new earl had earned other trusts, and favours. He was made warden of the west, and middle marches, on the 4th of July 1489; and, he had been already nominated sheriff of Edinburghshire (*b*). On the 15th of February 1489-90, he was appointed collector of the king's rents, and casualties, within the shires of Edinburgh, and Hadington, in Kirkcudbright, and Wigton (*c*). In 1491, he appears to have gone, with other envoys, into France, and Spain (*d*). In 1492, he negotiated with the Earl of Angus, his great coadjutor, in the insurrection, which ended in the sad demise of James III., an exchange of the lordship of Bothwell, in Clydesdale, for the country of Lidsdale, on the south-western border (*e*). During the ten years, which ensued, he obtained royal grants of many lands (*f*). In December 1494, Earl Patrick, and his brother, Adam, had a suit in parliament, with Marion of Bolton, and George Home, her husband, about the barony of Bolton, in East-Lothian (*g*). In October 1495, the earl was appointed by the king one of the Lords of the Session, for distributing justice (*h*). In 1499, the Earl of Bothwell was usefully employed, as a negociator in England (*i*). He negociated, with the aid of other able men, the marriage of the

(*x*) Parl. Rec. 330. (*y*) Ib. 337. (*z*) Ib. 339.

(*a*) Ib. 335-6. The barony of Bothwell had been forfeited, by the Douglasses, in 1455; was conferred, by James III., on Sir John Ramsay, with the title of Lord Bothwell; who was now forfeited, for adhering to his master, in England, as his ambassador; and after his decease, retained the title of Lord Bothwell, and acted as a spy of Henry VII. Ayloff's Calendar, 313; Rym. xii. 440; Pink. Hist. ii. 438—42.

(*b*) Parl. Rec. 359—97. (*c*) Ib. 364.

(*d*) There was granted a safe conduct, on the 14th of June 1491, for Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, and other ambassadors, to go through England, with 100 attendants, to France, and Spain. Rym. xii. 446.

(*e*) Godscroft, 236-7.

(*f*) Dougl. Peer. 85, who quotes the charters in the Public Archives.

(*g*) Parl. Rec. 446. (*h*) Ib. 456.

(*i*) Rym. xii. 721, records a safe conduct, for Patrick, Earl Bothwell, and three other ambassadors, with 100 attendants, for six months.

Lady

Lady Margaret with James IV., and a lasting peace, with the contiguous kingdom (*k*). Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, was a leading character, in parliament; as we might, indeed, easily suppose, from the favour, that he enjoyed, and the offices, which he held (*l*). Patrick, the *first Earl* of Bothwell, ended his various life, on the 17th of October 1508 (*m*); leaving by Janet, the daughter of the Earl of Morton, three sons, and three daughters (*n*).

Adam, the *second Earl*, succeeded his father, in his titles, in some of his offices, and in his vast estates, within the shires of Edinburgh, Hadington, Berwick, Roxburgh, Dunfries, Kirkcudbright, and Lanerk. And, they were soon after confirmed to him, and his heirs, by James IV.'s charter (*o*). He did not, however, long enjoy what an indulgent sovereign had lavishly bestowed upon him. He was soon summoned into the field, by James IV., who had resolved to show his chivalry, as well as his generalship. Adam, the second Earl of Bothwell of this name, commanding the reserve of the Scotish army, on Floddon-field, died on the disastrous 13th of September 1513 (*p*).

Patrick, the *third Earl* of Bothwell, now succeeded his father, while he was yet an infant. He was still under age, on the 26th of February 1525-6, when his uncle, the prior of St. Andrews, was his guardian (*q*). The prior, on behalf of his ward, again pledged himself, in parliament, for the good rule of

(*k*) Rym. xii. 772-4. The 24th of January 1501-2, is the date of the treaty of marriage, and of peace, at Richmond. Ib. 787-800. On the 23d of May 1503, Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, Lord Hailes, and *great admiral* of Scotland, had the honour of witnessing the endowment of the Lady Margaret, by James IV. Rym. xiii. 64.

(*l*) Parl. Rec. 489-522.

(*m*) Lesley, 350, gives the date, but substitutes the name of Adam, for Patrick.

(*n*) Dougl. Peer. 85. Of Earl Patrick, the eldest son was Adam; the second was John Hebburn, who was made bishop of Brechin, in 1517, and died, in 1558; the third son was Patrick Hebburn, who succeeded to the priory of St. Andrew, in 1527, to the bishoprick of Moray, in 1535, and died in 1573.

(*o*) On the 27th of August 1511, the king, by a new charter, erected all those estates into an earldom, with the castle of Hales, for the principal messuage; and to Earl Adam, and his heirs, was confirmed the offices of Sheriff of Edinburgh, and Berwick, Constable of Hadington, Baillie of Lauderdale, and, moreover, the office of Great Admiral of Scotland, in fee. Privy Seal Record Gen. Reg. House, Lib. 4. fol. 151.

(*p*) Dougl. Peer. 85. By Agnes, the daughter of James, Earl of Buchan, Adam, Earl of Bothwell, left two sons, and two daughters: His eldest son was Patrick; and his second was William Hebburn, of Rollandstoun, in Berwickshire. Id.

(*q*) The answer of the Privy Council of Scotland, to the complaint of disorders, on the Marches, evinces those facts. The bad state of Lidsdale was then imputed to his minority. Calig. vii. 30. The Earl of Bothwell first appeared in parliament, on the 15th of November 1526. Parl. Rec. 564.

Lidsdale,

Lidsdale, and the quiet of the adjacent countries (*r*). After the infant king had freed himself, by his own efforts, from the domination of the Douglasses, in 1528, the Earl of Bothwell joined him, at Stirling; and accompanied his array to Edinburgh (*s*). He attended the parliament of September 1528 (*t*). As Bothwell was either unwilling, or unable to preserve the quiet of Lidisdale, he was, during July 1529, imprisoned, in Edinburgh castle, wherein he lay till the end of the year (*u*). He was, however, present, in the parliament, which assembled, on the 26th April 1531, when he was appointed one of the lords, who were to draw up the usual articles (*x*). But, he was a person, unprincipled, and unsteady. And, in December 1531, he secretly passed into the north of England, where he held the most traitorous communications with the Earl of Northumberland (*y*). James v., having discovered those dangerous intrigues, ordered Bothwell, on his return, to be confined in Edinburgh castle, wherein he long continued (*z*). Bothwell is supposed, by some, to have died, in 1534: But, as he came of age, in 1526, he must have been born, in 1505: And, of consequence, could have been, scarcely, twenty-nine, in 1534 (*a*). There

(*r*) Ib. 569. (*s*) Orig. Letter, 18 July, Calig. b.i. 17.

(*t*) Parl. Rec. 577. He is said, however, to have refused the command of the forces, which were raised against the Douglases: But the observation of Godscroft, 260, like many other of his positions, is improbable: For, the Earl of Bothwell could not have been then three and twenty: Bothwell was, undoubtedly, Sheriff of the southern shires, and might have been ordered to raise forces against the rebels. In January 1528-9, Bothwell obtained a grant of the lands, and castle of Tamtallon, which had been forfeited by the Earl of Angus. Scotsarvit's Calendar; Douglas Peer. 85, who quotes the king's charter in the Public Archives. Bothwell, afterward, lost the benefit of this grant, by his misconduct.

(*u*) Lesley, 430: But, he was not banished to Venice, as this historian intimates. Orig. Communications. Calig. b. v. 216.

(*x*) Parl. Rec. 587.

(*y*) Those Original Communications, dated the 21st of December, 1531, are preserved, in Calig. b. v. 216. Bothwell complained to Northumberland, that the Scotish king, forgetting the services of his father, and grandfather, *had held him long in non-age*; and had given some of his lands to the Kers of Teviotdale, on pretence of misrule: He said, that he had been *imprisoned half a year*, and would have suffered death, if his friends had not entered into a recognizance of 20,000l.: He expressed his hopes, that *Henry VIII. would assist the Scotish peers against their sovereign*: And, he *offered his allegiance*, and *services*, with a thousand gentlemen, and a thousand commons. Id.

(*z*) He was not present, in the parliament of the 17th of May, 1532. Parl. Rec. 589. The English commissioners, at Newcastle, wrote to Henry VIII., on the 26th of July, 1533, "that the "king of Scots is at this present time, at Edinburgh, and hath caused the Archbishop of St. An- "drews, and the Earl of Bothwell to be shut up, in the castle of Edinburgh." Calig. b. vii. 176.

(*a*) Dougl. Peer. 85; Pink. Hist. i. 322: But, Crawford's Peer. 44. says, that the present Earl Patrick was the father of the unhappy James, Earl of Bothwell; and the context shows, that Crawford was right.

was

was not any Earl of Bothwell in the parliament, which met on the 10th of June 1535 (*b*). In February 1535-6, a suit was begun, for adjudging Patrick, Earl of Bothwell's estate, for debt (*c*). In July 1538, Bothwell resigned the lordship of Lidisdale, with the castle of Hermitage, the country being a haunt of free-booters, and the earl being of doubtful attachment (*d*). About the same time, Patrick Earl of Bothwell obtained a grant of lands, on the resignation of Lord Maxwell (*e*). This grant may have possibly been made, in compensation, for the Earl's resignation of Lidisdale (*f*). He appears not to have attended either the parliament of December 1540, or the parliament of March 1540-1 (*g*). When the war with England had begun, Patrick, Earl of Bothwell acted with his accustomed treachery (*h*). Bothwell did not attend his duty, at the opening of the parliament, on the 13th of March 1542-3: But, he was present two days afterward, when he was chosen one of the governor's council (*i*). He now made an attempt, in parliament, to regain his old country of Lidisdale, and his castle of Hermitage, which had been annexed to the royal demesn (*k*). Bothwell, Huntley, and Murray, influenced the governor to liberate *the cardinal;* being

(*b*) Parl. Rec. 594.

(*c*) Scotstarvit's Calendar. Such a process was not likely to have been commenced against an infant heir. In 1537, Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, obtained a charter for the lands of Lochwharret, Park, Hackra, &c. Dougl. Peer. 85, who quotes the Publie Archives for the fact. Such a grant would not probably have been made to an infant heir.

(*d*) Orig. Letter of the 5th of September 1538, in Calig. b. vii. 232: On the 10th of December 1540, Lidisdale, and Hermitage castle, were annexed to the crown, by act of parliament. Parl. Rec. 624.

(*e*) Scotstarvit's Calendar.

(*f*) Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, made some grants, at Aberdeen, at the end of the year 1539. Ib. Pink. Hist. ii. 322.

(*g*) Parl. Rec. 619-29.

(*h*) On the 24th of August 1542, "wes foughten the field of Solew-moss," saith the artless Birrel. Diary, 3. It was this disaster, which wounded the heart of James v., who died, on the 14th of December 1542. Amidst those scenes of sadness, Bothwell, in consideration of a large sum of money, engaged to serve Henry viii. against his own king, and country: And, in pursuance of that odious engagement, he began to communicate intelligence, and counsel, to the enemy. This unknown fact is stated, in the Parl. Rec. 681.

(*i*) Ib. 646-49. On the 15th of March 1542-3, Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, with other nobles, recognized James, Earl of Arran, to be the second person of the realm, and nearest in the succession to the crown, and governor of the kingdom, to whom they, severally, promised their obedience, and support. Epistolæ Reg. Scotorum, ii. Apx. 310. On the 8th of June 1543, Bothwell was not present, when the governor's council answered Henry viii.'s proposals. Parl. Rec. 659.

(*k*) Ib. 65°. The result does not appear in the dilapidated record: But, he probably regained those great objects; as Lidisdale, and Hermitage, descended to his heir, Earl James.

all, as it was said, averse from matching the infant queen with the son of Henry VIII. (*l*). At that epoch of intrigue, and baseness, Earl Bothwell was not of the English faction; but, supported Arran, the governor, and the queen dowager (*m*). It is not easy to trace the motives of such a profligate, as Patrick, Earl Bothwell: But, it is more than probable, that Earl *Patrick*, about that time, paid his addresses to the dowager queen, Mary of Guise (*n*). When the parliament assembled, on the 3d of December 1543, Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, was one of the queen's commissioners, who met *the Estates* (*o*). On the subsequent day, he was chosen one of the lords of the articles (*p*). Yet, though he had advised the breaking of the treaty with Henry VIII., in the foregoing year, Bothwell gave counsel, and aid, to the English army, under the Earl of Hertford, when they ravaged Scotland, in May 1544 (*q*). It is again impossible to penetrate Bothwell's motives, for his sudden change of party, and of principle, unless we suppose, that he had been disappointed, in his hopes, by the dowager queen. For all those treasons, Patrick, Earl Bothwell, was accused, in

(*l*) Keith, 39. In August 1543, Bothwell, Huntley, and Murray, collected their followers, and assisted the cardinal, in carrying the two queens, from Linlithgow palace, to Stirling castle. Ib. 30. On Sunday, the 9th of September following, they were all present, at the coronation of Mary Stewart, within the chapel of Stirling castle. Ib. 32; Sadler's Letters, 365.

(*m*) Ib. 367-80: The chief of the English faction, at that epoch, was the Earl of Angus.

(*n*) See Lord Elibank's Letter to Lord Hailes, ch. x. His lordship quotes Buchanan, for saying, "that *James*, Earl Bothwell, in 1544, was professed rival to the Earl of Lenox, then a "youth, in their addresses to *Mary* of *Guise*." Buchanan, like other men, who write from memory, mistook both the name of *James*, for Patrick, and the year 1544, for 1543. In October 1543, Lenox had so set his mind on the *marriage* of the *Lady Mary Douglas*, that he will not now slip, from the party of the king [Henry VIII.]. Sadler's Letters, 399. Lenox went to England, in May 1544. Keith, 35. On the 26th of June following, he entered into a treaty with Henry VIII. for the marriage of the Lady Mary Douglas. Id. He married her, in July 1544. Ib. 36. On the other hand; *Patrick*, Earl Bothwell, went with *the dowager*, and the Cardinal, to St. Andrews, in the last week of September 1543. The Dowager, the Cardinal, and Bothwell, remained there, on the 30th of the same September. Sadler's Letters, 393. On the 5th of October following, "the old Queen, the Cardinal, and Earl Bothwell, still remained, in the castle of St. Andrew's." Ib. 398. On the 5th of the subsequent November, the Cardinal, and Earl Bothwell, came to Edinburgh; the *old Queen* remaining, at Stirling. Bothwell, as he was born, in 1505, was *thirty-eight*, in 1543. The *old Queen*, whose ambition now predominated over her love, probably, encouraged the hopes both of Lenox, and of Patrick, Earl Bothwell; in order to attach them to the French party, to herself, and to the Cardinal.

(*o*) Parl. Rec. 660. (*p*) Id.

(*q*) Ib. 681. On the 22d of July 1544, Bute-Pursuivant, after executing the Queen's letters, at the market cross of Edinburgh, was seized, by the Earl of Bothwell, who took from the pursuivant the Queen's letters, and imprisoned the officer, eleven days. Id.

parliament,

parliament, during November 1544 (*r*). Yet, was the prosecution of the Earl's crimes soon after remitted, by the governor's weakness (*s*).

The Earl of Bothwell was, by those means, placed in a situation, to claim the protection of parliament. As *admiral* of Scotland, Earl Patrick complained, in parliament, on the 12th of December 1544, that the Lords of Council and Session, daily, took under their consideration, *during his absence*, divers matters, which principally concerned his office of admiral, that pertained to him, in *heretage*. The queen's advocate defended the conduct of the College of Justice, as supreme judges, for the administration of right, as well to *strangers*, as to *subjects*. On the morrow, the parliament examined the privileges of both parties, and sustained the claim of Bothwell: And the Estates, with his own consent, assigned him the 17th December 1544, to hear the complaint of some inhabitants, in Spruce Island, against certain persons, "for *the spoliation* of their "*ship*, and *goods* (*t*). Justice was probably done, with the help of those assessors, to the shipwrecked shipmen of Spruce Island; as no ulterior proceedings appear. Bothwell was present, in council, at St. Andrews, on the 25th June 1545 (*u*). He attended his duty, in the parliament of October 1545 (*x*). And, during that session, the king's officers were directed to assist Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, the sheriff of Edinburgh, and of Hadington, to levy distresses on all those, who had not paid their taxes (*y*). His duty, as sheriff, required him, in January 1545-6, to perform even a harsher service: He was directed, to arrest Wishart, the reformer, in order that, the law of the

(*r*) Parl. Rec. 677-9.

(*s*) Ib. 680; Epist. Reg. Scot. ii. Apx. 321-26-7. As this *remission* was assented to, by *the Estates*, on the 12th of December 1544, it operated, as a parliamentary pardon, for all treasons, and other crimes, before that time by him committed.

(*t*) Parl. Rec. 680. At the desire of Bothwell, the admiral, with the consent of the parties, the governor, and lords of parliament, named several eminent men, and lawyers, as assessors to the admiral, for the administration of justice, in the said complaint; and if the admiral should fail herein, he was content, that the cause should be advocated to the college of justice, "conform to "the acts formerly made thereupon." Id. The above is a very curious proceeding; because we see in it, the dawn of a court of admiralty. It is vain, for Erskine, to intimate, in his Institutes, that an admiralty court existed, *of old*, in Scotland. Nisbet says, the charter to Earl Adam, in 1511, was the oldest record, on this head, that he had seen; Doubts, 228; and Stuart's Answer, 239. It is apparent, from those proceedings, in parliament, during December 1544, that there was then no regular court of admiralty, in Scotland.

(*u*) Keith's Apx. 50.

(*x*) Parl. Rec. 683-6-8.

(*y*) Parl. Rec. 689; Keith's Apx. 66.

land might be executed upon him (*z*). Bothwell was present, in the parliament of July, and August 1546 (*a*). When the English fleet was expected, in the Forth, during May 1547, Patrick, Earl Bothwell, was appointed to have the care of the *bail*, or beacon, on Dunprender-law (*b*). On that emergency, he probably acted, treacherously; as he was soon after imprisoned, in the castle of Edinburgh. Herein, he remained, till the battle of Pinkie, on the 10th of September, had almost decided the fate of Scotland. On the subsequent day, he was, by the regent, set at liberty (*c*). Throughout that wasteful war, Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, continued to act treasonously, in favour of Edward VI., against his infant queen (*d*). In September 1549, he renounced his allegiance to his sovereign; swore fealty to Edward; accepted an yearly pension of three thousand crowns; and was allowed a guard of a hundred horsemen (*e*). His treasons were, no doubt, discovered (*f*); and he was obliged to flee, from his offended country; to which he, probably, never returned. After a devious life of tergiversations, and of crimes, he died, during September 1556, aged fifty-one (*g*). He married Agnes, the daughter of Henry

(*z*) Keith, 41: In the Epist. Reg. Reg. Scot. ii. Apx. 342, there is the "act, obliging Patrick, "Earl Bothwell, to deliver up to my Lord Governor, the person of Mr. George Wishart, who "afterward suffered martyrdom." Reg. Privy Council, fol. 25. On the 10th of June 1546, Patrick, Earl Bothwell, was one of the four Lords, who were appointed to attend the Governor, as Counsellors, till the 10th of October. Keith's Apx. 52.

(*a*) Parl. Rec. 691-5-726; Keith's Apx. 53. And on the 10th of October 1546, Bothwell was present, in council, at St. Andrews. Keith's Apx. 54.

(*b*) Epist. Reg. Scot. Apx. 383, contains the act, "for making great fires, in several places, to "give warning of the approach of the English fleet," the 25th May 1547.

(*c*) Lesley, 488. In the meantime, his castle of Hales was taken, by the invading foe. On the 17th of September, 1547, Patrick, Earl Bothwell, waited on the Protector Somerset, at Leith; a gentleman he was, saith Patten, 81, "of a right *comely port*, and *stature*; and of just, and *honourable* "*dealing* towards the *English King*."

(*d*) In the presence of the council, on the 28th of February 1547-8, John, Lord Borthwick, at the governor's command, took upon him the keeping of the fortalice of *Hales*; and obliged himself, to keep the same, surely, from our old enemies, and all others; and not to deliver it to Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, or any in his name, under the penalty of 10,000l. Keith's Apx. 56.

(*e*) Rym. xv. 190, has recorded the voucher of his crime, and the detail of his disgrace.

(*f*) On the 23d of May 1550, the Queen [Dowager], the governor, and council, considering the high attempts, committed by Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, and how he has held himself to his sovereign lady, directed him to be prosecuted for treason. Keith's Apx. 66.

(*g*) Lord Hailes, Remarks, 173-5, was the first, to ascertain the epoch of his death, from the *inquest after* his death. In Tytler's Inquiry, ii. 401, there is a very curious document, from the Hamilton Archives, being proofs of consanguinity, in the process of divorce by James Earl Bothwell,

Henry, Lord Sinclair, by Margaret Hebburn, a daughter of Patrick, the first Earl of Bothwell: And, by Agnes Sinclair, who long survived him, and who was divorced by him, for whatever cause, he left James, his heir (*h*); and Jean, who married John Stewart, the prior of Coldingham, by whom she had Francis, Earl of Bothwell, the great perturbator of James VI.'s reign.

James, Earl of Bothwell, succeeded his father; being served heir, by an inquest of the country, on the 3d of November 1556 (*i*). Besides the great estates of his father, he inherited from him the offices of great admiral of Scotland, sheriff of Edinburgh, of Hadington, and of Berwick, and also baillie of Lauderdale: He was thus, by descent, the most powerful noble of Southern Scotland, with the castles of Hermitage, of Hales, and of Crichton, for his fortlets. At the epoch of his father's death, he probably resided with him, in some foreign land: And, he certainly returned to Scotland, in November 1556, when he was served his heir (*k*). He attended his duty, in the parliament of December 1557, when he signed the commission of *the Estates*, for negociating the marriage of their infant queen with the dauphin of France (*l*). As sheriff of Edinburghshire, he attended the constable, and the marshal, at the opening of the parliament, on the 29th of November 1558 (*m*). This seems to have

well, from Lady Jean Gordon. The witnesses prove the pedegree thus: Patrick, Earl Bothwell, who died, in 1508, by Lady Margaret Gordon, had a son, Adam, who fell on Floddon-field, in 1513. Patrick, Earl Bothwell, his son, who last died, *at Dunfries*, [in September 1556.]. James, *now* Earl Bothwell, married Lady Jean Gordon. This document proves, in opposition to Douglas, that between Earl Adam, and Earl James, there was only one Earl, and not two; 2d. that this one Earl was Patrick, who died, in 1556, and finished his guilty career, at Dunfries, and not in foreign parts, if we may consider this paper as genuine.

(*h*) James, Earl of Bothwell, on the occasion of the proposal made to the Queen, by Secretary Lethington, to divorce her from Darnley, "Allegit the exampill of himself, that he ceissit not to "succeed to his father's heritage, without any difficultie, albeit thair was divorce betwixt him, "and his mother." Goodal's Apx. 319. She outlived her husband, Patrick, Earl Bothwell, a dozen years. This divorce must have taken place, before the year 1543, when Earl Patrick made love, as we have shown, to the dowager Queen.

(*i*) Lord H. Rem. 173; Lord Elibank's Letter, thereon, 32. As his father came of age, in 1526; we may suppose, that his heir was, in 1556, nine-and-twenty, or thirty; his father having married Agnes, the daughter of Henry, Lord Sinclair, and his own cousin. We may remember, that Earl Patrick complained *of being kept, by the King, very long in his infancy*: This implies, that he was *a forward youth*; and may have married his cousin, even before he was of age.

(*k*) We may infer, as much, from Queen Mary's instructions to her ambassador, in France, which were, no doubt, drawn by Bothwell himself: "Bygynand his verie zouth, and *first entres to* "*this realme*, immediatlie aftir the deceis of his fader."

(*l*) Keith's Apx. 19. (*m*) Parl. Rec. 729.

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become the established duty of the sheriff, in whatever shire the Estates assembled. He probably acted, with some vigour, during the queen regent's war, which was ended, by the peace of Cambray, in April 1559. As lieutenant of the Borders, he met the Earl of Northumberland, the English lieutenant, for adjusting some border differences (*n*). In this character of lieutenant, on the 31st of October 1559, he intercepted Cockburn of Ormiston, near Hadington, when he was bringing a large sum of money, from Berwick, to the insurgents; being Elizbeth's fuel, for inflaming the contentions of Scotland. The insurgents severely felt that interception of their supplies. They immediately sent some forces, with artillery, to his castle of Crichton, which they easily took, and sufficiently garrisoned (*o*). This ruinous war ended, in July 1560, when the contending armies of England, and France, retired from Scotland (*p*).

In contemplation of the return of the widowed queen, Bothwell, and other nobles, went into France, to offer their duties, and propose their services. Mary landed, at Leith, on the 19th of August 1561, whatever obstructions Elizabeth could oppose to her voyage (*q*). Her government, she immediately placed in protestant hands; with the prior of St. Andrews, at its head: And, Bothwell was made a privy counsellor (*r*) Yet, with the turbulence of his nature, did he raise a violent tumult, in Edinburgh, in December 1561, about a merchant's daughter, which disturbed the queen's government: And, being summoned to court, he was ordered to quit the town, till the 8th of the sub-

(*n*) Northumberland's Letters, in Keith's Apx. 89. (*o*) Ib. 43.

(*p*) In the meantime died, in Edinburgh castle, on the 10th of June 1560, the Queen Dowager, who had been courted, by Bothwell's father, in 1543, as we have seen. Francis II. died, on the 5th of December 1560, a circumstance, which induced Mary Stewart, to think of returning to her native kingdom.

(*q*) Birrel's Diary, 4, who simply supposes, that she was stolen out of France, by certain Lords. Keith, 180.

(*r*) Keith, 187. On the 24th of September, 1561, the envoy Randolph wrote to Secretary Cecil: "The men at arms keep the possession of *Montross* [Melros Abbey] against the Earl of "Bothwell, and all his friends." Ib. 191. Yet, Bothwell attended the privy council, on the 13th of October. Ib. 198. On the 24th of October, Randolph wrote to Cecil; "The Lord John of "Coldingham hath not the least favour, with his leaping, and dancing; he is like to marry the "Lord Bothwell's sister: The Earl hath given to him old lands of his father's, in Teviotdale, and "the *Abbey of Melros.*" Ib. 196. Of Melros, however, the Earl of Arran seems to have been put into possession, by the Queen's authority. Ib. 202. To this contest, about Melros abbey, may be traced the origin of the enmity, between Bothwell and Arran, and the Duke of Chatelherault, Arran's father. The Duke disdained the proffered friendship of Bothwell. Ib. 208.

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sequent January (*s*). The Earl of Arran, who avowed his enmity to Bothwell, emulated him, in his turbulence; and allowed his wildness to form the project "of carrying off the queen, from her palace of Holyroodhouse (*t*)." The contests, and accusations of Arran, and Bothwell, disturbed, and occupied the queen's government, throughout most of the year 1562 (*u*). Bothwell had other enmities, and engaged, in other turmoils. About the 18th of March, in this year, Bothwell beset Cockburn of Ormiston, his wife, and son, a hunting; and, having carried his son towards his castle of Crichton, he was rescued, by the country people, who insulted Bothwell. The queen, and her council, were greatly offended with Bothwell, at that unprovoked outrage (*x*). In those various intimations, from original documents, we may see, at once, the character of Bothwell, and the unquiet temper of unsettled times.

Bothwell was now immured in Edinburgh castle, safe from Arran's madness, Murray's wrath, and his own turbulance. And the queen's minister now found leisure, for carrying into effect his plans, for securing his precarious tenure of the earldom of Moray; and for ruining the Earl of Huntley. For those corrupt ends, he induced the queen, and her council, to travel into the north, rugged as it

(*s*) Randolph's letter to Cecil, Ib. 210-11, from which it appears, that Bothwell had, moreover, a quarrel with the Laird of Ormiston, and his friends. Id.

(*t*) MS. Correspondence in the Paper Office, 2d January 1561-2. On Sunday, the 11th of the same month, "the Lord John married the Earl of Bothwell's sister, at Crichton castle; the Queen "being present; much good sport there was, saith Randolph to Cecil, and many pastimes." Id. The *Lord John* was the natural son of James v., by Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Carmichael; and he was of course the Queen's natural brother. In conformity to the French practice, the bastard sons of the King were called, by courtesy, *Lords*, as Lord John; Lord *James*, the Queen's famous minister, who dethroned her. By Jean Hebburn, who became the sole representative of James, Earl Bothwell, her brother, the Lord John had a son, Francis Stewart, who was created Earl of Bothwell; and who, for his rebellious practices against his benefactor, James vi., from whom he obtained the estates, and offices, of his uncle, was forfeited, in 1593, and retired to France, and thence went to Italy, where he died, in 1624. Crawford's Hist. of the Stewarts, 38.

(*u*) Much ado there hath been, "said Randolph to Cecil, on the 28th of February 1561-2, to agree the Earl of Bothwell, and my Lord of Arran." MS. Correspondence in the Paper Office. In March, and April, Arran, and Bothwell were brought before the Queen's ministers, at Falkland, and St. Andrews, when they were both heard. Arran appeared to be deranged: And Bothwell, from his own acknowledgement, being guilty in some points, was committed to ward. Id. "The queen (saith Randolph) sheweth herself not a little offended with the Earl of Bothwell, "unto whom she hath been so good; and doubtless, he added, shall find little favour." MS. Correspondence in the Paper Office. On the 11th of May, Bothwell was imprisoned in *Dunbarton* castle; and Arran remained, in the castle of St. Andrews. Id. Instead of Dunbarton, Bothwell was imprisoned, in Edinburgh castle.

(*x*) Randolph's Letter to Cecil, in the Paper Office.

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was, and founderous, as were the roads. They set out from Stirling castle, on the 18th of August 1562, on horseback; and she was accompanied by Randolph, the English ambassador: After effecting Murray's purpose, by her presence, she returned to Edinburgh, in December of the same year. Meanwhile, Bothwell made his escape from Edinburgh castle (*y*). But, in Hermitage castle, he did not remain long. Watched by the English warden of the marches, and pursued by the queen's ministers, he found it necessary to seek for safety, in less hostile countries (*z*). But, he was not yet free from danger: The ship, which carried him to sea, put into Holy island, in Northumberland. And, Mary's ministers, Murray, and Lethington, concurred with Elizabeth's ambassador, Randolph, to have Bothwell detained, in England (*a*). On several applications of Bothwell's friends, Mary exerted herself to obtain leave for Bothwell, to depart (*b*): And, it is not easy to perceive, by what law, in time of peace, he could be detained, in England. The queen's representations, as they were more reasonable, than Randolph's angry instances, probably prevailed, in favour of Bothwell's departure, into foreign parts. In France, he was not quiet; throwing out menaces against Mary, and Elizabeth, and speaking evil of the ministers of

(*y*) On the 18th of September, Randolph wrote from Spynie, in Moray, to Cecil: "Since the "Earl of Bothwell's escape out of prison, we hear nothing of him, but that he fortifieth a house "called the Ermitage, in Lidisdale." MS. Correspondence in the Paper Office.

(*z*) He went by sea from North-Berwick. On the 30th of December 1562, Randolph wrote to Cecil, from Ormiston: "This Day the Queen is in Dunbar, to be merry with my Lord John of "Coldingdam [who married Bothwell's sister]. The Earl of Bothwell is departed out of this "Country *by sea*, either into Flanders, or France. Yesterday, a serjeant of arms was sent to "summon the castle of Hermitage: And, charge is given to the warden of the borders, to see "good rule kept; as it is thought, that the Lidisdale men will ride safe now, that the Earl of "Bothwell is away, *for whose sake they abstained before.*" MS. Correspondence in the Paper Office.

(*a*) From Edinburgh, Randolph wrote to Cecil on the 22d of January 1562-3: "As soon as "he learned, that the ship, in which Bothwell had departed, was arrived, at Holyisland, he, by "advice of Murray, and Lethington, wrote the Queen's officers, at Berwick, to have him seized, "which was done: And, this, he had intimated to the Scotish queen: Murray, Argyle, Lethington, "and Pittarrow, intrigued with Randolph, to get him detained, in England: Queen Mary requested, "that he might be sent into Scotland. But, Randolph presses his being detained, in England, and "represents him to be *a determined enemy of England; despiteful out of measure*, false, and untrue, "as a devil; and that the godley of this nation [Scotland] hath cause to curse him for ever, for "his thievish act against the Laird of Ormistoun." MS. Correspondence in the Paper Office. Throughout this letter, Randolph shews his enmity to Bothwell; and asks pardon of Cecil, for writing so angrily.

(*b*) Keith, 248.

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both those queens (*a*): And, about the beginning of March 1564-5, he returned to Scotland, and found it difficult, within the southern shires, of which he was sheriff, to obtain a safe retreat (*b*). He was equally pursued, by the Scotish, and the English ministers (*c*). Bothwell still remained in Hermitage castle, at the end of March 1565, where he had a great following of Lidisdale men. By the queen's direction, however, he was obliged to enter into a recognizance to appear before the justice court, on the 4th of May, then ensuing. The Earl of Argyle, the justiciary, and the Earl of Murray, the minister, came into Edinburgh, about the 1st of May 1565, at the head of five thousand men, to hold the justice Ayre: Bothwell, being called, did not appear; and there-

(*a*) On the 4th of March, 1564-5, Randolph wrote to Cecil, that Murray, of Tullibardin, had come from Bothwell out of France, to sue for some favour; either liberty to return, or means to live there: They think him worthy of no favour, that *conspired to kill the Queen*, and those in credit about her. Keith, 269. This allusion is obviously to the frantick Arran's conspiracy. Randolph again wrote to Cecil, on the 15th of the same month: "The *Queen* [Mary] misliketh "*Bothwell's coming home*; and hath summoned him, to undergo the law, or be proclaimed a rebell; "He is charged to have spoken dishonourably of the Queen; and to have threatened to kill "Murray, and Lethington: David Pringle, one of Bothwell's servants, will verifie it." Keith, 270.

(*b*) On the 10th of March, 1564-5, the Earl of Bedford wrote to Cecil, that, "the Earl of "Murray doth sue very earnestly to put Bothwell to the horn," to an outlawry. MS. Correspondence in the Paper Office. On the same day, Bedford again wrote to Cecil: "Bothwell hath been "in divers places, at *Hadington, with his mother*, and elsewhere; and findeth no safety anywhere. "Murray followeth Bothwell, so earnestly, as he hath said, *Scotland shall not hold them both*: The "matter groweth upon great, and injurious words, spoken against the Earl of Murray, by Both-"well, in France, in the hearing of a gentleman, who hath reported the same to Murray." Id.

(*c*) On the 23d of March 1564-5, Bedford said to Cecil, "he would be glad to know the "Queen's pleasure, touching Bothwell, if he should come within his charge: for, except I be "otherwise commanded, *I mean to stay* him, *for so I am required to do, from the court of Scotland.*" Id. On the 24th of the same month, Bedford pressed Cecil, for orders, in respect to Bothwell, who, he feared, was secretly comforted by the Scotish Queen. Id. And, yet, on the 30th of the same month, Randolph wrote to Cecil, that, "Bothwell hath grievously *offended the Queen of Scots*, "by words spoken against the English Queen, and also against herself, calling *her the Cardinal's* "*hoore*; she hath *sworn unto me, upon her honour, that he shall never receive favour at her hands.*" Id. Cecil must have been distracted, between the contradictory reports of Bedford, and of Randolph, as to Bothwell, and the Scotish Queen, during March 1565: The fact probably was, as Randolph had stated above: Scarcely any woman, but must have hated the man, who had called her the *Cardinal's hoore*: I am unable to explain the meaning of that scandal. Bedford, at the same time, informed Cecil, that Bothwell, when in France, had threatened to kill him [Cecil]. Many of those stories from France must have been calumnies; as they seem too violent, for common life. Pringle, a servant of Bothwell, was quoted, as the author of those tales.

upon, his recognizance was forfeited, in the usual form (*d*). Bothwell feeling, that he had few friends, many enemies, and two governments to pursue him, for his *words*, and *deeds*, embarked, at North-Berwick, for foreign parts, during the last week of April 1565 (*e*). As Randolph, and Bedford, had now obtained their ends, by the expulsion of Bothwell, their pens, for some months, do not mention the object of their hate (*f*).

A new source of trouble was now ready to open. The queen, according to her duty, resolved to marry. Her purpose was opposed, by the Duke of Chatleherault, the heir presumptive to her crown, and by Murray, her bastard brother, and minister, and by all, who were connected with them, in interest, or in faction. They carried their opposition to the full length of open rebellion. And yet, the queen married her cousin, Darnley, to whom there could be no political objection, on the 29th of July 1565 (*g*). The queen now found it necessary, to conciliate many friends (*h*). The popularity, which attended the queen's marriage, seems to have crushed the rebellion, and expelled the rebellious chiefs (*i*). If we might credit a corrupt agent, we ought to believe, that *jars* soon arose, between the queen, and Darnley (*k*). Bothwell, in proportion to his natural power, from the possessions, and offices, which he held, from descent,

(*d*) Randolph's correspondence with Cecil, in the Paper Office. According to Randolph, there would have been a greater army, in Edinburgh, on that *law day*, if the Queen had not objected, and Bothwell's forfeiture would have been larger, if the Queen had not interposed. Much, however, must be deducted from the exaggerations of Randolph, who was corrupt, and malignant.

(*e*) Randolph, and Bedford's Correspondence in the Paper Office.

(*f*) On the 4th of July 1565, Randolph wrote to Cecil: "It is said, that *the Earl of Bothwell*, "and Lord Seton are sent for, which hath the appearance of truth, as they are fit men to serve, "in this world. It is wished, if they do arrive, in England, that they may be put in good surety, "for a time." Keith, 295.

(*g*) Birrel, 5; Keith, 307.

(*h*) On the 3d of August 1565, the Earls of *Bothwell*, and Sutherland, were, at this time, allowed to return to Scotland. Ib. 310. On the 6th of August, the Earl of Murray was denounced a rebel, and driven into England.

(*i*) On the 8th of October 1565, Randolph wrote to Cecil: This day, the Queen hath marched to Dunfries: Huntley, and Bothwell, are the new counsellors. Keith Apx. 165. On the 10th of the same month, Bothwell was present, in council, at Castlehill, on the road to Dunfries: He was one of the leaders of the army, under Darnley, the King. Ib. 115.

(*k*) On the 13th of October, in the same year, Randolph wrote to Cecil: *Jars* have already risen, between the Queen, and Darnley; she to have her will one way, and he another: He to have his father Lieutenant General; *and she to have Lord Bothwell.* MS. Correspond. in the Paper Office. The fact is, that they were both Lieutenant Generals; Lenox in the west, and Bothwell in the south. On the 22d of October 1565, at Edinburgh, the King and Queen issued a charge to the

descent, and to his services, acquired credit, with the queen, and Darnley (*l*). He attended the public councils; and he was employed as a commissioner, to settle disputes, on the borders; being lieutenant of the marches (*m*). At the ripe age of forty-one, Bothwell married Lady Jean Gordon, the sister of the Earl of Huntley, in the chapel of Holyroodhouse, on the 20th of February 1565-6 (*n*). This marriage, though the nuptial benediction had been given, by the lady's uncle, Gordon, the bishop of Galloway, was neither fruitful, nor fortunate.

We are now arrived at that singular event, in the Scotish history, the assassination of Rizzio, the queen's private secretary, in her own presence, on the 9th of March 1565-6 (*o*). The conspirators were conducted to this terrible deed, by Darnley, the queen's husband, who was aided by the Earl of Morton, the queen's chancellor, and Lethington, the queen's secretary! This conspiracy, which was followed, by lasting consequences, was numerously composed of very leading characters: And, it was chiefly formed, to prevent the meeting of parliament, which was intended, to attaint the expatriated Murray. It was

the wardens of the Marches, to prevent the emissaries of the rebels, who had fled into England, from disturbing the borders: And they commanded the Earl of Bothwell, *Lieutenant General of all the Marches*, to see the premises fulfilled. Keith's Apx. 116. Bothwell then lay, with a force on the west borders. In the meantime, the English wardens seem to have gained the Lidisdale men. Ib. 165; MS. Correspondence in the Paper Office.

(*l*) On the 31st of October 1565, Randolph wrote to Cecil: "My *Lord Bothwell*, for *his great* "*virtue*, doth now all, *next* to the Earl of Athol." MS. Correspond. in the Paper Office. The Earl of Athol, who, certainly, had great influence with the Queen, was John Stewart, the *third* Earl of Athol, a descendant of the *black Knight of Lorn*, by Jean Beaufort, the widowed Queen of James I. Crawford's Peer. 25.

(*m*) On the 29th of January 1565-6, Randolph wrote to Cecil: "The Scotish Queen had ap- "pointed the Earl of Bothwell, and the Laird of Cessford [the warden of the middle marches] to "meet the Earl of Bedford, and Sir John Forster, to settle matters in debate, between the two "realms. Randolph told the Queen, that *Bothwell was a person hated by the English Queen*; and "known not to incline to peace; so if bad consequences followed on her choice, she had herself "to blame; She answered, that she could also make exceptions against Bedford; and so would not "name another person, in the place of Bothwell." Keith's Apx. 166. Bothwell, and Ker, the Scots commissioners, could not be more corrupt, and insidious, than Bedford, and Forster; as their correspondence evinces; and their actions, on the borders, demonstrate. On the 8th of February 1566, Bedford wrote to Cecil that, "He despairs of justice on the borders, while Bothwell is "warden [Lieutenant] who neither fears God, nor loves justice." Ib. 167. On the 6th of April 1565, Bedford had already written to Cecil: "I assure you, Bothwell *is as naughty a man as liveth*, "*and much given to that vile, and detestable vice of sodomy*." MS. Correspondence, in the Paper Office. The reader turns away, from such representations, as too much exaggerated for belief.

(*n*) Keith. (*o*) Birrel, 5; Keith, 332

barbarously executed, with complete success: That attainder was prevented; Murray was restored to his power of mischief-making; and Morton, who had remained with Mary, during Murray's rebellion, for the purpose of betraying her, was now obliged, in his turn, to seek the same protection, from Elizabeth, which she had given to Murray. Mary's friends, Huntly, and *Bothwell*, Athol, and Fleming, Livingston, and others, who then lodged, in the palace of Holyrood, hardly escaped, from the spears of the conspirators (*o*). On the subsequent night, the queen persuaded Darnley, to flee with her to the castle of Dunbar, where she was soon surrounded by her faithful nobles: Among them was *Bothwell*, who had the keeping of this unsuspicious strength (*p*). They soon returned, in a sort of triumph, to Edinburgh. And here did Bothwell concur with other nobles, in advising their insulted sovereign to reside in Edinburgh castle, as the safest shelter, for a pregnant queen (*q*). In this secure retreat, she was delivered of her son, James, on the 19th of June 1566 (*r*). After a while, the queen went along the Forth to Alloa, for the benefit of air, accompanied by the Earl of Mar, the owner of Alloa, by Murray, and by Bothwell, *as great admiral* of Scotland (*s*). Here, she received to her presence her secretary Lethington, which was another name for talents, and treachery: And he was the first of the assassins of Rizzio, whom she pardoned, at the instance of Athol, *though much against the inclination of Bothwell* (*t*). From Alloa, the seat of Mar's hospitality, the king departed for Tweedale, in August 1566, to enjoy the amusement of the chase, attended by Huntly, Murray, Bothwell, and other nobles; but, the guilty thoughts of Darnley still accompanied him, and the public contempt constantly remembered him of his shame. From the sports of

(*o*) Keith, 332. (*p*) Ib. 333; Apx. 130.

(*q*) Ib. 335. She now sent for Argyle, and Murray, whom she reconciled to Huntley, Bothwell, and Athol. Ib. 336; Holinshed.

(*r*) Birrel, 5; Keith, 338: The Earls of Argyle, Athol, Murray, and Mar, had remained with her, in the castle, as her counsellors; and Huntley, and *Bothwell*, lodged, in the city. Id.

(*s*) Ib. 345.

(*t*) Id. Morton, and Lindsay, were afterwards pardoned, at the request of Huntley, and *Bothwell*. Ib. 334. On the 2d of August 1566, Bedford wrote to Cecil, that, "Lethington's "peace is to be made with his sovereign: The Lords Maxwell, and Bothwell, are now enemies: "Bothwell is generally hated; and is more insolent than even David Rizzio was." Keith Apx. 169. On the subsequent day, Bedford wrote to Cecil, that, "Queen Mary meaneth shortly to go against "Cessford, &c. and keep a justice court at Jedburgh. Bothwell shall come in with forces." Id. On the 9th of the same month, Bedford again wrote to Cecil that, "Bothwell is still in "favour, and has a great hand, in the management of affairs." Id.

Tweedale,

Tweedale, they returned to the business of Edinburgh (*u*); and thence proceeded to enjoy the agreeable scenes of Stirling, where they might see the prince. The queen, and her court, soon after, proceeded to Jedburgh, to hold justice ayre, on the borders. Bothwell, as lieutenant of the marches, was sent forward to Lidisdale, the chief seat of outrage, to enforce obedience, and to arrest the criminals. But, the people of Lidisdale had been gained by Forster, the English warden: And, the authority of the lieutenant was defied, and Bothwell was fiercely attacked, and severely wounded (*x*). The queen, who was then superintending, according to her duty, the justice ayre, at Jedburgh; and hearing of that outrage on her lieutenant, immediately rode to Hermitage castle, to visit him; but returned the same day, to pursue her juridical business. Yet, her fatigue, perhaps, her anxieties, brought on a violent fever, which long continued to threaten her life (*y*). Her youth, and constitution, saved her, though her physician, Naw, is praised for his skill, and care. The court remained, at Jedburgh, till the end of October (*z*). The queen now made a tour through *the Merse;* threw her curious eyes on Berwick, from Halydon-hill; reposed at Dunbar; and arrived, about the 20th of October, at Craigmiller, near Edinburgh. Here, she remained, till her removal to Stirling, to attend the long-expected baptism of her son, on the 15th of December 1566. Throughout those various scenes, Darnley seems to have been oppressed, by his compunctions of conscience, and to have retired, from the head of that govern-

(*u*) On the 17th of September 1566, Bothwell was present in council, at Edinburgh. Keith, 351. He was there also present, in the great council, which gave a supply of £12,000, for defraying the expence of the prince's baptism. Ib. 359.

(*x*) On the 8th of October 1566, James, Earl Bothwell, saith Birrel, p. 5, "was deidly "wounded by John *Elette*, alias Johne of the Park, whose head was sent into Edinburgh, there-"after." There were intimations, throughout the foregoing months, of some purpose to assassinate Bothwell: It is stated in a letter, from Alwick, of the 3d of April 1566, that one of Bothwell's servants confessed, that he, and four more of his fellow-servants, had conspired to murder Bothwell; and that Lethington had engaged them, in that design. The other servants, upon examination, confessed the same. Keith Apx. 167. The connection of this previous design, with the subsequent stroke, is not quite obvious: But, any murderous purpose, from the fruitful contrivance of the queen's secretary, was very probable.

(*y*) On the 25th of October 1566, [seventeen days after the event] word came to Edinburgh, saith Birrel, 6, "that her Majestie was deadlie sicke; and desired the bells to be rung, and the "people to resort to the kirk, to pray for her." Keith, 351; Apx. 133-36. Hermitage castle is about twenty statute miles from Jedburgh, as measured on the maps; so the queen, in one day, rode about forty miles, through a rugged country.

(*z*) On the 27th of October, the bishop of Ross wrote, from Jedburgh, to archbishop Beaton, at Paris, "My Lord Bothwell is heir, wha convalescis well of his wounds." Keith's Apx. 136.

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ment, where he had been unworthily placed. His weakness did not permit him to know that he, who forsakes the world, will be forgotten by the world.

Of the estrangement, there were busy, and powerful men, who turned it to their advantage, and his ruin. Murray, and Lethington, in order to procure the pardon of Morton, for the murder of Rizzio, conceived the design of procuring the divorce of Darnley from the queen. While Mary remained quietly, at Craigmiller, with her court, Murray, and Lethington, proposed their double project to Argyll, and Huntley, and to *Bothwell*. The acquiescence of these powerful nobles being thus obtained, Murray, and Lethington, Argyle, and Huntley, and *Bothwell*, made a formal proposal of divorcing the queen from Darnley, if she would pardon Morton, and the other assassins of Rizzio. They were less successful, than they could have easily expected. After many arguments, for enforcing such dangerous projects, the queen declined to assent; fearing for her own honour, and her son's succession (*a*). Bothwell seemed eager for the divorce; quoting the example of his own succession, though his father, and mother, had been divorsed. Happy! had they obeyed the queen's command, to do nothing, in this matter; lest, in their endeavours, her honour might be spotted; lest, in attempting to do her service, they might do her injury (*b*). The project of a divorce seems not to have been revived. But, Murray, Lethington, and *Bothwell*, appear to have continued the most odious designs, though without the queen's knowledge (*c*). As Morton had obtained the restoration of Murray, though by the most odious deed; so Murray was never at rest, till he had obtained the pardon of Morton. During the hilarities of the prince's baptism, the queen, probably, agreed to restore Morton, rather

(*a*) See the Protest of Argyle, and Huntley, in Anderson's Col. iv; Keith's Apx. 137; Spots. Hist. 197; Goodal, ii. 316. Murray, by attempting to answer this protestation of the justice general, and chancellor, of Scotland, only confirmed their representations. See Murray's Answer, subjoined to their Protestation, in the works quoted above. They stated facts, in detail: He denied them, in the general: and thereby, virtually, admitted their truth.

(*b*) Id.

(*c*) The Earls of Argyle, and Huntly, who saw the passing scene, were of that judgement: For, they went on, in their protestation, to say: "So, after the premises, the murther of the said "Henry Stewart [Darnley] following, we judge in our consciences, and hold for certain, that the "said Earl of Murray, and Secretary Lethington, were authors, inventors, devisers, counsellors, "and causers of the said murder, in what manner, or by whatsomever persons, the same was exe-"cuted." See as above, Anderson's Col. iv; Keith's Apx. 137; Goodal, ii. 320. It is curious to remark, that Lethington was convicted, for the murder of Darnley; that Bothwell was acquitted, though he was guilty; and that Murray has been always suspected, and charged, with the same crime.

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than be persecuted, by constant solicitation. He was certainly pardoned, before the 30th of December 1566 (*d*). Neither Darnley, nor Bothwell, seem to have attended the prince's baptism. The king, and queen, kept their Christmas, at Stirling. On the 27th of December, Darnley went to visit his father, at Glasgow, where he was soon taken ill of the small-pox (*e*). And, on the 28th of December, she began to make various excursions, for the amusements of the country (*f*). Before she set out, she had heard of the king's sickness; and had sent her physician to attend him. On the 13th of January 1566-7, the queen, and prince, returned from Stirling, to Edinburgh (*g*). At the end of a week, she went to Glasgow, where she continued, with her husband, till he was able to travel (*h*): She then went to Glasgow, from Edinburgh, on the 20th of January;

(*d*) On that day, Bedford, who had come to represent Elizabeth, at the prince's baptism, wrote to Cecil, from Fife: "I have now been 6 or 8 days at St. Andrews, and other places of Fife, "with my Lord of Murray, who hath himself, and by his friends, used me with much honour, "great cheer, and courteous entertainment. The Queen *hath now* granted to the Earl of Morton, "the Lords Ruthven, and Lindsay, [the assassins of Rizzio] their pardon, and restoration. The "Earl of Murray hath done very friendly towards the Queen for them; so have I, *according to* "*your advice*: The Earls *Bothwell*, and Athol, and all the other lords, helped therein, or else it "would not so soon have been gotten." MS. Correspondence in the Paper Office. The pardon was signed the 25th of December 1566. On the 9th of January 1566-7, Bedford again wrote to Cecil, from Berwick: "The Earl of Morton having now obtained his pardon, doth think himself "much beholden to you, for your favour, and goodwill therein. There were some, that thought "to hinder the same; but, his friends stuck so to it, on his behalf, as prevailed therein. In the "which, the Earl of *Bothwell*, like a very friend, joined with my Lord of Murray, so did Athol, "and others." Id. Bedford remained, in Scotland, from the 10th of December, to the 6th of January 1567-8. Birrel, 6.

(*e*) Goodal, i. 321.

(*f*) Ib. 322. On the 28th of December, she went to Drymen, near Lochlomond. On the 29th she returned to Stirling, where she remained, on the 30th. On the 31st she went to Tullibarden, where she conferred a benefice on Adam Murray, a servant of Bothwell. And, on the 1st of January 1566-7, she returned to Stirling, where she remained till the 13th, that she set out, for Edinburgh. Id. Keith, 363.

(*g*) Birrel, 6; "At which time, he adds, K. Henry was lying sick, in Glasgow, of the *small* "*pocks*; but, some said, he had gotten poison." Bedford wrote, from Berwick, to Cecil, on the 9th of January 1566-7: "The king is now, at Glasgow, with his father; and there lyeth full of "*the small pocks, to whom the Queen hath sent her physician.*" MS. Correspondence in the Paper Office. Keith, 364, seems unable to ascertain the nature of the disease, which afflicted Darnley. Upon such a point, Bedford's letter is, surely, decisive of *the fact*. The story of poison was merely the fabrication of party.

(*h*) "On the 20th of January the Queen departed out of Edinburgh to Glasgow, to visit the "King," saith Birrel, Diary, 6. On the 31st of January 1566-7, he adds, "the King, and "Queen, came to Edinburgh, out of Glasgow; the King being carried, in a chariot; and took his

January; and brought the king with her to Edinburgh, on the 31st of the same month. When we view the conduct of the queen, from the evidence of facts, disregarding the misrepresentations of calumny, it appears perfectly natural. The wife, in general, adheres to the husband, while there is any hope: And we shall find that, unconscious of the designs of others, she adhered to Darnley, disgusted as she was, with his guilt, and follies, till within a few hours of his assassination.

From the attempt of Lethington, and Murray, at Craigmiller, to obtain the queen's assent to the divorce of her husband, which was zealously pursued by Bothwell, we see little of him, in the original documents, till the death of Darnley. He did not appear, at the prince's christening, as he knew Bedford, the representative of Elizabeth, was his enemy. Bothwell certainly must have appeared, at court, in the meantime, as we know from Bedford's letters, which show, that he concurred with others, as *a very friend*, in procuring Morton's restoration, before the end of December 1566 (*i*). Morton returned to Scotland, in the first week of the subsequent January (*k*). And Bothwell soon after met him

"his lodging in the kirk of field." Id. Cecil's Diary makes the Queen depart, from Edinburgh, for Glasgow, on the 21st of January; to have arrived there, on the 23d; to have departed from Glasgow, with the king, on the 27th of January, for [illegible]nder house, on their way to Edinburgh; to have departed thence for Linlithgow, on the 28th, where they remained on the 29th; and to have set out, on the morrow, and arrived, at Edinburgh on the 30th of January 1566-7. Keith, 364. This Diary of Cecil was plainly compiled, by him, from that despicable fabrication, which Whitaker calls the *Rebel Journal*. Vindication, i. 411: and Apx. x. Birrel is by far the best authority. The hand of Cecil is always to be regarded, with a suspicious eye.

(*i*) Upon Christmas eve, the pardon was granted to the Earl of Morton, and *seventy-five* of his accomplices, for making the Queen a prisoner, and slaying Rizzio. Goodal, i. 321. The pardon seems to have been sealed, on the morrow.

(*k*) Birrel, 6: That Bothwell, and Morton, had friendly communications, during that week, is certain: For, he confessed, on *the scaffold*, being cross-questioned, by the attendant ministers, Dury, and Balcanquhal, "that the first after my returning out of England, when I was banished, "for Davies slaughter, I came out of *Wedderburn* to Whittingham, where the Earl of Bothwell, "and I met together; and in the yard of Whittingham, after long communing, the Earl of Both-"well proposed to me the purpose of the King's murther; requiring what would be my part "thereinto, seeing it was the Queen's mind, that the King should be taken away; because, as he "said, she blamed the King more of Davies slaughter, than me: My answer to the Earl of Both-"well was this; that I would, in no wise, meddle with that matter; because I am but newly come "out of great trouble, whereof as yet I am not ridd.——After this answer, Mr. Archibald Douglas, "[who, like Bothwell was tried, for the King's murder, and collusively acquitted] entered in "conference with me, in that purpose; persuading me to agree to the Earl of Bothwell. Last of "all, the Earl of Bothwell, yet being in Whittingham, earnestly proposed the said matter to me "again; persuading me thereunto; because he knew the Queen's mind, and she would have it to "be

him at Whittingham, in East-Lothian, about five miles, southward, of Hadington, for concerting the murder of Darnley. From the mouth of the dying Morton, we have heard the conversation, which passed between them: The whole turned upon the murder of Darnley, who then lay sick of the small-pox, at Glasgow, attended by the queen's physician; the queen being then at Stirling. While the queen was thus solicitous for the king's safety, Bothwell told Morton that she desired his death: Yet, when Morton, with his usual cunning, asked some written proof of the queen's will, he had not a single scrap of a letter, or sonnet, or promise of marriage, at that memorable meeting: And, we also discover, from that conversation, that a month, afterward, at the eve of the murder, that he had not even then any of the queen's writings, as a proof to Morton of her purpose. In the fabricated journal of Moray, we see Bothwell, on the 21st of

" be done. Unto this, my answer was; I desired the Earl of Bothwell, to bring the Queen's *hand* " *write* to me, of that matter, for a warrant, otherwise I would not meddle therewith: The which " warrant, he never reported unto me."——Morton afterward added: " I being in St. Andrews, " to visit the Earl of Angus, *a little before the murther*, Mr. Archibald Douglas came to me there, " both with *write*, and credit, of the Earl of Bothwell, shewing unto me, that that purpose, con- " cerning the King's murther, was to be done, and near a point, and to require my concurrence, and " assistance thereunto. My answer was to him, that I give no answer to that purpose; *seeing I* " *had not gotten the Queen's warrant in write*, which was promised unto me; and, therefore, seeing " the Earl of Bothwell never reported any warrant of the Queen, I meddled never further with it." See *Morton's Confession*, in Bannatyne's Journal, 494-6. The whole scene of this solemn narrative of Morton, on the scaffold, extended from the first week, in January 1566-7, to the first week of the subsequent February: And, during this anxious period, Bothwell had not, in his power, *any writing* of the Queen, whether *letter*, *sonnet*, *contract of marriage*, or *other document*, which he could produce to Morton, as the Queen's warrant, either virtual, or positive, for engaging Morton's concurrence. Now, several of the Queen's supposed letters to Bothwell, appear to have been written, from Glasgow, on the 24th, and 26th of January, within that period. Whitaker's Vindication, i. 415. The Queen's supposititious promise of marriage to Bothwell was written according to Buchanan's *Detection of Mary's Doings*, " *befoir* the *deith* of her husband." Goodall, ii. 54. And, yet, Bothwell had not, in that period, any writing of the Queen, which could be shewn to Morton, as an evidence of her assent to the murder of her husband: Here, then, is a plain demonstration of the subsequent forgery of those supposed *letters*, *sonnets*, and *spousals*, which the same Morton pretended to have found, in a gilt box, belonging to Bothwell, on the 20th of June 1567: But, Morton knew, from the inability of Bothwell, to produce any of the Queen's writing, that there could be no such writings found: Here, again, is a proof of the *fiction*, which pretends, that such letters were found. We have seen above, with what firmness the Queen rejected the insidious proposal of Lethington, and Murray, for her divorce from Darnley: We have perceived, in Bedford's letter, who was not her friend, that as soon as she heard of her husband's sickness, she had sent her own physician to attend him: And, we have also seen her travel, in the depth of winter, to visit him, at Glasgow. We now pereceive, in that dying confession, the daring of Bothwell, and the cunning of Morton, and a new vindication of Mary.

January, convoy the queen from Edinburgh to Kalendar, with Huntley; on the 23d of the same month, he returned to Edinburgh; on the 24th he was very busy, in visiting the king's intended longing, at Kirk-o'-field, and went the same day to Lidisdale; on the 28th he returned from Lidisdale to Edinburgh; on the 29th the queen remained, at Linlithgow, with the king, and wrote from thence to Bothwell; and on the 30th of the same month, he met the queen, and king, on the road, and convoyed them safely to the place appointed, for the murder of the devoted Darnley (*l*). Yet, of this fabrication, the dates are mistaken, and the statements are false. It is not easy, however, to ascertain, from any genuine document, how Bothwell employed himself, during the dreadful period, from the conception to the execution of the murder. He was plainly occupied, in gaining supporters, and preparing instruments, who were too circumspect to reveal, what would have disappointed their hopes: Murray, and Lethington, were in the secret (*m*); Morton knew it, from the communication of Bothwell, yet did not reveal the conspiracy, which he had an interest to conceal: And, the queen's principal ministers were all acquainted with that odious purpose; yet, did they not reveal it to their mistress, nor to any magistrate (*n*). The queen spent the evening of the 9th of February, in the lodging of the convalescent Darnley; and, at 12 o'clock, she departed to a masque; kissing him, when she left him; and taking a ring from her finger, which she put upon his (*o*). Two hours, after her departure, Darnley was strangled; and the house, wherein he lay, was blown up. It would require *proofs of holy writ*, to satisfy any fair mind, that a queen, a wife, or a woman, knowing that her husband was destined to the bowstring, could amuse herself with him, till within two hours of the sad catastrophe; could kiss him, at parting; could exchange a ring with him, as an emblem of their connection, without feeling the compunctious visitings of conscience (*p*).

James

(*l*) See that journal in Whitaker's Vindication, iii. Apx. x., which was obviously fabricated, for the purposes of deception; and see it in Tytler, ii. 400.

(*m*) Keith, 365: Tytler, ii. 46-9.

(*n*) Lethington, her secretary of state, was, afterward, convicted of *knowing*, and *concealing* this plot; and would have been executed, if he had not taken poison.

(*o*) Those instructive facts are attested, in Anderson's Col. ii. 72; Jebb. i. 262; Keith, 364; Tytler, ii. 80.

(*p*) We have already seen, how firmly the same queen resisted the importunities of her ministers, and nobles, when they applied to her, for her assent to a divorce from Darnley; because she feared, it would spot her own conscience; and endanger her son's succession. She sent her physician, to attend her husband, during his sickness. And, she brought him with her from Glasgow to Edinburgh,

James, Earl of Bothwell, was certainly the principal conspirator, and was undoubtedly present, at the murder of Darnley (*q*). It was from the epoc[illegible] of the projected divorce of Mary from Darnley, that the profligate ambition [illegible] Bothwell had adopted the odious design of murdering Darnley. The leading men of the state had been completely disappointed, in their interested plans, when the queen firmly rejected the proposal of her divorce; and put her trust in providence, for the amendment of her wayward mate. They changed their plan, but not their purpose, of destroying Darnley, the object of their hatred (*r*). Suspicion soon accused Bothwell, and his associates; as his enemies knew his secret: And presumption equally mentioned Murray, and Morton, and Lethington, as his coadjutors, in the same deed; as their principles, and practices,

burgh, in the spirit of reconcilement; since, without conciliation, he would not have left his father's house, to accompany her to Edinburgh. But, is there no proof of any insidiousness, on her side? There is none. Is there no evidence to repel the improbability, that such a wife, and such a queen, would consent to the murder of her husband? After the inquiries of two centuries, and a quarter, there is no proof, that she assented to the murder, or knew of any such purpose. Bothwell, indeed, assured Morton, that the queen desired the murder of her husband: But, when Morton asked Bothwell, to shew him some writing of the queen's, which would testify her desire; Bothwell was unable, throughout the whole month, that preceded the murder of Darnley, to show a single scrap of writing to that effect: This inability proves also, that though Bothwell could *lie*, he could not *forge*, during a period, when *forgery was so frequent*. Now, the improbability, that any wife, that such a wife, would assent, in any manner, to the murder of her husband, must remain, till proof be brought to over-rule such improbability. Whoever believes, that Mary Stewart had any previous knowledge of the purpose, to assassinate her husband, Darnley, must believe so, without evidence: And, when I say this, I mean to add, that the *letters, sonnets, contracts of marriage*, which Morton, who was capable of any villainy, pretended to have found, in Bothwell's box, some months afterward, were forgeries; as Morton must have known, from the previous inability of Bothwell, to produce such writings, when he so much wanted them.

(*q*) See the Confessions of Hay, and Hepburn, &c. in Anderson's Col ii. 177-83; Keith, 364-5.

(*r*) The great object of the murder of Rizzio was the restoration of the Earl of Murray, who was an expatriated rebel. Lethington, and Morton, had deluded Darnley, to be the principal conspirator against the wretched Rizzio. Murray was restored by his murder. But, Lethington, Morton, and others, were obliged to shelter themselves under the wing of Elizabeth. Darnley, in a compunctious moment, disavowed, in a public declaration, his participation, though it had been open, in the murder of Rizzio. And for this disavowal, Murray, Morton, Lethington, and their friends, never forgave Darnley: But, his injured wife forgave him! In those intimations, then, we see the motives, for their proposing the divorce of Darnley: In those intimations, also, the projected divorce being rejected, by the queen, we may trace the design on Darnley's life, which was known to all those parties, except the queen, and Darnley. And, Murray, Morton, and Lethington, made Bothwell their instrument, by inflaming his vaulting ambition, which overleaped itself: Murray, Morton, and Lethington were, meantime, aware, "come what, come may," they could convert it to their several designs.

were equally known to those, who hated them (*s*). Amidst those terrible scenes, the unhappy queen took refuge in Edinburgh castle. Two days after, the government offered a reward, for the discovery of the murderers: Yet, Murray, and Morton, and Lethington, and other leading men, were acquainted with the murderers; and the offering of such a reward was only a part of the concerted plan, which they were thus carrying into effect. The night after, placards were affixed to the public places of Edinburgh, accusing Bothwell, who was guilty, and others, who were innocent. The queen was advised, by her privy council, and physicians, to retire from the castle of Edinburgh, to the more salubrious air of Seton: Here, she remained till the 10th of March, when she returned to Edinburgh (*t*). Trusting to his protectors, Bothwell remained, at Edinburgh, without emotion, though the accusations against him became more frequent, and more loud. Lennox, the father of Darnley, awowed himself, as his accuser (*u*). And, on the 28th of March 1567, the privy council directed him, and his associates, to be tried for the murder, on the 12th of the subsequent April (*x*). The same faction, which had pushed him on such dangerous purposes, now interposed, by intrigue, and influence, to obtain his acquittal. Every circumstance concurs to evince, that this trial was collusive. And, every fact testifies, that Bothwell could not have been so tried, and acquitted, if he had not been protected, by the most powerful faction, in the state (*y*). But, it is not true, as hath been often asserted, from that age to the present, that the acquittal of Bothwell was confirmed, by parliament (*z*).

The parliament assembled, at Edinburgh, on the 14th of April, two days after that acquittal; and Bothwell was one of the commissioners, who met the

(*s*) Keith, 365; Tytler, ii. 94-6: Murray retired, from the scene to Fife, the day before the murder; and it is remarked of him, that he always went out of the way, when some great event was to take place, from which he was to obtain some important object.

(*t*) Keith, 368-9-374. (*u*) Ib. 369-73.

(*x*) Ib. 373; Tytler, ii. 96-7, has given a very useful detail of the officers of state, at that interesting moment, which evinces, that they were all of Murray's faction, rather than the queen's servants.

(*y*) Keith, 375-6-7. Three days before the appointed trial, on the 12th of April 1567, the Earl of Murray set off for France, without any known business, though his presence, at such a moment, would have been of the greatest use to his queen, and country: But, he, no doubt, knew that his associates were working on a political plan, which would degrade her, and elevate him. The four assessors to the justice general, Pitcairn, Lindsay, MacGill, and Balnaves, were all his particular friends. Ib. 375. Morton, the most powerful person, next to Murray, in Scotland, who knew the guilt of Bothwell, as we have seen, stood by Bothwell, during the trial, and contributed to his defence, as it is said. Ib. 374.

(*z*) Anderson's Col. i. 122; and the Parl. Rec. 753-4.

Estates.

Estates. It was, indeed, his duty, to attend the opening of that assembly, as sheriff of Edinburghshire. But, he had the audacity, which was not unprecedented, in the parliamentary proceedings of Scotland, to carry the sword before the queen, when she came to parliament in person (*a*). He was perfectly assiduous in his parliamentary attendance (*b*). On the 19th of April, when the parliament rose, various ratifications were, as usual, made to different persons. The Earl of Murray, though absent, obtained a ratification of his lands, and earldom (*c*). The Earl of Morton obtained a confirmation of his lands, with those of the Earl of Angus, his relation. The Earl of Huntley's forfeiture was reversed. And, Bothwell obtained a ratification of his lands, and offices, both hereditary, and acquired (*d*).

On the morrow, after the rising of parliament, a still more extraordinary scene was exhibited. Many bishops, and nobles, signed a bond, in favour of Bothwell (*e*); approving of his acquittal; recommending him, as a proper husband, for the widowed queen, though he had then a wife; and pledging their assistance, in defending such a marriage (*f*). On the 21st of April 1567, the queen repaired to Stirling, for the natural purpose of visiting her only son: And, returning on the 24th, she was intercepted, at Almon bridge, near Linlithgow, and carried to Dunbar, by Bothwell, who, with his usual audacity, had determined to enjoy her person, even before the projected marriage, or his own divorce (*g*).

A double

(*a*) Keith, 378. (*b*) Parl. Rec. 749-50-51.

(*c*) Parl. Rec. 752; Anderson's Col. ii; Keith, 379.

(*d*) Parl. Rec. 753-4. But, it ought to be remembered, in opposition to the well-meaning of Keith, and the prejudice of Robertson, that Bothwell possessed almost the whole, by descent, from his father: He enjoyed, from his father, hereditarily, the offices of great admiral of Scotland, of sheriff of Edinburgh, Hadington, Berwick, and baillie of Lauderdale. He was made lieutenant of the Borders, in 1559, by the queen regent. He probably obtained, from Mary Stewart, the keeping of her castle of Dunbar, with some lands about it, which his fathers had kept before him. He was also entrusted with the keeping of the castle of Edinburgh. What else he acquired, from her, is scarcely worth the recital.

(*e*) The real date of the genuine bond was the 20th of April 1567, and not the 19th, as the fabricated journal asserts. Tytler, ii. 143.

(*f*) Keith, 380-3. Murray is said to have signed that scandalous writing, though he had departed to France, some days before. This bond was undoubtedly an essential part of the plan, which he had lately approved. Morton, who was the chief manager of this project, and who knew the guilt of Bothwell, also signed that disgraceful deed. Without his signature, few would have signed it, and without his concurrence, the odious plan of ruining Bothwell, and Mary, would have been altogether incomplete.

(*g*) Keith, 383; Melvil's Mem. 1st Ed. 79: "Shortly after, says this memoir writer, her "Majesty went to Stirling; and in her back coming, betwixt Lithgow and Edinburgh, the Earl

"of

A double process of divorce was soon after begun; one suit, by Lady Bothwell, against her husband; and another, by James, Earl Bothwell, against his wife; she complaining of *adultery;* and he of *consanguinity* (*b*): And, the divorce was concluded, in favour of the wife against the husband, on the 3d of May, and that in favour of the husband against his wife, on the 6th of May 1567. Bothwell now brought the queen to the castle of Edinburgh, from Dunbar. The banns of marriage were ordered to be published in the church of Edinburgh; but, this useful ceremony was resisted by the scrupulous minister, though at some personal risque. On the 12th of May, the queen came into the Court of Session, to satisfy the Judges of her freedom; to avow her displeasure at the seizure of

" of Bothwell rencountered her, with a great company, and took her majesty's horse by the bridle; " his men took the Earl of Huntley, the secretary Lidington, and *me*; and carried us captives to " Dunbar: All the rest were permitted to go free. There the Earl of Bothwell boasted he would " marry the queen, who would, or who would not; yea, whether she would herself or not. " Captain Blackater, who had taken me, alledged, that it was with the queen's consent."—— " And then, the queen could not but marry him; seeing that he had ravished her, and lain with " her against her will." Melvill, like other men, who write from memory, and not from document, speaks of the bond, which the bishops, and nobles, had signed, recommending Bothwell, as a proper husband for the queen, as having been made, *after* the queen's return, with Bothwell, to Edinburgh. But, that odious bond, was signed, as we have seen, on the 20th of April; on the 21st the queen rode to Stirling, to visit the prince; and upon the 24th of April 1567, her Majesty, saith Birrel, coming back from Stirling, to Edinburgh, at the bridge of Craumont, the Earl of Bothwell being well accompanied, ravished the queen, and so took her, the same night, to the castle of Dunbar, (*not against her own will*) he adds. Birrel's Diary, 8-9. We thus perceive, that Bothwell, as he had told Morton, that the queen assented to the murder of her husband, now gave out, as effective to his purpose, that she had equally assented to her own dishonour.

(*b*) It is not easy to ascertain the true epoch of this double process. There is a document, which has been already mentioned; and which is published in Tytler, ii. 401, from the Hamilton Archives, being proofs taken, in the chamber of the commendator of Lindores, at Edinburgh, on the 21st of February 1565, to show the *consanguinity* between Bothwell and his wife. That ingenious inquirer did not see, that the year 1565 must be mistaken, for 1567, as Bothwell, and Lady Jean Gordon, were only married, on the 20th of February 1565-6. Now, if the date, in the process above-mentioned, really was the 21st of February 1567, this would prove, that the process had been begun, soon after the murder of Darnley. The fabricated journal of Murray, and Cecil, states the commencement of the process, on the 26th of April: But, such a journal is not to be at all believed. And, Whitaker endeavours to carry back the commencement of the suit to the 5th of April preceding, on the authority of that fabrication. Vindication, iii. 350. There is an account of that famous divorce, published by Robertson, ii. 438. from a MS. belonging to Mr. David Falkener, which states the commencement of the trial on the 29th of April 1567; and the judgement, in favour of Lady Bothwell, on the 3d of May. But, the judgement, in favour of Earl Bothwell against his wife, was not given till the 6th of May. This MS. account casts discredit on the document, from the Hamilton Archives, and also on the fabricated journal.

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her person; and to pardon Bothwell, and his accomplices, for carrying her forcibly to Dunbar (*i*). We thus see the unfortunate queen, acting from the sad circumstances, in which she was placed, by artifices, and violences, that she could not prevent. She created Bothwell, in addition to all other titles, and offices, Duke of Orkney (*k*); as if such a creation could acquit him of criminality, or add to his dignity, in the suspicious eyes of her people. On the 14th of May 1567, she entered into a real contract of marriage with the newly created duke, which was recorded on the same day (*l*). On the 15th of May 1567, their inauspicious marriage was solemnized: And, the design, which had been so artfully laid, and steadily pursued, for the ruin of the queen, and Bothwell, and for the elevation of Murray, was, by the same ceremony, consummated (*m*). Bothwell, in vain, tried to give a character of vigour to his administration (*n*). The same faction, with Morton, at its head, which had conducted him, step by step, to his fate, raised the standard of insurrection against his power. And a month of feverish measures, which showed him the vanity of resistance, separated Bothwell, from the queen, for ever (*o*). He found shelter, in Dunbar, the scene of his baseness; he was allowed a dozen days to depart thence, for the Orkney isles; and, being pursued, in his voyage, he raised his flying sail, for the Danish shores (*p*). He was here seized. And, in the prisons of Denmark, did he prolong a wretched life, till 1576, when he died, in the castle of Malmay (*q*). In the meantime, various instances were made, by the Scotish, and the English governments, to deliver Bothwell to justice: But,

(*i*) Keith, 385; Anderson's Col. i. 87. (*k*) Keith, 385; Goodal, ii. 57.

(*l*) Goodal, ii. 57-61. That genuine contract of marriage was lately printed, in Carmichael's Tracts, 131, from an original copy, in the archives of Mr. Baron Hepburn. A fictitious contract of marriage, dated the 5th of April 1567, before the divorce, which seems to have been fabricated, from the recorded contract, was produced by Murray to Elizabeth, and Cecil. See it, in Goodall, ii. 54. It was produced, for the obvious purpose of defamation. He laid before the approving eyes of Elizabeth, and Cecil, at the same time, a promise of marriage, by Mary, which was said to be dated even *before* the murder of Darnley. See it in Goodal, as above. This is the promise of marriage to Bothwell, which has been already mentioned, as not in his possession, before the murder of Darnley; and consequently, must be a forgery. The production, in evidence, by the Earl of Murray, of such a mass of fabrications, evinces, that he was, as base, in his practice, as he was base, in his birth.

(*m*) Keith, 586. At that grand epoch of their lives, Mary was of age, four-and-twenty, and Bothwell was *forty-two*, not forty-four, as Tytler says, on further inquiry. Tytler, ii. 150-5.

(*n*) Ib. 387.

(*o*) On the 15th of May they were married; and on the 15th of June, Bothwell fled, from Carberry-hill, never to see the queen again. Keith, 386-401.

(*p*) Ib. 408. (*q*) Keith, Apx. 141-5.

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the Danish king found satisfactory reasons, for declining to comply with their anxious desires (*r*). The dying declaration, which Bothwell is said to have made, before the privy councillors of Denmark, is plainly resigned to general reprobation (*s*). He is supposed to have left, in the castle of Edinburgh, when he retired before insurgency, *love letters*, *sonnets*, and *marriage-contracts*, which were found on Dalgleish his servant, by the Earl of Morton; and which have been tossed in controversy, during two centuries and a half. When Dalgleish was examined upon his oath, concerning the murder of Darnley, he said not a word of those doubtful documents (*t*). Morton, indeed, declared, that he had found those documents, in the charge of Dalgleish, on the 20th of June 1567, on his way with them to the absconding Bothwell. But, Morton, who thus came forward, as the discoverer of this famous casket, and the revealer of its notorious contents, had committed murder; was in the practice of fraudulence; and was without morals. The law of every country, and of every age, has concurred, in rejecting such corrupt evidence. The same Morton, however, solemnly said, on the scaffold, when he was to die, for concealing "the plot of death" on Darnley, that he had asked Bothwell, for some of the *queen's writings*; but that no such writing could be shown, by Bothwell, when he most wanted her writing, during the critical month, from the 6th of January, to the 6th of February 1567. Such writings, then, did not exist, at that period. And, were such letters, and sonnets, written, then, by the queen, *after the murder* of Darnley, on the 10th of February? "Nothing could have "subdu'd *nature* to such a *lowness*, but positive *frenzy!*"

(*r*) As early as January 1570-1, there came a letter from Denmark, on that subject, which was carefully concealed from the English court, and the curious world. The Scotish commissioners, who were then in London, the Earl of Morton, the abbot of Dunfermling, the Secretary, and James Mac Gill, the clerk register, gave this account to the regent Lennox: They would not trust this letter to the usual post, or common messenger; fearing that some matters mentioned, in the same, being divulged, as news, might hinder their cause: And, therefore, they say, "being desired at "court [London] to shew the letter, we gave the ministers to understand, that we had sent the "principal away; and delivered a copy, omitting such things, as we thought not meet to be shewn, "as your grace may perceive by the like copy, which also we have sent you herewith. Good-"all. ii. 382, from the regent's register." We thus see the base artifices, which those men could commit, to gain their corrupt ends.

(*s*) Keith's Apx. 144-5.

(*t*) See His deposition, of the 26th of June, which is published by Anderson Col. ii. 173; and it is remarkable, that the lords, who examined him (and the knowing Morton was one of them) were too prudent to ask him, if such documents were found, in his hands, a few days before.

James,

James, Earl of Bothwell, left no children, to lament his fate, or to be contaminated by his guilt. He was long survived by his sister, who had married, as we have seen, John Stewart, the bastard son of James v., and commendator of Coldingham. He died, in 1563, leaving a son by her, Francis Stewart; and she married, for her second husband, John Sinclair, apparent heir of Cathness, by whom she had four sons, and one daughter. Her son, Francis, seems to have been born, in 1562 (*a*). He was educated abroad, probably; and returned to Scotland, in summer 1582; being then in his twentieth year. In 1581, he was created, by King James, who considered him, as his cousin, though by an illegitimate line, Earl of Bothwell, Lord Hales, and Crichton, to whom was given his uncle's forfeited estates; and the king, without any consideration of fitness, made him great admiral of Scotland, sheriff of Edinburgh, sheriff of the constabulary of Hadington, sheriff of Berwick, and baillie of Lauderdale (*b*). James VI., in thus following the absurd fashion of the times, which regarded the king's bastard, as something better, than any other bastard, only raised up an unprincipled man, to dispute his authority, and to distract his people (*c*).

In 1585, Bothwell, who seems to have had the turbulence, with the sad principles of his uncle, and grandfather, joined the Lords Maxwell, and Home, and others, in forcibly driving Arran, the king's favourite, from court. For this treasonous act, Bothwell was forgiven: And, when he was received into the king's presence, who was still under age, James VI. displayed his talent of discourse, but not his policy of government, when he addressed Bothwell, in the following terms: "What should have moved thee, Francis, to come in arms against me? "Did ever I do you any wrong? or what cause hadst thou to offend? I wish "thee a more quiet spirit, and that thou mayest learn to live as a subject, other-"wise thou wilt fall into trouble (*d*)." Bothwell, aided by Boyd, and Home, made a treaty with England, at Berwick, in July 1586 (*e*). In 1588, Bothwell killed Sir William Stewart, in a rencountre, on the streets of Edinburgh.

(*a*) In 1566, the guardian of Francis Stewart, the commendator of Coldingham, *now in his fourth year*, exchanged the abbey of Coldingham, for the abbey of Kelso, with John, the second son of Sir Richard Maitland, of Lethington. Dougl. Peer. 394.

(*b*) In 1581, the parliament ratified those grants of the king, to Francis, Earl of Bothwell. Unprinted Act, of the 24th October 1581.

(*c*) As Earl of Bothwell, when scarcely twenty years of age, he sat in the convention of Estates, which assembled, on the 18th of October 1582, after the attempt on the king's person, at Ruthven. Spotswood, 323.

(*d*) Spotswood, 341-3. (*e*) Rym. xv. 806-13.

For such a murder, this turbulent noble was never questioned (*f*). At the epoch of the Spanish invasion, in 1588, Bothwell, in opposition to the king, and parliament, raised troops, to invade England, in aid of Spain. But, James VI., who was more studious of words, on that occasion, than things, ordered Bothwell, as great admiral, to look to the sea; and to take care, that the shipping were ready for service (*g*). Elizabeth would have sent the greatest noble, in her realm, to *the tower*, who would have presumed to raise soldiers, without her consent. In the subsequent year, Bothwell engaged, with the Roman Catholick peers, in the most dangerous enterprizes against the king's person: And, the turbulent Bothwell was found guilty, by an assize, and was sent to Tamtallon castle, but not to the block (*h*). Yet, he was soon enlarged, to be employed, with the Duke of Lennox, in ruling the land, during the king's absence, in Denmark (*i*). Bothwell merits the praise of having discharged that trust, without reproach. To satisfy the church, he even made a public confession of his manifold sins. Yet, he soon relapsed into his profligacy, and again, and by his turbulence, incurred the king's displeasure (*k*). He was convicted of consulting witches, in order to obtain a foreknowledge of the king's death; and being for this imprisoned, in Edinburgh castle, he thence made his escape, by corrupting his keepers (*l*). In the subsequent December, Bothwell made a persevering attack on the king's residence, at Holyroodhouse: But, he was repulsed, by the fidelity of the king's servants, who put to death several of Bothwell's followers (*m*). After this attempt, Bothwell retired into the north,

(*f*) On the 30th of July, 1588, Sir William Stewart was slain in the Blackfriar Wynd, by the Earl of Bothwell, saith Birrel, 24; Spotswood, 369. James, in his proclamation against Bothwell, in April 1591, says that, *he had committed divers slaughters, which had been overlooked.* But, the king did not advert that, in making such an avowal, he disparaged his own policy.

(*g*) Ib. 370. (*h*) Spotswood, 376-7. (*i*) Ib. 379; Birrel, 25.

(*k*) Spotswood, 381.

(*l*) Ib. 383-4; on the 22d of June 1591, the Earl of Bothwell broke warde out of the castle of Edinburgh, who had been there in prison, some twenty days, for alledged witchcraft, and consulting witches, especially, with one Richard Graham, to conspire the king's death. Birrel's Diary, 25. On the 15th of June 1591, he adds, Bothwell was forfeited, and proclamation made thereof, at the cross of Edinburgh. Ib. 26.

(*m*) Bothwell, saith Birrel, killed the king's master stabler, and one other servant: But, the king's folks took eight of Bothwell's faction; and on the morrow, hanged them all, without an assize, betwixt the girth-cross, and the abbey gate. Diary, 26. On the 28th of December, the king came to St. Giles's kirk; and made an oration, concerning *the fray*, made by Bothwell, and the slaughter of his master stabler, William Shaw. Id. Birrel states the several attacks on the king's person, by Bothwell, without any suspicion, that they were crimes.

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where he was sheltered by the Earl of Murray, his cousin: And, Huntley was now commissioned, by the king, to pursue Bothwell, and his abettors, *with fire and sword*, according to a precept of the Scotish law. Huntley, in discharging this trust, executed his vengeance on Murray, his enemy (*n*). Bothwell continued to watch occasions, to assault the king, and to assassinate his minister. The parliament of May 1592 attainted Bothwell, and his adherents, with the usual circumstances of forfeiture. The abbey of Coldingham was now transferred, by the king, from Bothwell to Lord Home: And, Bothwell's lands of Spot, in East-Lothian, were given to Sir George Home (*o*). Yet, was not Bothwell discouraged. He made a fresh attack on the king, at Falkland, which was hardly repulsed, by the rising of the country; some of the king's servants taking part with Bothwell. This anarch now fled to the mountains for refuge (*p*). Denunciations were published against Bothwell, and his abettors, and against all those, who having received the king's favour had yet joined the traitor (*q*). Elizabeth interposed to protect Bothwell, whom she found a very useful disturber of the Scotish government; and as she wished to try, how far the facility of James would carry him: But, she experienced more resolution in him, than she expected; and the Scotish king, in his turn, required, that Bothwell should be expelled, while she resolved to retain the traitor (*r*): And, in the result, the parliament of July 1593 seems to have forfeited Bothwell, for a thousand crimes (*s*). Yet, on the 24th of the same month, Bothwell, Colvil, his secretary, and his other associates, broke into the king's apartments, in Holyroodhouse, being betrayed by his domestics; and forced themselves into the king's presence: In vain, did he cry out, treason; he could only reproach Bothwell, as a traitor,

(*n*) Birrel, 27; Spotswood, 387.

(*o*) Calderwood, 288; Birrel states the parliamentary forfeiture of Bothwell, and his complices, to have taken place, on the 12th of July 1592. Diary, 27.

(*p*) Melville, 365-6; Spotswood, 389: Birrel, 27, states *this fray*, at Falkland, on the 17th of July, 1592; the king, thereafter, came to Edinburgh; and on the 26th, his majesty made an oration, concerning the same [fray], in the great kirk of Edinburgh. Bothwell, and his men, immediately returned to Lothian from Fife; and eighteen of them were taken on Calder-moor, lying asleep, for want of rest, and entertainment; and they were all brought to Edinburgh, and hanged. Ib. 28. Here is a genuine specimen of the Scotish government, during many an age: The *instruments* of mischief were *punished*, while the *contrivers* were *pardoned*.

(*q*) Ib. 28-9. (*r*) Spotswood, 393-4-5.

(*s*) On the 21st of July, saith Birrel, 30, the parliament was holden; and the Earl of Bothwell forfaultid, and his arms riven, at the cross of Edinburgh, by the heralds.

and capitulate (*t*). In September, however, James called a convention, at Stirling, to whom he communicated his capitulation with Bothwell, and the cause of it. The convention declared it null, and the capture of the king to be traitorous. This declaration was communicated to Bothwell, with an offer of pardon, if he would depart the kingdom: But, supported by Athol, and Montrose, Bothwell insisted on the capitulation, in its full extent, and attempted to seize the king, during the convention. Being disappointed, in this new treason, he was obliged to retreat to his old haunts upon the borders; being sure of Elizabeth's protection (*u*). A few weeks after, the king repaired to Jedburgh, to which he summoned the people of the neighbouring shires, for pursuing Ker of Ferniherst, because he had harboured Bothwell (*x*).

In the beginning of the year 1594, Lord Zouch came ambassador, from Elizabeth to James, for the avowed purpose, of urging the Scotish king, to prosecute his popish nobles. Zouch immediately began to intrigue with Bothwell, for the insidious purpose of inciting him to insurrection. We may infer that truth, from the circumstance, that Bothwell began, at that moment, to raise disturbances among a misguided people. Some of the clergy, by public preaching, and private admonition, encouraged the people, to join that odious anarch, from their hatred of popery (*y*). They even sent Hunter, one of their number, to act as Bothwell's chaplain. The clergy, in their zeal, went one step further: The money, which had been collected, in the churches, for the suffering Genevins, they gave to Melvil, and Strong, two captains, who were

(*t*) Spotiswood, 395; Birrel, 30-1; And upon the 27th of July, Bothwell's peace was proclaimed, at the cross of Edinburgh, by the heralds, sounding their trumpets for joy, saith Birrel. From this last circumstance, we ought to infer, that the wretched traitor was popular, or the king contemptible.

(*u*) Spotiswood, 395-6-7: On the 20th of September, 1593, Bothwell was charged, saith Birrel, 31, by a proclamation, at the cross, that he should not come, within ten miles of the king's residence, under the pain of death.

(*x*) Calderwood, 291. On the 11th of December, 1593, Bothwell was put to the horn: and on the same day fought with Ker, of Cessford. Birrel, 31. On the 31st of December, 1593, proclamation was made, that no one should entertain either the Earl of Bothwell, or the Laird of Johnston, who had slain Lord Maxwell. Ib 32.

(*y*) On the 13th of March, 1593-4, the king came to Mr. Bruce's preaching, saith Birrel, 32, being Sunday, when Mr. Robert Bruce [one of the ministers of Edinburgh] said to his majesty, that God would stir up more Bothwell's, than one, that were more enemies to him, than Bothwell, if he revenged not his, and fought not God's quarrel on the papists, before he fought, and revenged his own particular [quarrel.].

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then levying soldiers, to support Bothwell's insurrection (*z*). With all those insurgents, Elizabeth's ambassador intrigued. And, being detected, he was obliged to withdraw, without seeing the king (*a*). Bothwell, having raised four hundred horsemen, on the borders towards England, advanced northward, to Leith, on the morning of the 2d of April 1592. On the morrow, the king went to the great church; and, after sermon, he promised, in the presence of the people, to revenge God's cause, and to banish the papists; and thereafter urged the people, to march with him against Bothwell, who then occupied Leith. The whole people were thus induced to take arms, for the king, against that notorious insurgent (*b*). Bothwell now drew off, southward; seeing so great a force, with some cannon, coming against him. Lord Home followed him; but, he was repulsed towards the burrough-moor of Edinburgh, where the king lay with his forces. On the retreat of Home, James was, insidiously, advised to retire into the town. The king, with more magnanimity, than he has been supposed to possess, declared, "that *he would never quit the field to a "traitor:*" And, this firmness proved his safety: For, Bothwell, in pursuing Home, fell from his horse; and his army dispersed, on the morrow. The colleagues of Bothwell, in his nefarious designs, hearing of his misfortunes, also disbanded (*c*). After all those exploits, James was emboldened to send an envoy to Elizabeth, for complaining of her ambassador's intrigues; of her allowing protection to Bothwell, contrary to treaty, and her promises: She seems to have somewhat yielded to his boldness: And, after some excuses, she directed, by proclamation, that Bothwell should neither be harboured, nor aided (*d*). Driven thus from England, that enterprizing traitor retired into the northern parts of Scotland, where he entered into new compacts with the popish lords. On receiving some of the Spanish gold, he engaged to raise such disturbances, in the south, as should prevent the king from marching northward against the Spanish partizans; and he promised, if he should apprehend James, that he would confine him, in Blackness castle, whose captain he had corrupted, till he should agree to all their terms. But, Orme, a servant

(*z*) Spotswood, 402, is positive, on this charge, against the clergy. The late historiographer supposes, that the king suspected them, *without reason*. Rob. Hist. Scot. ii. 66.

(*a*) One of the ambassador's servants being questioned, confessed, that the ambassador had spoken with Bothwell, and Colville, his secretary. Spotswood, 402-3.

(*b*) Birrel, 32.

(*c*) Spotiswood, 403. On the 5th of April, 1594, the king rode out, with the hope of taking Bothwell; but, he had fled into his fastnesses. Birrel, 32.

(*d*) Spotswood, 404.

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of Bothwell, being apprehended, disclosed their whole designs (*e*). As he was no longer protected by Elizabeth; as his adherents had been punished, for examples; the wretched Bothwell was obliged to skulk among the wilds of the north; since his influence, in the southern districts, was gone (*f*). His followers now sued, for pardon, which was granted them, with a lavish hand: Among other partizans, John Colville, his secretary, by betraying his associates in treason, obtained a remission of his crimes: And, he now enlisted among the spies of Elizabeth, in the court of James (*g*). Colville betrayed Hercules Stewart, the bastard brother of Bothwell, probably, who was seized at the West-Houses, near Newbotle, on the 4th of February 1594-5 (*h*). And he was offered as a proper sacrifice to the offended laws (*i*). On the 23d of February, Bothwell was excommunicated by the church judicatories, after much struggle with the presbytery of Edinburgh (*k*). Bothwell was no longer safe, in Scotland. He now fled to Orkney, where the people attempted to arrest him; and pursued his flight to Shetland, on his course to France (*l*). After some hesitation, the French government obliged Bothwell to retire into Spain, during the year 1600; whence he departed to Naples, where he changed his religion, and long continued his profligacy (*m*). After the forfeiture of Bothwell,

(*e*) On the 17th of September, 1594, Allan Orme was hanged, for *entertaining Bothwell.* Birrel's Diary, 33. On the 24th of the same month, Gibson, and Cochrane, were hanged, for the same offence. Id. On the 15th of October, the captain of Blackness was hanged, for receiving Bothwell. Id. Spotswood, 408.

(*f*) A proclamation was issued, on the 4th of December, 1594; "charging all men not to "have to do with the Earl of Bothwell." Birrel, 34. But, it was the frequent execution of Bothwell's adherents, and the daily examples, which were made of them, that finally subdued so dangerous an anarch.

(*g*) Nicholson's Dispatches, in the Paper Office, are the vouchers of his villainy. (*h*) Id.

(*i*) On the 18th of February, Hercules Stewart was hanged, and one John Syme, for entertaining his own brother, the Earl of Bothwell. Birrel, 34. This honest chronicler seems to have thought it very unnatural to hang a man, for *entertaining* his own brother, traitor as he was.

(*k*) Id; Nicolson's Dispatches, in the Paper Office.

(*l*) Nicolson's Dispatch of the 10th of April, 1595. The king wished Colville to follow his old master into France, for soliciting his detention, and delivery: But, Elizabeth's government feeling the benefit of his services, as a spy, advised him to decline, such a journey. Nicolson's Dispatch of the 30th of May, 1595.

(*m*) Winwood's Mem. i. 165. Bothwell left three sons, and three daughters, by the Lady Margaret, the daughter of David, Earl of Angus: The parliament of November 1600, passed an act [No. 12] "Anent the posterity of Francis, sometime Earl of Bothwell." The parliament of August 1621, passed an act, in favour of John Stewart, the second son of the Earl of Bothwell. Unprinted Act, No. 36. There was an act, giving Coldingham to the same John Stewart. Ib. 37.

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Bothwell, Sir William Seton, the fourth son of George, Lord Seton, was made *sheriff of Lothian*, and warden of the marches (*n*). The office of great admiral of Scotland was conferred on the Duke of Lennox, *in heretage* (*o*). From all those intimations, we may infer, how impossible it was, to cure James VI. of his folly of favouritism.

At the epoch of James's accession, in 1603, there existed, in East-Lothian, only five peers: Robert, Earl of Winton; George, Earl Marshal; Robert, Lord Lindsay of Byres; John, Lord Saltoun; and John, Lord Yester. Before his demise, in 1525, he added four creations, in this shire, to the former peers (*p*). Charles I., amidst his endeavours to prevent civil war, during fanatical times, created only three peerages, in Hadingtonshire (*q*). And, Charles II. created the last of the peers of East-Lothian, in the person of Sir Richard Graham of Netherby, in 1681, by the title of Viscount Preston, which was forfeited, by his misconduct, in 1690.

In addition to all those men, who rose to eminence, from various causes, East-Lothian has produced its full share of distinguished characters. John Laing, a son of Laing of Redhouse, in Aberlady parish, rose from the rectory of Tannadice, and the vicarage of Linlithgow, to the bishoprick of Glasgow, and the chancellorship of Scotland (*r*). The house of Hailes has bred considerable churchmen (*s*). James Hepburn, the son of Thomas, the parson of Oldhamstocks,

There were divers protestations, against the said act, in favour of John Stewart. Ib. No. 38. The eldest son, Francis, obtained from the facility of James VI., a part of the estates of his father, but none of his many offices.

(*n*) Mackenzie's Lives, iii. 217, from the MS. Account of the Family of Seton.

(*o*) The parliament of October, 1612, ratified that grant to the Duke of Lennox, for the office of admiral, and the privileges to the same belonging. Unprinted Act, No. 12. Upon the failure of this family, during the reign of Charles II., this high office merged in the crown.

(*p*) Sir George Home was created Lord Home, of Berwick, and Earl of Dunbar; Sir John Ramsay was made Viscount of Hadington, in 1606, which became extinct, in 1625; Sir Thomas Hamilton was created Lord Binning, and Byres, in 1613, Earl of Melros, in 1619; Earl of Hadington, in 1627; and Sir Henry Constable was made Viscount of Dunbar, in 1620, which became extinct, at the end of a century.

(*q*) Sir Robert Douglas was made Viscount of Belhaven, in 1633, which became extinct, in 1639; Sir James Maxwell was created Earl of Dirleton, which soon became extinct; and Sir John Hamilton was made Lord Belhaven, in 1647.

(*r*) He was treasurer, in 1465, and 1470. He was made bishop of Glasgow, in 1473, and chancellor, in 1482; and he died, on the 11 of January, 1482-3.

(*s*) Patrick Hepburn, the second son of Patrick, the first Lord Hailes, was dean of Dunkeld, and treasurer of Moray. George Hepburn, the third son of Adam, Lord Hailes, rose, through the usual

hamstocks, who acquired the sobriquet of *Bonaventura*, from his travels, distinguished himself, as a philologist, by acquiring every language, and publishing a Hebrew dictionary, in 1591: He was born, in 1573, and died, in 1621. Robert Wauchop, who was bred, at Nidderie-Marshal, rose by singular talents to be titular archbishop of Ardmagh; and died, in 1551. George Wauchop, of the same house, flourished abroad, during the same age, as a professor of the civil law. John Major, or *Mayr*, was born, at Hadington, in 1469; rose by his learning to be dean of the faculty, in the university of St. Andrews; and was at length *deemed an oracle in religion*, under James v (*t*). At Hadington, also, was born, in 1505, John Knox, a divine, who eclipsed the Majors, the Hepburns, and the Wauchops, not so much by his learning, as his notoriety; and who died, at Edinburgh, after a life of turbulence, in 1572 (*u*). Patrick Scougal, a son of Sir John Scougal of Scougal, in this shire, and parson of Salton, was preferred to the see of Aberdeen, at Easter 1664: He was an eminent prelate; and died, in February 1682, aged 73, esteemed for his learning, and regretted for his worth.

East-Lothian has not only given deep divines to the Scotican church, but learned senators to the College of Justice. Among the first, was Adam Otterburn of Aldham, who acted as the king's advocate, from 1525 to 1537, and was justly praised, by Doctor Magnus, the English resident, "as one of the "most learned, and experienced men, in Scotland:" He was raised to the bench, in 1532; and died, in 1547. In 1532, was also appointed, one of

usual gradations, to be commendator of Arbroth, and bishop of the Isles; and fell with his father, on Floddon-field. His brother, John, became prior of St. Andrews, and keeper of the Privy Seal, and collector of the king's rents, in Fife: He had the honour to contend with Andrew Foreman, for the archbishoprick of St. Andrews; and yielding his pretensions, he obtained for his brother, James, the abbey of Dunfermlin, who became bishop of Moray, in 1514: The prior dying, in 1522, was succeeded, by his nephew, Patrick, whom he had educated.

(*t*) He appeared, by proxy, in the provincial council of 1549, being then old, [80] and debilitated; and he must have died, soon after: He wrote "Historia tum Angliæ quam Scotiæ," which was published, in 1521, and republished in 1740; yet, is of very little use. He left behind him a vast body of published theology.

(*u*) The late Lord Hailes, in his Scotish Canons, apologized, for speaking of a history, which is attributed to Knox, as *partial*, and *erroneous*. This History of the *Reformation*, as it was suppressed by Elizabeth, remains only in some sheets. Haylyn's Hist. 141. In that book, it was, that the assassination of Cardinal Beaton was called a *godly act*. The next edition was published, amidst the violences of 1644, by David Buchanan, who has interpolated every page of a castrated work: Now, what sober historian would believe a single passage, in a writing, so fabricated, though it is said to be *published by authority*: But, who could give authority to a fabrication.

those

those senators, Thomas Hay, the dean of Dunbar; and, in 1532, was nominated George Ker, the provost of Dunglas. Robert Galbreath, the parson of Spot was appointed a senator, in 1537; and was assassinated in 1543 (*x*). In 1539, was raised to that trust Henry Lauder of St. Germains, who had been the king's advocate, and was, by the king's desire, admitted to sit within the bar, to hear the deliberations of the court. In 1554, was nominated, as a senator, Abraham Crichton, the provost of Dunglas. In 1561, was appointed the worthy Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, who served the state, during seventy years; and died, at the age of ninety, in 1586 (*y*). David Borthwick of Lochill was placed on the bench, in 1573; William Douglas of Whittingham, in 1575; and Archibald Douglas, the younger of Whittingham, in 1578 (*z*). In 1591, was raised to the same rank Richard Cockburn of Clerkington; and, in 1592, Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston. In the subsequent period, ending with *the Restoration*, the College of Justice was supplied with the following senators, from Hadingtonshire: Sir Andrew Hamilton of Redhouse, in 1608; Sir Alexander Hay of Newton, in 1610; Alexander Morison of Prestongrange, in 1626; Sir John Hay of Barra, in 1634; and Sir Adam Hepburn of Humbie, about the year 1643. As the subsequent period of fifty years produced profound lawyers, at the Scotish bar, this shire contributed its ample share of eminent senators for the College of Justice. In 1661, John Scougal of Whitekirk was raised to this distinction (*a*). Sir John Nisbet of Dirleton was appointed one of those Senators, in 1664 (*b*). In this year, Sir John Baird of Newbyth was

(*x*) Books of Sederunt, 13th February, 1543; Parl. Rec. 675. He appears to have advocated the cause of the dowager queen, and her husband, Lord Methven, in 1538, after he had taken his seat, as a senator.

(*y*) He told queen Mary, "that she must see her laws kept, or else she would get no obe-"dience:" This was well said; but, it was said, in vain, to a female sovereign, during a revolutionary age. He left Decisions of the Court of Session, and Poems, on several Subjects. His son, William Maitland, the celebrated secretary, was appointed an extra senator, in 1565, and died, in 1573.

(*z*) He was parson of Glasgow, and sold his manse: But, it is more important to show, that he was an active instrument in the murder of Darnley. It was, at Whittingham, where Bothwell met the Earl of Morton, on his return from banishment; and where that terrible murder was matured, if not concerted: It was the same Archibald Douglas, whom Bothwell employed, to intrigue with Earl Morton, at St. Andrew's, for effectuating their odious purpose. He was degraded from the seat of justice, in 1581, and tried, collusively, for that crime, in 1586. Arnot's Crim. Trials, 7.

(*a*) When he died, in 1671, the lords of session assisted, at his funeral, attended by the lawyers, in their gowns, and their officers, with their maces.

(*b*) He was, at the same time, appointed the king's advocate, and he was the last who, at once, held both those trusts. He died, in 1677. He was a lawyer, of the greatest learning, and integrity: He left *doubts*, and *decisions*, which were published, in 1698.

raised to the senate, who also left *decisions* of the court. Sir Peter Wedderburn of Gosford was made one of those senators, in 1668; and collected decisions, during his own period (*c*). Sir John Baird was raised to the same rank, in 1689. In the same year, Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall was made a judge of this court, and left two volumes of juridical anecdotes, and of learned decisions. Robert Hamilton of Presminnan was raised to the bench, in 1689; and Sir William Hamilton, in 1693. Sir Hugh Dalrymple of North-Berwick was appointed, in 1698, Lord President of the Court of Session, a trust, which he executed, with great sufficiency, till 1737: And Adam Cockburn of Ormiston was raised to the bench, in 1705, and acted, as Lord Justice Clerk, from 1707 to 1735. John Hamilton of Pencaithland was appointed a judge, in 1712; Andrew Fletcher of Milton, in 1724; and Hugh Dalrymple of Drummore, in 1726, who sat on the same seat with his father, the president. In 1751, George Sinclair of Woodhall was nominated a senator of this court; in 1754, Thomas Hay of Huntington was named to the same trust; Peter Wedderburn of Chesterhall was also appointed, in 1755; and George Brown of Coalston, in 1756. Robert Blair, the son of Robert Blair, the celebrated author of the *Grave*, a poem, was born, in Athelstaneford, of which his father was minister; and, rising through the gradations of the law, to be solicitor-general, and dean of the faculty, became president of the College of Justice, in 1808 (*d*). After this long list of eminent lawyers, may fitly be mentioned Alexander Wedderburn, Earl of Roselyn, the son of Lord Chesterhall, and a descendant of the house of Gosford, who rose to be chief justice, and chancellor of England, in competition with jurists of the greatest learning, eloquence, and integrity.

East-Lothian, as we have already seen, has produced its full portion of statesmen, as well as lawyers, and divines. Sir Richard Maitland served the state upwards of seventy years, and died, in 1586, when he was aged, and blind: Knox accuses him of taking a bribe, from Cardinal Beaton, to obtain his liberty: But, the oath of so prejudiced an accuser as Knox, ought to weigh nothing against the worth of old Sir Richard Maitland. He left a poem of sound advice to his eldest son, William, the well-known secretary of Mary Stewart. Happy! had such a son followed the example, and precepts, of such a sire. The secretary was denominated, by the calumny of Knox, *the father of all*

(*c*) He had been sole clerk of the privy council: He was elected, in 1679, as vice-president of the court. Sir George Mackenzie gave him a great character, for eloquence and integrity, as a lawyer.

(*d*) Stat. Acco. x. 171.

mischief

mischief. It was he, indeed, who, corruptly, advised his mistress, to divorce Darnley: It was he, certainly, who advised the murder of Rizzio, to obtain the restoration of Murray: It was he, probably, who incited Bothwell, by inflaming his ambition, to assassinate Darnley; and plainly concealed the plot, which was consummated by Darnley's death: He was convicted, afterward, of that terrible crime, and took poison, in 1573, to prevent public execution. There is but too much reason to believe, that he was the fabricator of the infamous letters, which faction attributed to Mary Stewart; as he had often forged her writing; and was capable of any baseness. His second brother, John, who rose, by his talents, and integrity, to be chancellor under James VI., amply supplied the secretary's demerits. Of this family was John, Duke of Lauderdale, the profligate, and domineering minister of Charles II., in Scotland. Among the Cockburns of Ormiston were statesmen of very useful talents. Among the Fletchers of Salton there have been eminent men. This family was originally burgesses of Dundee, and their real name was *Flesher* (*e*). Of this family was the well-known republican, Andrew Fletcher, the son of Sir Robert, by Bruce of Clackmannan: He was born, in 1653; he opposed the corrupt ministers of Charles II.; he drew his inefficient sword, for Monmouth; he supported *the Revolution*; he opposed the more useful measure of *the Union*; and he died, at London, on the 16th of September 1716 (*f*). It is but indifferent praise, to say of the late Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, the nephew of the former, that he was equal to his uncle, in patriotism. He was born, in 1692; and choosing the law, for his profession, he became one of the senators of the College of Justice, in 1724, by the title of Lord Milton; and Lord Justice Clerk, in 1735, which he resigned, when he was appointed, for life, the keeper of the signet, in 1748. During difficult times, he was intrusted with the political affairs of Scotland, which he managed with address, and moderation. He died, in 1766; leaving a great character, for abilities, discretion, and constant attention to the domestic economy of his rising country (*g*).

Of

(*e*) In 1479, Nicol *Flescheour*, burges of Dundee, brought a suit before the parliament. Parl. Rec. 264. Andrew Flesher, the dean of Guild, had, by a mean woman, of the name of Finlayson, Andrew, who rose to eminence, as a lawyer, and became a senator of the college of justice, in December 1623, by the title of Lord Inverpeffer. It was he, who purchased Saltoun. He was the father, by Hay, of Kirkland, of Sir Robert Fletcher, who, as lord advocate, prosecuted Argyle, after the restoration, and died, in 1667. Such are the intimations of Crawford, from the antiquary, Henry Maule. MS. Notes.

(*f*) Hist. Reg. 543. He left a small volume of republican speculations. The support, which he gave to the improvement of agriculture, is of much more value.

(*g*) Scots Mag. 671. There is a letter of his, to the Duke of Newcastle, dated, the 21st of

Of very different worth to the state, than such a man, as the republican Fletcher, are mere mechanists. James Meikle, a millwright, near Saltoun, introduced from Holland, in 1710, the *fanners*, and barley mill, under the protection of the same Fletcher (*h*). In our own times, the parish of Preston-kirk, in this shire, has produced John Rennie, one of the greatest *civil engineers* of any age. The parish of Gladsmoor, in this county, gave birth to George Herriot, of the family of Trebroun, who was bred a goldsmith; and, by a life of honest, and ingenious industry, under James VI., left a sufficient fortune to endow the useful hospital, which is known by his name, at Edinburgh (*i*).

§ VII. *Of its Agriculture, Manufacture, and Trade.*] The successive settlers of East-Lothian, British, Saxon, Scoto-Irish, and Scoto-Saxon, found the country little improved, at the epoch of their several settlements. It was not much ameliorated, while the land was fought for, in endless conflicts, by such dissimilar people.

During every consideration of this interesting subject, we must always recollect, that the area of East-Lothian is by nature divided into its *lowlands*, towards the sea, and its *highlands*, consisting of the *Lamermoor*, above: It is curious to remark, from the maps, what has not been noticed, by writers that, in the laying out of many of its parishes, they are so distributed, as to have each its portion of the *Lamermoor*, for a necessary adjunct to its agricultural practice of summer pasturage (*k*). In the *lowlands* of East-Lothian, it does not appear, that woods anciently existed; since they cannot be traced, in its topography,

January, 1748, in the Paper Office; complaining that, "when he was appointed the keeper of the "signet, he was assured of having from 5l. to 600l. over, and above, paying 800l. to the clerks "of the two secretary of states offices: But, that the fees amounted only from 2l. to 300l.;" and to make up the difference, he asked the place of register of Hornings, for his son, Francis, in the room of Douglas, of Cavers.

(*h*) See his agreement with Meikle, for that end, and his letter to James Meikle, dated at the Hague, the 18th of June, 1710, on the same subject. Somerville's General View of the Agriculture of this Shire, Apx. 294-6. These documents clearly establish the important fact, which does such great honour to the real patriotism of Fletcher. James Meikle left a son, who invented the *threshing* mill; and lived to a great age, much respected.

(*i*) He died, in 1624, at London, to which he had followed his master, James VI. The building of his hospital was finished, in 1650: And in April 1659, there were admitted into it thirty boys, the sons of indigent burgesses of Edinburgh. Stat. Acco. vii. 320; Armot's Hist. Edin. 565.

(*k*) The language of the maps evinces, that every parish had its *schealings*: In Oldham parish there are Lucky-*shiel*, Powel-*shiel*; in Innerwick, Auld*shiel*; in Stenton, Gamel*shiel*, Airnle-*shiel*; in Whittingham, Pen*shiel*, May-*shiel*: And, the adjunct *shiel* denotes the *schealing*, or pasturage.

nor

nor recollected, from charters (*l*). But, the higher country, towards the *Lamermoor*, seems to have been abundantly clothed with woods, and ornamented by shrubberies. The topography of this upper district would evince the fact, if the chartularies were silent (*m*). During the reign of Malcolm IV., Simon Fraser granted to the monks of Kelso the church of Keith, with the *whole wood*, from the southern side of the rivulet, which runs near the church (*n*). In the reign of William, the lion, there was much wood, in the parish of Innerwick, and, indeed, throughout the southern parts of East-Lothian (*o*).

When the Scoto-Saxon period began, with the feeble reign of Edgar, there are many reasons to believe, that East-Lothian was not very populous: We know, from the charters of David I., of Malcolm IV., and of William, the lion, that large districts were held, by a few barons; as we have, indeed, lately seen. The lower orders were, chiefly, *their men*, or *vileyns*. The wars of Malcolm Canmore had filled the villages of this country with such men (*p*). They remained, in this servile state, within East-Lothian, throughout many a wretched age (*q*). And, those *villeyns* were astricted to the lands, and with the glebe could only be transferred (*r*).

The

(*l*) In the country, on the coast below, from Dunbar to Prestonpans, there does not appear the name of a place, which can be derived from woods, or bushes. The extensive woods of Tyningham are of modern creation, as are the smaller plantations on the estate of North Berwick.

(*m*) In that district, there are the following places, which derived their names, from the surrounding forests: In the parish of Aldhamstocks, there are *Wood*hall, and *Oaken*-gill [the oak-ravine;] in Innerwick, Braid*wood*, *Wood*hall, and *Wood*ley; in Stenton parish, *Pres*-minnan-*wood*; in Dunbar, Cracking-*shaw*; in Spot, Hain-*shaw*, (and it must be recollected, that *shaw*, in the A.-Saxon, signifies both, in the south, and north, a *wood*); in the parish of Humbie, and Keith, Humbie*wood*, and Keith-*wood*; in Soutra, *Wood*cot; in Yester, Broad-*wood* side, *Wood*head, Pyot-*shaw*, *Eck*yside, (the oakwoodside); in Saltoun, Salton*wood*, *Wood*head, *Wood*-gate; in Morham, *Wood*head; in Whittingham, Hartram-*wood*; in Ormiston, *Wood*head, *Wood*house; in Pencaithland, *Wood*-hall; in Hadington, woodside, *forest*: Now; *Pres*, in the British, and Gaelic, means a copswood; and *shaw*, in the Saxon, and Old English, means pretty much the same thing. In 1276, there were *woods* mentioned, as then lying in Pencaithland, and Ormistown. Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. 353.

(*n*) Chart. Kelso, 84.

(*o*) See the Chart. Kelso, Paisley, and others.

(*p*) Hoveden, fol. 452.

(*q*) There is a charter of William, the lion, to the hospital of Soltre; confirming to it, "Omnes "donationes terrarum, et *hominum*, que eis rationabiliter date sunt." Chart. Soltre, 6. There is a mandate of Alexander III. "ne quis *homines* de Soltre injuste detinuit." No. 9. There remains a charter of James, the Stewart, whereby he conveyed, in 1284, to William de Preston, "totam "terram nostram, in villa de Travyrnent, cum *nativis*, et eorum sequela." Autograph, in my Library.

(*r*) Morville, the constable, who died, in 1189, the minister of William, the lion, granted to

Henry.

The kings, and the nobles, and the churchmen, were all agriculturalists, in East-Lothian, as well as, in the shires of Berwick, and Roxburgh. Every manor, in those ages, had its *place*, its church, its miln, its kiln, and its brew-house, for the accommodation of its tenants. And, the followers of the lord sat down around him, having each a house, a croft, some arable land, a meadow, with a right of commonage, on the waste of the lord (*s*). The monks were great, and skilful cultivators of old. The monks of Newbotle possessed several granges, and some milns, in various parts of East-Lothian (*t*). The monks of Kelso had their granges, and milns, and other such property, in Keith, Humbie,

Henry de Saint Clair, the lands of Herd-mans-toun, with two *bondmen*, Edmond, the son of Bonde, and Gillemichael, his brother, with their progeny, on this express condition, that they should not be removed, from Herdmanstoun, or the lands of Morville. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 75.

(*s*) Alan, the son of Walter, the Stewart, confirmed, by a charter, a *lease*, by *his men* of Innerwick, to the monks of Kelso, *for* 33 *years*, from Martinmas 1290, of certain *woods*, and *pastures*, in Innerwick, for which the monks were to pay, yearly, twenty shillings; and they were to be free from all services, and "de inward, et de utward." Chart. Kelso, 247. In a suit, depending in parliament, during December 1494, about the barony, and miln, of Boltoun, Patrick, Earl of Bothwell claimed them under a *lease*, by the late James Shaw, of Sauchie. Parl. Rec. 446.

(*t*) Chart. Newbotle. Robert de Quincey granted to the monks of Newbotle, about the year 1184, the lands of *Preston*, where they settled an agricultural establishment, which was, afterward, called *Preston-grange*, with common of pasture, in the manor of Tranent, for 10 sheep, and for *oxen sufficient, to cultivate their grange*; he also gave them six acres of meadow, in his manor of Tranent, and twenty cart loads of *peats*, from the *peatary* of his lordship, with the liberty of taking wood, *for fuel*, for the use of their grange, where the *men* of *his manor* could take the same. Chart. Newbot. 71. His son, Seyer de Quincey confirmed to the monks all those several privileges. In all those charters of the de Quinceys, we may perceive *the fuel* mentioned were *peats* and *wood*, but not *coals*: Yet this useful fossil was soon after discovered, by those monks, within their lands of Preston. Seyer de Quincey, the son of Robert, granted to those monks a confirmation of their lands of Preston, bounded by the rivulet of Pinkie, in his manor of Tranent, and also, "*Carbo-narium* et quarrarium" within the said lands; and he gave them *free access*, and *recess*, to, and from the same, *by the sea*: And he commanded, that none of his men should have any common right, in the *carbonaries*, or *quarries*, in Preston, without the consent, and goodwill of the monks. This instructive charter of Seyer de Quincey, the Earl of Winton, must necessarily have been granted, between the years 1202 and 1218; as it is witnessed, by William, who became bishop of St. Andrews, in 1202, and it was granted, by Seyer de Quincey, who set out, for the Holyland, in 1218, where he died, in the subsequent year. Thus early, then, were *coals* worked, and used, at Preston, in East Lothian, and were even exported thence, to other countries. And from that epoch, coals have been continually worked, in Tranent, down to our own times. Sir William Seton, who lived under Robert II. and Robert III., granted to the friars of Hadington *six loads of coals*, weekly, from his colliery of Tranent. MS. Hist of the Seton family. The *collieries* of Tranent were mortgaged about the year 1407. Roberts. Index, 163. There are many collieries worked, at present, to great profit, in Tranent. Stat. Acco. x. 88: xvii. 81. The same book shows, that coals are every where worked, in East Lothian.

and

and Innerwick (*u*). The master of Soltre also cultivated his lands, in Soltre, and Keith (*x*). The prioress, and nuns of Hadington had, also, their agricultural establishments, when such were the fashion of the age: They had, besides their domestic farm, a grange at *Abbey Mains*, in Hadington parish: They had a grange, and a miln, which is still called the *Abbey Miln*, and which is situated about a mile below Hadington-town: And they also cultivated the lands of *Nun*-raw, and other domains, in Garvalt. There were, undoubtedly, many lands cultivated, under all those proprietors, by tenants, and subtenants, for certain rents, and services; as we may, distinctly, see, in the chartularies. The English soldiers are said to have subsisted, during the siege of Dirlton castle, in 1298, on the pease, which grew in the neighbouring fields (*y*). But, the number of milns, which existed, every where, in East-Lothian, during the Scoto-Saxon period, is the best proof of the excellent husbandry of that extended period. Much corn was raised; as we may infer, from the great quantity, that was ground at the milns. Yet, though much corn was raised, by all those persons, and means, pasturage was much followed, during the summer, by all those, who had an easy communication with *the Lamermoor* (*z*). Hay was also raised, abundantly, during the 13th century, when it was thus early subjected to tithes (*a*). During those agricultural times, oxen, full as much as horses, were used, for the wayne, and plough. Milns appear to have been very common, in every part of East-Lothian, during the 13th, and the 14th centuries. Milns are as ancient, here, as manors; and manors are as early as charters, which cannot be traced, beyond the beginning of the Scoto-Saxon period, when the municipal law of Scotland itself commenced: Thus, all the juridical doctrines, which belong to milns, were interwoven into the very texture of the law itself, during that early age (*b*). We have now learned, from the chartularies, that it

(*u*) Chart. Kelso. (*x*) Chart. Soltre, 142.

(*y*) Lord Hailes An. i. 310, from W. Hemingford.

(*z*) We have seen already the Earl of Dunbar's men of Pinkerton, in the country below, had their *schealings*, or pasturages, in that vast range above. Chart. Kelso, 71. Other men followed the same practice, wherever they had similar moors, to which they could drive their flocks, and herds.

(*a*) The taxatio of the vicarage of Hadington, by William, the bishop of St. Andrews, from 1202, to 1233. Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl.

(*b*) Every manor had its miln; but some large manors had several milns, belonging to them. The tenants of all those manors, were obliged to grind the corn, which was grown on the manor, at the miln of the manor: And, they were, moreover, obliged to contribute their services, in upholding the milns, with their dams. In Malcolm IV.'s reign, Symon Fraser granted to the monks of Kelso, with the church of Keith, and some lands, with an exemption to them, and their men, from the *toll* of

it was the lords of the manors, who alone could erect milns, and could convey the same right to others. And, the milns of those times were objects of considerable profit to the proprietor (*c*). Some of those milns, however, which were erected, by smaller proprietors, without the privileges of the manorial milns, seem not to have been very profitable (*d*).

It will scarcely be believed, that gardens, and orchards, abounded, in East-Lothian, during the 13th, and 12th centuries (*e*). The gardens, and orchards, which were not of small extent, were early subjected to *tithes* (*f*). In 1359, William

of his miln, and *the service of repairing the miln*, and *the milldam*. About the year 1184, Robert de Quincey granted to the monks of Newbotle, Preston, in his manor of Tranent, with exemptions, from customs, exactions, and services; viz, "a placitis, a *molendinis*, a forisfactis, et auxilijs." Chart. Newbot. 71. The monks of Newbotle obtained from the Countess Ada, the lands, of Berefords in Hadington parish, where they settled a grange, and *acquired the privilege of erecting a miln*: And, from the neighbouring proprietors of Morham, and Hales, the monks obtained the liberty of making *milldams*, and *water-courses*. Chart. Newbot. 95-6-7-103. At the end of the 13th century, Sir Robert de Keith, the marshal of Scotland, granted to the monks of Kelso, liberty to build a miln on the lands of Hundeby [Humbie] and Keith; and he also gave them a right for their *work oxen*, ploughs, and carts, to pass, and repass over his lands. Chart. Kelso, 99.

(*c*) Robert, who was bishop of St. Andrews, from 1163 to 1173, granted to the convent of Hadington, the *tenths* of the milns of Hadington; and his grant was confirmed by his successors, and by James II. Sir L. Stewart's Col. 48. One of the milns of Hadington belonged to the Vauses of Dirlton: And, in the reign of Alexander II., William de Vallibus granted to the monks of Aberbrothock, half a mark of silver, yearly, from his miln of Hadington; and this grant was confirmed by his son. Chart. Aberb. 151-2. In 1276, Sir Alexander de Vallibus confirmed a grant of his father, to the church of Glasgow, of five marks, yearly, out of his miln of Hadington, instead of the manor of Golyn: And, if the miln should be destroyed, or removed, he granted, that the same five marks should be paid, from the firms of his manor of Dirlton. Chart. Glasg. 413. Edward, the son of Gospatrick, the Earl of Dunbar, who died, in 1166, granted to the monks of May a chalder of meal, yearly, from the toll of his miln of Beletun. Chart. May. 27. Walter, the first Stewart, granted to his monks of Paisley five marks of silver, yearly, from his miln of Innerwick. Chart. Paisley, 8.

(*d*) In 1493, a suit was moved in parliament, by David Lauder, of Popil, against several persons, for casting down the milndam of Popil, nine years before: The lords found, that those persons had done wrong; and ordained them to rebuild the miln-dam; and to pay the complainant three pounds, yearly, for nine years past, in lieu of the profits of his miln of Popil. Parl. Rec. 376.

(*e*) Walter, the first Stewart, granted to the monks of Paisley, some lands, in exchange, for their lands of Innerwick, excepting the messuage near the cemetery; with the *garden*, and other easements. Chart. Paisley, 48. Richard Morville, the constable, who died, in 1189, mentions, in his charter to Henry Sinclair, an *orchard* on the lands of Herdmanston. Dip. Scotiæ. pl. 75.

(*f*) A *taxatio* of the vicarage of Hadington, which was made, by the authority of William, who governed St. Andrews, from 1202 to 1333, mentions, "omnibus *decimis*, cartilagiorum, et *Pome-*" *riorum* infra burgum." Chart. Antiq. Bibl. Harl. 60. A charter of the same bishop, William,

in

William Landels, the bishop of St. Andrews, confirmed to the nuns of Haddingtoñ, a toft, and a *garden*, with eleven acres of land, in Popil, which had been granted to them, by Patrick, the son of Roger of Popil (*g*). Such, then, was the prosperous state of the husbandry of Hadingtonshire, at the demise of Alexander III., when the descent of the crown was disputed; and wasteful wars were the result; involving East-Lothian, by their long endurance, in their ruinous consequences. In 1336, this county was involved, in warfare, and its agriculture impeded, by a very different cause: Alan of Wyntoun carried away, by violence, one of the daughters of Seton; and this outrage raised such discord, in Lothian, as, in one year, to suspend the labour of a hundred ploughs (*h*).

Whatever efforts were made, during the reigns of the Bruces, and Stewarts, to regain the agriculture of the past, or to promote the husbandry of the future, *the Union* will be found the real epoch of the resuscitation of georgical improvements, in East-Lothian. At that epoch, Lord Belhaven gave to *the farmers his advice*; but, Lord Hadington showed the country gentlemen his example (*i*). The

in consequence of that *taxatio*, speaks of the "decimæ *hortorum*, infra burgum." Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 114. Those documents show that, during the reign of William, the lion, the burgesses of Hadington had *gardens*, and orchards, annexed to their messuages. A composition, which was made, in 1245, between the prior of St. Andrews, and the monks of Hadington, mentions, "duarum bovatarum terræ contentarum, in *vetere gardino* de Stephenston." Ib. 119. This intimation shows the extent of such *old* gardens.

(*g*) Ib. 110. (*h*) Fordun. l. xiii. c. 51.

(*i*) If we may believe, however, the Statistical Account of Tyningham, xvii. 576, it was Lady Hadington, Helen, the sister of Charles, the first Earl of Hopeton, who discovered, that trees would grow, if they were planted, on that shore; and that Thomas, the sixth Earl of Hadington, entered "keenly into her plans of plantation." Lord Hadington, in his Treatise, on the raising of forest trees, allows the Lady Helen, his wife, all the merit, that is claimed for her. But, his lordship, who was a *poet*, as well as a *planter*, ought to be allowed to tell his own story his own way: "When I "came to live, in this place, [Tyningham] there were not above fourteen acres set with trees. I "believe the reason was, that it was a received notion, in this country, that no trees could grow here, "because of the sea air, and the north-east winds. My grandfather came late to the estate, and the "civil wars of Charles I. did not permit him to stay at home; but when they were over, he tried "to raise some trees, which he planted round the house, and gardens. My father succeeded him, "who, as I have been told, both loved, and understood planting: He began to plant, to drain, and "to inclose his grounds to very good purpose; but his father-in-law dying, he went to take pos-"session of the estate, in right of my mother, who was heiress, and settled at Leslie [in Fife] "where he planted a great deal. [This was Margaret, the eldest daughter of John, Duke of "Rothes, who died, in 1681; and his heiress died in 1700.] As I was then very young, I staid "at Leslie, with my mother, and Tyningham was let to tenants: They pulled up the hedges,

The Earl of Hadington introduced into the agricultural affairs of East-Lothian another object, which was of great use. The practice of sowing *grass-seeds* was new, in this district, "till he fell heartily to work, except a little *broad-clover*, "in particular gardens." He had some English people with him, who taught his servants the practice of grass husbandry. He also tried Saint-Foin, and Lucern, without adequate success (*k*). Fletcher of Saltoun emulated Lord Hadington, in his agricultural encouragement, "after he saw his own *political*

"plowed down the banks, and let the drains fill up; so that when I came to reside here, every "thing of that kind was in ruins, except the thickets to the east, and west of the house. As I was "not then of age; I took pleasure in sports, dogs, and horses; but, had no manner of inclination "to plant, inclose, or improve my grounds; but being at last obliged to make some inclosures, "for grazing my horses, I found the buying of hay very expensive; this made me wish, to have "enough of my own; yet, I did little, or nothing, of that kind for some years: But, as my wife "was a great lover of planting, she did what she could to engage me to it; but in vain. At last, "she asked leave to go about it, which she did: And I was much pleased with some little things, "that were both well laid out, and executed, though none of them are now to be seen: For, when "the designs grew more extensive, we were forced to take away what was first done. The first "Marquis of Tweedale, [died 1697], my Lord Renkeilor [died 1707], Sir William Bruce, and "my father, with some others, had planted a great deal: Yet, I will be bold to say, that planting "was not well understood, in this country, till this century began [170:]. I think it was the "late Earl of Mar, that first introduced the wilderness way of planting amongst us, and very much "improved the taste of our gentlemen, who very soon followed his example. I had given over my "fondness for sport, and began to like planting better than I had done; and I resolved to have a "wilderness." This treatise was dated, from Tynyngham, in 1733. Thus far the Earl of Hadington. Yet, John Reid, the quaker gardener, had taught every body, in Scotland, by his ingenious book, entitled the *Scots Gardener*, in 1683, how to plant *gardens, orchards, avenues, groves*, and "*forests*. It must be recollected, that the well-known Duke of Lauderdale, formed here, during the reign of Charles II., the *first park* of this shire, containing 500 acres, which he surrounded with an immense wall of 12 feet high, from the plunder of his country. In our own times, Lord Blantyre reduced that height to seven feet. Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 45.

(*k*) Treatise on Forest Trees, 75. There is fortunately preserved, in the family household-book, a detail of the entertainments, which were given, at Tyningham, on the 21st of August 1679, at the baptism of the noble author of that agricultural treatise: "For *dinner*: Of fresh beef, six pieces; "mutton, sixteen pieces; veal, four pieces; venison, three legs; geese, six; pigs, four; old "turkeys, two; young turkeys, eight; salmon, four; tongues and udders, twelve; ducks, four-"teen; fowls, six roasted; fowls, boild, nine; roasted chickens, thirty; stewed chickens, twelve; "fricasseed chickens, eight; chickens in pottage, ten; lamb, two sides; wild fowl, twenty-two; "pidgeons, baked, roasted, and stewed, one hundred, and eighty-two; roasted hares, ten; fricasseed "hares, six; hams, three." Such was the *dinner!* For *supper*, there were: Roast mutton, two pieces; mutton in collops, two pieces; roasted pigeons, twenty-six; hares, six; ale, sixteen gallons; rolls, an hundred; loaves, a hundred and twenty-four. Arnot has preserved those curious details, in his History of Edinburgh, 176. There was here *plenty!* But, it was country fare, which might have been produced on the farm of an opulent peer.

career,

career, at a close, by *the Union* (*l*):" In 1710, he carried Meikle, the millwright, to Holland, whence he introduced the *fanners*, which were afterward made, at Salton, and formed the miln, which manufactured *decorticated barley*, which was thenceforth known, everywhere, as Salton barley. The introduction of this barley miln is said to have rapidly improved the agriculture of this shire, by the ready market, which was thus furnished, for this species of corn. Yet, the general state of agriculture was not much ameliorated. Though a great society of improvers, which arose in 1723, endeavoured to impart to the ploughmen its own energy, five-and-twenty years elapsed, before improvement began to produce effects, by its toil, or even to energize the common torpor, by its spirit. The year 1750 is stated, as the era of melioration, " when the " gentlemen, and tenantry of this county, began to emancipate themselves, " from the fetters of their fathers practices (*m*)." About the year 1736, the elder Wight introduced here the horse-hoeing husbandry, in all its vigour; raised excellent turnips, and cabbages; fed cattle, and sheep, to perfection; and attempted to extend the horse-hoeing husbandry to wheat, barley, and pease, though this pursuit did not justify the practice. Amidst some contrariety of opinions, one truth seems to be certain: East-Lothian possesses the unrivalled honour of having led the way, in Scotland, to the improvement of husbandry. The soil, indeed, and climate, are inviting; being preferable, perhaps, to any in North-Britain. There are also ready markets, for every thing, that land produces: And, there are limestone in plenty, and sea-ware, along the whole coast, the two greatest promoters of fruitfulness of soil. It is not, then, wonderful, that the husbandmen of this happy district, the Northampton of Scotland, should have early taken hold of nature's bounty, by applying, with diligence, to agriculture; and that success should have attended their perseverance. Such are the representations of Wight, the agricultural tourist, a professed farmer, at

(*l*) The Earl of Hadington promoted *the Union*, while Fletcher opposed it; both acting on the same motive: Lord Hadington foresaw, that it would disappoint political projectors, and quiet republican turbulence; Fletcher opposed it, as he knew, that it would bring to an end " his poli- " tical career."

(*m*) Mr. Baron Hepburn's Agric. Report. Yet, before the year 1743, East Lothian was deemed the best improved county, in Scotland, by the most competent judges. Maxwell's Dedication to his *Select Transactions of the Society of Improvers*. Before the year 1743, there was a farming society, at Ormiston. John Cockburn, the younger, of Ormiston, retired from political business, in 1740, and applied himself to the improvement of the agriculture, and manufactures of his county, which he had long served in parliament. This excellent patriot had zealously endeavoured to introduce here, the agricultural practices of England, though perhaps with less discrimination, than local circumstances demanded.

Ormiston, who spoke, from his own observation, as well as, from the experience of his father, who was also an eminent husbandman (*n*).

We have already seen who were probably the earliest improvers of Hadingshire. In addition to men, who would have been ennobled, by their useful efforts, Patrick, Lord Elibank, and Sir Hugh Dalrymple, each claim the merit of being the first, who introduced the fructifying practice of hollow draining. Two farmers, of the name of Cunningham, were the first, who levelled, and straightened ridges. John, Marquis of Tweedale, and Sir George Suttie, were the earliest, and most successful practisers of the turnip husbandry. The potatoe was introduced into Hadingtonshire, during the unproductive year 1740: But, it was a farmer, called Hay, in Aberlady, who was the first, that raised that most useful root, in the fields, about the year 1754. In the course of surveying East-Lothian, said Wight, in 1776, I have discovered, that improvements, in agriculture, are chiefly owing to the tenants. This is a fine country; and agriculture has been long carried on to greater perfection, than in any other county. This circumstance leaves a good deal of money, to circulate among the tenantry. By these means, there are always substantial tenants ready for every vacant farm: And their money, and credit, enable them to make the most of their possessions. In other parts of Scotland, the landlords have no better method to improve their estates, than by taking their farms into their own hands, in order to improve them; and then lease them to tenants. As this practice is unnecessary, in East-Lothian, the landlords are few in number, who find themselves obliged to apply themselves to agriculture. Thus much from the intelligent Wight (*o*). Without insisting on such topics, it is perfectly obvious, that a whole shire can only be improved, in its agricultural practice, by the general concurrence of the whole husbandmen: And their concurrence can only be obtained, by favourable terms, and long leases, which promote their efforts, and give security to the fruits of their toil: But, it is in vain to teach farmers their profession, by writing, or to expect them to adopt practices, from patriotism, unless the proprietors exhibit their interests, as the ends in view.

(*n*) Agricult. Reports, 1776, ii. 130.

(*o*) Agricult. Rep. ii. 275. The well-informed minister of Preston-kirk states it, as a fact, worthy of recording to the honour of this parish, that it first set the example of fallowing, in this part of the island: In the beginning of the 18th century, John Walker, tenant in Beanston, by the advice of some gentlemen, from England, fallowed about six acres of land; and finding the experiment answer his expectation, he was led to extend it, in the year following, to upwards of twenty acres. His neighbours, observing the success of his practice, gradually followed him in it, until at length it became universally pravalent. Stat. Acco. xi. 85.

When

When forty years of progressive improvements elapsed, in 1776 every agricultural practice had been introduced into East-Lothian, which the most intelligent men could think of, for their own profit (*p*). All the youthful farmers had got into a better mode, by intermixing broad-leafed plants, with white-corn crops, which proved so lucrative, as to force the whole farmers to follow their example. They still, however, worked their ploughs, with four horses, instead of two: And they had not yet been induced, whatever could be represented to their interests, to adopt oxen, for draught, in preference to horses. It is in vain, for professors of farming, to recommend their system: The husbandmen of Hadington, like the farmers of Berwickshire, had probably adopted, in their practice, not so much the best modes, as the best modes, according to the climate, the soil, and other circumstances, wherein they found themselves placed. Much has obviously been done, for the agricultural improvement of Hadingtonshire: Much, perhaps, does not remain, for carrying the practice of husbandry, in this district, to possible perfection (*q*).

The sheriff's fiers of Hadington is supposed, by theorists, to have commenced here, at the early epoch of charters. The records of the county demonstrate, that they, in fact, began, at the recent epoch of 1627. The record of the privy council evinces, that this practice of ascertaining the average prices of corn, in the preceding year, did not begin any where, in Scotland, earlier than the era of 1627. Similar practices certainly existed, in France, during prior ages. And, the word *fier* was also derived from France, in the form of *Feurre*, which was itself deduced, whatever *Menage*, and other French glossarists may say, from the old Gaulish *Ffair* (*r*).

Yet, all those efforts of the nobles, of the gentry, and of the farmers, had been unsuccessful, if better communications had not been made, by artificial roads. During the Scoto-Saxon period, we may see, in the chartularies, mention made of *the king's highways:* We may perceive, in those records, the existence of particular roads, leading from various places, in East-Lothian, to Edinburgh (*s*). But, the practice of war, during many a wretched age, consisted,

(*p*) See the facts, which are stated, by Wight, in his Reports, ii. 130-277.

(*q*) See the *general view* of the rural economy, in East Lothian, by the Hon. Mr. Baron Hepburn, 1794; and the general view of the same subject, by Robert Somerville, 1805.

(*r*) See before p. 30-2: And see the *fiers* of Hadington, from their commencement, in Mr. Baron Hepburn's Apx. to his General View.

(*s*) The monks were the first makers of roads, after the Roman times. Caledonia, i. 804. The first act, which was made in Scotland, about roads, was that of 1555, ch. 53; the second was, in 1592, ch. 159: And those two are quoted, as such, by Stair's Institute, 287. The county roads to market towns

sisted in wasting the country, and in breaking up the roads. The whole system of highways was probably bad, at *the Union*. It had not been long settled, when the Scotish statutes, respecting roads, were adopted, and enforced, by the united parliament (*t*). Yet, was not the new law equal to the difficult end. At the expiration of thirty years, the roads of Hadingtonshire continued founderous (*u*). The true art of road-making was not introduced into this district, till the era of 1750, when an act of parliament empowered commissioners to repair the post-road, from Dunglas bridge, on the border of Berwickshire, throughout the length of Hadingtonshire, to Ravenshaugh bridge, where this road enters Edinburghshire (*x*). This act led on, in the progress of improvement, to other measures of equal efficacy, for amending the cross-roads of this county; and thereby, to introduce a spirit of melioration, wherever communications were carried (*y*).

Hadingtonshire may boast of her endeavours to obtain manufactures, in addition to a flourishing agriculture, without gaining that desirable end. Since the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, she has enjoyed domestic fabrics, for family use, without taking into the account the varied changes of corn into meal and flour, malt and ale (*z*). Her hamlets have always been inhabited, by blacksmiths,

towns were required to be 20 feet broad. Parl. 1st Ch. II. 2d sess. ch. 16. It should seem to have been the law of Scotland, at *the Restoration*, that a road legally established, could not be changed, without an act of parliament: There was a warrant passed, in the parliament of 1663, "for changing a way, near Lethington." Unprinted Act of that Parliament. During the same session, there was an act passed, for repairing the highways, at the town of Preston. Unprinted Act, 1663.

(*t*) 5 Geo. I. ch. 30.

(*u*) At that epoch, it was the work of a winter's day to drive a coach, with four horses, from Hadington to Edinburgh: The great effort was, to reach Musselburgh to dinner; and to get to Edinburgh, in the evening. This journey is now performed with two horses, in two hours and a half. The town of Hadington complained of the turnpike act, as oppressive. At that period, one horse could only bring, on his back, in a winter's day, 200 weight of coals, from the pits, at four miles distance: The same horse can now draw 1000 weight, and make two turns, in the shortest day. It is a very curious fact that, in August 1503, when the princess Margaret passed through this shire, to consummate her marriage with James IV. it was necessary, "in some places, to make, "by force, wayes for her cariage." Lel. Col. iv. 282.

(*x*) 23 Geo. II. ch. 17. This seems to have been the first turnpike act, which was enacted, for Scotland.

(*y*) See Somerville's General View, 215-20.

(*z*) There are now, in Hadingtonshire, several *breweries*, of rather a more public sort, which are carried on to a great extent. There are distilleries, also, in this district, that are carried on, to a vast compass. There is one, at St. Clements-Wells, which, as it pays, annually, to the excise, 4000l. is said to be the greatest, in Scotland; and which fattens, yearly, 900 cattle, and 300 swine: And the proprietors of this extensive manufacture, work a seam of coals, for the supply of their works.

blacksmiths, ploughwrights, tanners, shoemakers, weavers, taylors, who must exist, in every society: But, the scanty population of her villages, at the end of half a century, from the commencement of her meliorations, evinces, with strong conviction, the absence of a busy manufacture. A coarse fabrick of wool has always existed here, though it was originally intended for domestic uses. A woollen manufacture has long existed, in Hadington town, particularly in the *Nungate*. In this town, a similar manufacture was settled, during the troublous age of Oliver Cromwell, who particularly encouraged it; seeing, perhaps, with his sagacious eyes, that fanaticism could only be cured by employment (*a*). After all those failures, a fabrick of wool has at length taken root, at Athelstonford, where a variegated cloth is supplied, at an easy price, and makes a pleasant dress, that is known, at Edinburgh, by the name of *the Gilmerton livery* (*b*). But, such a fabrick cannot create much circulation, or energize much labour. A linen manufacture has long existed, in this shire: But, it has been always feeble; and has never been of much importance to individuals, or the state (*c*). At Dunbar, there is an appropriate manufacture of cordage, and sail-cloth, which does not yield much profit, nor employ many hands: And, there has been erected, here, a machine, for the spinning of *lint*, which is said to promise better, though it appears not to have much ameliorated the linen manufacture (*d*). The first bleachfield, for whitening linen, is said to have been erected, in Hadingtonshire, which was patronized by Cockburn of Ormiston. The first bleachfield of the British Linen Company was fixed, at Saltoun, under the willing eye of Fletcher, Lord Milton (*e*). In 1793, there was erected a cotton

works. Stat. Acco. x. 87; iv. 170. There are also several starch manufactories, in this shire, which are carried on to great size, and profit. Ib. iv. 170; x. 258; v. 481. And these *breweries*, distilleries, and starch works, manufacture a great quanity of corn; and of course, furnish advantageous markets to the farmers.

(*a*) Transact. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 52-3. Colonel Stanfield, who was assassinated, by his son, had the honour of converting his warlike spear into a woollen loom. This undertaking had failed, before the Revolution. About the year 1750, a company, at the head of which was Fletcher, Lord Milton, and which revived such a manufacture; but, it soon failed. Id. Another company, unwarned, by the failure of the former, a third time, tried with still less success, to establish such a manufacture, at Hadington, where fuel is cheap, and the materials, at hand, while labour is dear.

(*b*) Stat. Acco. x. 170.

(*c*) According to a three years average, ending with 1790, there were of linen, made for sale, in Hadingtonshire, 26,875 yards, which were valued at 1,866 l. 4 s. 2 d. sterling: According to the same average, ending with 1800, there were made 27,221 yards, of the value of 1,766 l. 5 s. 6 d.

(*d*) There appear to be now erected several flax mills, in this county Stat. Acco. throughout.

(*e*) Ib. iv. 170; x. 258. And there are now various other bleach fields, in this shire, which seem to suppose, that they produce an adequate profit. Ib. i. 347; xvii. 40.

mill,

mill, on Biell water, in the parish of Dunbar (*f*): But, we may suppose, that it has not been very profitable; as it has not been followed, by similar establishments. At Dunbar, where the spirit of industry seems to enliven the people, there is a soap manufacture. At Preston-Pans was established, in 1750, a manufactory of *oil of vitriol*; it was soon extended to the making of aquafortis, spirit of salt, white ashes, and Glauber salts (*g*). At Preston-Pans, there are *potteries*, which produce white, and cream-coloured ware; and which began, about the year 1754; and, employ seventy persons, though the materials are brought from England: There is another fabric of *stoneware*, at Cuttle, in the same parish of Preston-Pans, which, from early times, seems to have been moved, by an energetic spirit (*h*) At Morison's-haven, there is also a manufactory of brown stoneware, from clay, which the neighbouring fields supply (*i*). At the end of the seventeenth century, there was erected, at the same place, a glass-house, for the making of bottles (*k*). In Tranent, there is a considerable *tannery*: And there is here also a small manufactory of locks, and nails (*l*). At Saltoun, where ingenuity, and patriotism, early began to energize the people, there is *a paper mill* (*m*). Yet, the foregoing details do not evince, that Hadingtonshire is a manufacturing county. Experience has every where shown, that manufactures are plants, which naturally spring up in an unpromising soil; but, cannot be easily cultivated, by artificial means.

Salt is one of the earliest manufactures of Scotland. It was practised along the East-Lothian shore, during the 12th century. The monks of Newbotle, who obtained a grant of Preston, before the year 1189, from Robert de Quincey, and who had the honour of discovering coal, within their lands, established a salt-work here, which gave rise to the name of Preston-*Pans* (*n*). And, along this shore, the manufacture of salt is still confined, during the present times;

(*f*) Stat. Acco. v. 481. (*g*) Ib. xvii. 67-8.

(*h*) In 1663, the parliament passed an act "for *two fairs* to be held, yearly, in the barony of "Preston." Unprinted Act of that year.

(*i*) Stat. Acco. 66-7.

(*k*) Id. When John Ray travelled along this shore, in August 1661, "he saw glasses made of "kelp, and sand mixed together, and calcined in an oven: The crucibles, which contained the "melted glass, they said, were made of tobacco pipe clay." Itinerary, 194.

(*l*) Stat. Acco. x. 88. (*m*) Ib. 258.

(*n*) Near Golin, at the mouth of the West Peffer, there was, of old, a salt work, which imparted to the place, the significant name of Salt-*cots*. On the shore of Oldhamstocks, there was anciently a salt work, which gave to the place the appropriate name of *Salt-pan*-hall. Stat. Acco. vii. 406.

and

and produce, yearly, at least 30,000 bushels (*o*). Connected with the salt manufacture is fishery. There was of old an oyster-fishery, on this coast, which, for many years, employed numerous boats. The sea-fowl of the Forth taught the people on the adjacent shores, what food, and what wealth, might be found, in that fruitful water. A herring-fishery now began, and was carried on, of old, to a great extent; yielding great profit to individuals, and not a small revenue to the state (*p*).

The foreign trade of this agricultural shire consisted, anciently, in exporting the rude produce of the flocks, and herds; the wool, the skins, and hides; and in importing the necessaries, which people, living in a rude state of society, commonly require. Hadington town was, for ages, a sort of commercial metropolis, where the court of *the four burroughs* assembled, under the chamberlain, to decide on the disputes of traffic. In opposition to nature, Hadington town was thus induced to endeavour to be a sea port, though it be upwards of five miles from any harbour. The nearest port to Hadington is the bason, which is formed by West-Peffer, where it falls into the sea; and which is known, by the name of Aberlady, or Luffness (*q*). Trade will form a port: But, a port cannot

(*o*) Stat. Acco. xvii. 65-6-7. Some years ago, Doctor Schwediaur began, at Cockenzie, a manufacture of great salt, which was of a superior quality, but his merit was not attended with the success, which was due to his enterprize. Ib. xvii. 74; x. 86. In favour to the Earl of Winton, there passed an act of parliament, in 1681, exempting *his coal, and salt*, from any public burden. Unprinted Act of that year. The Laird of Ormiston protested against this exemption, as well he might. Id. The whole *excise* on the *salt*, which was made, between Leith and South-Berwick, was let to Thomas Row, in the year, ending with January 1657, at 360l., as we learn from Tucker's MS. Report, in the Advocate's Library.

(*p*) The *assize* of herring, from the east seas, amounted, in 1598, to 1120, dry killing; and in 1614, it paid 2000l. Scots, and 1510l. fine: In 1656-57, and 59, it paid 130l. sterling. Tucker reported to Cromwell's commissioners, in 1656, "The town of Dunbar, or village rather, is a "fisher town, famous for the herring fishing, which are caught thereabout, and brought thither; "and afterwards cured, and barrelled up, either for merchandize, or sale to the country people, "who come thither, far and near, at the season, which is, from about the middle of August, to the "later end of September; and buy great quantities of fish, which they carry away, and either "spend presently, or else salt, and lay up, for the winter provision of their families. The trade "here is little else, except salt, which is brought hither, and sold for the fishing." Tucker's MS. Report, in the Advocate's Library. Yearly, about this time, said John Ray, in August 1661, there is a great confluence of people, at Dunbar, to the herring fishery; and they told us, sometimes to the number of 20,000 persons; but, we did not see, how so small a town could contain, indeed, give shelter to such a multitude. Itinerary, 189-90. They were not stationary: The people came, and went, according to circumstances, as we see, in Tucker's Report.

(*q*) During the reign of Alexander II. David de Lindsay, of *Luffenach* [Luffness] granted to the monks of Newbotle, a perpetual exemption, from all toll, or custom, in his port of Luffenach.

cannot command trade: Now, here, what expectations could there be, where there was neither a port, nor trade! Hadington town had, no doubt, from its original charter, an exclusive commerce over a wide extent of country. But, during ages, of rudeness, and rapacity, what profit could be obtained, from such a monopoly! At the recent epoch of *the Revolution*, there did belong to this port of Hadington one vessel of eighty tons, which was valued, at £250 (*r*).

At the middle of the 12th century, the Earl of Dunbar had a port, at *Bele*, lying within less than a mile of Dunbar, on the westward; and acquiring thus the appropriate name of Bele-*haven* (*s*). This, then, was the port of Dunbar, till the reign of Charles II., when a harbour was formed, by building a pier, at Dunbar. David II., indeed, by a charter, in 1369, created Dunbar a free burrough, in favour of the Earl of Dunbar; and made it a commercial port (*t*). The eastern pier was erected, under the grand usurpation; Cromwell giving

Chart. Newbot. 219. Hadington acquired this port, by whatever means. In the confirmatory charter of James VI. to the community of Hadington, dated the 30th of January 1624, he confirmed to that town, "the port of Aberlady, lying in the bason of Peffer water, with the common "*gate* [way] leading to the same port, together with the house of the said burrough, situated by "the said port, and shore thereof, called the town of Hadington's house, with the anchorage, "monies, profits, privileges, duties, and customs, of a *free port*:" And this charter was confirmed by the parliament of 1633. Transact: Antiq. Soc. Edin 98; Unprinted Act, 1 Parl. Charl. I. No. 61.

(*r*) MS. Report, in the Advocate's Library. Hadington has, at this day, what is of more importance to her, a weekly market, which is supposed to be the largest, in Scotland, for the Sale of Corn.

(*s*) Gospatrick, the Earl of Dunbar, [from 1147 to 1166] granted to the monks of May, for their accommodation, in commerce, a full toft, near his port of Bele, free from all custom. Chart. May, 26. This toft appears to have been assigned them, at Dunbar, where they built a house. About the year 1168, William, the lion, confirmed to the monks of May, "Unam mansuram, cum tofto, in "Dunbar, et applicationem unius navis ad necessaria domus sui transportanda, sicut comes Gospa-"tricius eis dedit, et rex Malcolmus frater meus eis carta sua confirmavit." Ib. 17.

(*t*) As motives, for the grant of a free burrough to Dunbar, it was stated, that the English traders of Berwick, and of Roxburgh, carried out of the kingdom wool, skins, and other goods, on which a custom was due to the king, though it was never collected; as the burrough of Hadington was too remote from the marches: Dunbar was, therefore, now made a free burrough; and the free burgesses, living within it, were enabled to buy skins, hides, wool, and other merchandizes, as other burgesses of the realm could usually buy, and sell; and for that end, should have a market croce; and also a free port, "apud le Belhaven," with entry, and clearance of ships, and goods; and to enjoy a *trone*, and *cocquet*. The boundaries of the burrough of Dunbar were declared to be co-extensive with the limits of the earldom of Marche; and the burgesses of Hadington were now empowered to trade, within the same limits; while the burgesses of Dunbar were authorized to traffic, within the privileged places of Hadington. Roberts. Index, 89.

£300

£300 towards the expence of the work. Yet, was the harbour still imperfect: And, early in the 18th century, it was enlarged, and deepened, by digging eight feet into the solid rock, while commodious quays were built (*u*). About the same time, perhaps, Dunbar was erected, by an exchequer commission, into a customhouse port; extending from Berwick-bounds, on the south, to Tyne water, on the north (*x*). We have thus seen a powerful competition established to the shire town, in its immediate neighbourhood.

As Dunbar was thus established, as a competitor to Hadington; so North-Berwick was raised up a few years, afterward, as a rival of Dunbar. In 1373, by a charter of Robert II., to William, Earl Douglas, North-Berwick was made a burrough, with the privileges of buying, and selling, with a port, and customhouse, for the entrance, and clearing of ships, with a *trone*, for the weighing of wool (*y*). The great influence of Earl Douglas did not, however, give much trade to North-Berwick. In 1692, at the end of three hundred and twenty years, North-Berwick enjoyed only two fishing boats. The foreign trade of North-Berwick consists, at present, of exporting corn, and of importing what the country requires of foreign luxuries.

The history of Morison's-haven may be given in few words. In April 1526, James v. empowered the monks of Newbotle, the discoverers of coal, in the same vicinity, to construct a port, within their own lands of Prestongrange (*z*). Near the west end of the town of Preston-Pans, the monks erected a harbour, which was called *New-haven*; and this name was changed to Achieson's-haven, and afterward, obtained the name of Morison's-haven, from the proprietor, at the commencement of the 17th century. It is reckoned one of the safest harbours, on this shore of the Forth; having ten feet water, at stream tides (*a*). It is a customhouse port, by the name of Preston-Pans, extending along the southern

(*u*) Stat. Acco. v. 479-80-81.

(*x*) MS. Customhouse Report. The date of the erection was the 23d of October 1710. The limits of this port are before stated, in chapter I. Robert III. granted to William Danyelstoun an annuity of 20 marks sterling out of the great customs of Dunbar till the king should grant him ten marks of land, in some competent place. At the epoch of the Revolution, Dunbar had of shipping two barques, and sixteen herring boats. In 1800, Dunbar only possessed 16 vessels, which carried 1,582 tons, and were navigated by 169 men.

(*y*) Roberts. Index, p. iii. This is the most ancient charter of North-Berwick. The Earl of Douglas entered, at the same time, into an obligation to resign that charter, if it should be found inconvenient to the other ports of Scotland, as we have seen. Parl. Rec. 129.

(*z*) The charter of James v. was ratified by parliament, in the same year. Parl. Rec. 568.

(*a*) Stat. Acco. xvii. 72-3.

shore of the Forth, four-and-twenty miles, between the ports of Dunbar, and Leith (*b*). In 1800, the port of Preston-Pans enjoyed only one coasting vessel of 47 tons, which was navigated by three men.

At the end of the 16th century, James VI. created, in favour of Robert, Lord Seton, the burgh of barony of *Cockenzie*, to be held as a free port (*c*). The village of *Cockenzie* is close to the town of Port-Seton, where the harbour now is: Before *the Union*, Port-Seton was a place of some resort for vessels: At present, it has very few shipping. The chief export is salt: The imports consist of timber, and iron, for a prosperous country; and sometimes corn, and malt, for the neighbouring distilleries (*d*). The harbour of Cockenzie lies within the customhouse port of Preston-Pans. During the forty years, which ended in 1800, the shipping of Dunbar increased from 8 vessels, carrying 1,135 tons, to 16, bearing 1,582 tons. During the same period, the shipping of Preston-Pans decreased, from 12 vessels, carrying 590 tons, to 1 vessel, bearing 47 tons. As Dunbar, and Preston-Pans, are the only two customhouse ports, within East-Lothian, we may infer, from the foregoing details, that its navigation has not been, in the present reign, very prosperous.

The famous question of political economy, whether agriculture, when conducted, on its best principles, and managed with the most right attentions, be favourable to a numerous population, will be answered most satisfactorily, by the *Tabular State*, which is annexed; as it exhibits the numbers of people, in each parish, at three successive periods, which are allowed to be times of great prosperity: And, as this *table* contains statements of facts, the question must be decided by the fact, which evinces, that Hadingtonshire, with the help of some manufactures, some trade, and some shipping, during the last fifty years, has hardly maintained, from diminution, the numbers of her people.

§ VIII. *Of its Ecclesiastical History.*] It is an instructive fact that, within the limits of Lothian, scarcely a druid monument remains. And this fact pretty

(*b*) It was so erected, as a port, in 1710. MS. Customhouse Report. In 1617, James VI. erected Preston, and Preston-pans, into a *burgh of barony*, with the usual privileges, in favour of Sir John Hamilton, of Preston. Ib 61. Charles II., in 1663, confirmed to Thomas Hamilton the barony of Preston, with the *burgh* of Preston, "et libero porto marino et navium statione ejusdem," with the privileges accustomed; "et salinarum patellis, carbonibus carbonariis," within the same barony: He, and his heirs, rendering, for the same, 2 marks, 6 shil. and 8 pen. yearly, as *the ancient feufirm*, for the same lands, with 6 s. 8d. of augmentation. MS. Charters.

(*c*) Dougl. Peer. 706, who quotes the charter.

(*d*) Stat. Acco. x. 86. The insignificance of this harbour might be inferred, from the circumstance, that the shore dues seldom exceed 30 l. a year.

plainly

plainly intimates, that some religious event took place, within that country, during the obscure events, which succeeded the abdication of the Roman power, whereof history is silent. The intrusion of a pagan people upon the Romanized Ottadini, along the southern shore of the Forth, seems to be the event, which produced, during the fifth century, the destruction of the druid monuments, within the limits of Lothian.

The conversion of the Saxons of Lothian, to the truths of christianity, is an event, as darksome, as the topic is curious. The worthy Baldred, a disciple of Kentigern, may be considered, as the apostle of East-Lothian (*e*). During the the 6th century, Baldred fixed his cell, at Tyningham; and thence preached the gospel, throughout the adjacent country (*f*). We have thus seen, that such a person existed, during the 6th century; established a religious house, at Tyningham; and thence went out, at stated periods, according to the practice of the age, to inculcate the faith, by preaching the gospel (*g*). Amidst the obscurities of the 6th and 7th centuries, it is in vain to trace the immediate successors of the deserving Baldred (*h*). The year 635 is the epoch of the bishoprick of Lindisfarn (*i*). And this bishoprick extended over the ample range of Lothian, till the decline of the Northumbrian kingdom (*k*). The epoch of the cession of Lothian, in 1020, to the Scotish king, is also the epoch of the establishment of the bishop of St. Andrews' jurisdiction over the churches of Lothian. The archdeacon of Lothian, who derived his power, from the bishop of St. Andrews, under the reigns of David I., and Alexander I., exer-

(*e*) Major, 68; Spotswood's Church Hist. 11.

(*f*) The English Martyrol. 70-1, wherein he is placed under the 29th of March. In Dempster's *Menologia Scotiæ*, Baldred is put under the 6th of March. Keith speaks of St. Baldred, as the successor of Kentigern, and a confessor: And he martyrs him, on the 6th of March 608, A. D. Keith's Bishops, 232. Baldred died, as we learn, from Simeon of Durh. l. 11. c. 2. on the 6th of March 606-7. On the coast of Tyningham parish, there is a rock, called St. Baldred's Cradle. On the shore of the neighbouring parish of Aldham, there is a rock, which tradition has named St. Baldred's Boat.

(*g*) There was a Saxon monastery of St. Balther [Baldred] at Tyningham. Smith's Bede, 231-54. His district, or diocese, is described by Simeon; "et tota terra quæ pertinet ad monasterium "sancti Balthere quod vocatur *Tyningham* a Lambermore usque ad *Escemuthe*, [Inveresk]." Twisden, 69. Imperfect as this delineation is, it comprehends the whole extent of East Lothian.

(*h*) "Anlafus incensa et vastata ecclesia sancti Baldredi in Tyningham, 941, mox periit." Chron. Mail. Hoveden says, Anlafe spoiled the church of St. Balthar, and burnt Tyningham. Saville, 423; see Matthew of Westminster.

(*i*) Saville's Chronol. Table.

(*k*) Tyningham belonged to the bishoprick of Lindisfarn, saith Hoveden. Saville, 418; Sim. Dunelm. Col. 139; Lel. Col. i. 366; ii. 181.

cised

cised his authority over the whole clergy of Hadingtonshire. Of old, the three Lothians, and the eastern part of Stirlingshire, formed two deanries, within the diocese of St. Andrews; the deanry of *Linlithgow*; and the deanry of *Lothian:* And, this last deanry, at the epoch of the ancient *Taxatio*, [1176], included the whole parishes of Hadingtonshire, and nearly the half of the churches of Mid-Lothian (*l*). Before the epoch of Bagimont, [1275], the deanry of Lothian had changed its name to *the deanry of Hadington*; but, it retained its ancient limits, till the epoch of *the Reformation*. The dean of Hadington, and the archdeacon of Lothian, were ecclesiastical persons of great authority, under the bishop of St. Andrews; as we may learn, from the chartularies (*m*). For the better govern-

(*l*) According to the ancient *Taxatio*, the *decanatus* de Lothian comprehended the following parishes, which were assessed, as under;

	Mercas.
In East Lothian:	
Ecclesia de Haldhamstok	60
Ecclesia de Innerwyk	30
Ecclesia de Dunbar cum capella de Whytingeham	180
Ecclesia de Tyningham	40
Ecclesia de Hanus [Petcoks]	10
Ecclesia de Aldham	6
Ecclesia de Linton	100
Ecclesia de North-Berwyk	60
Ecclesia de Hadingtoun	120
Capella St	5
Ecclesia de Elstanford	10
Ecclesia de Garvald	15
Ecclesia de Barwe	20
Ecclesia de Morham	20
Ecclesia de Bothani	30
Ecclesia de Bolton	20
Ecclesia de Salton	30
Ecclesia de Penkatland	40
Ecclesia de Golyn	80
Ecclesia de Seton	18
Ecclesia de Travernent	65
Ecclesia de Keth-hundby	30
Ecclesia de Keth-marschall	12
Ecclesia de Ormiston	12
Aberlady [within the bishoprick of Dunkeld.]	
Spot [rectoria in Bagimont's Roll.]	
In Mid-Lothian.	
Ecclesia de Muskilburg	70
Ecclesia de Cranstoun	60
Ecclesia de Creichtoun	30
Ecclesia de Fauelaw	6
Ecclesia de Locherwort	40
Ecclesia de Kerynton	18
Ecclesia de Kocpen	20
Ecclesia de Clerkington	8
Ecclesia de Maisterton	4
Ecclesia de Heriet	30
Ecclesia de Monte Laodoniae	12

(*m*) There is a charter of Richard, bishop of St. Andrews, to the monastery of Hadington, in which Andrew, the archdeacon of Lothian, is a witness. Transact. Soc. Antiq. Edin. i. 112-13. There is a charter of bishop Roger, in which William, the *archdeacon of Lothian*, and Andrew, the *dean* of Lothian, are witnesses. Id. Laurence, the archdeacon of Lothian, is a witness to a charter of Bishop Malvoisin, from 1202 to 1233. Ib. 114. In 1268, on the elevation of William Wiscard [Wischart] from the sea of Glasgow to the sea of St. Andrews, "Robertus Wiscard nepos ejus, "*archidiaconus Laodoniæ* factus est electus Glasguensis, deinde in episcopum consecratus." Chron. Mailros; Keith's Bishops, 143.

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ance of the clergy, the bishop of St. Andrews used to call *episcopal synods*; more anciently, at Berwick, as we have seen; more recently, at Hadington; as we may now perceive (*n*). There is a composition of the year 1245, between the prior and chapter of St. Andrews, on the one part, and the monks of Hadington, on the other, in which the chapter "Orientali Laodoniae," of *East*-Lothian, is very distinctly stated. This *composition* was read before the *chapter* of Lothian, by whom it was testified (*o*). When the bishoprick of Edinburgh was established, in an evil hour, by Charles I., the ancient authority of the bishop of St. Andrews was taken away, and his powers were transferred to the bishop of Edinburgh (*p*). Under that ancient regimen, the ecclesiastical affairs of this ample district continued, to be properly managed, till *the Reformation* placed it under the popular jurisdiction of synods, and presbyteries.

Connected with that regimen of old were the religious houses, which owed obedience to the diocesan power of the episcopate of St. Andrews. During the reign of Malcolm IV., the Countess Ada, the mother of Malcolm, and William, founded, near Hadington, a convent of Cistercian nuns, which was dedicated to the Virgin; and whose site is still marked, by a village, which is called the *abbey* (*q*). This monastery, before the age of David II., was very richly endowed, by the several grants of various personages (*r*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the lands of this house were rated at £100. In July 1292, Alicia, the prioress of Hadington, with her convent, did homage to Edward I. (*s*). On the 28th of August 1296, Eve, the successor of Alicia, submitted to the same overbearing prince; and, in return, had a restoration of her rights (*t*). An inundation of the Tyne, at Christmas 1358, had well nigh swept away the nunnery, which, according to the legend of the times, was preserved, by the intervention of the

(*n*) From attendance, at those synods, the bishop used sometimes to grant dispensations: He granted to the monks of Durham, an exemption from attending his synods, at Berwick. Smith's Bede, Apx. xx: In 1293, bishop Lamberton exempted the abbots of Dryburgh, from attending his synodal meetings, at *Hadington*. Chart. Dryb. 177; and if those abbots of Dryburgh should attend those meetings, on urgent occasions, the bishop granted them a pension, to be paid by *the dean of Hadington*. Id.

(*o*) Trans. Ant. Soc Edin. 119. which is a very instructive document.

(*p*) See the charter of erection, in Keith, 28-37. By it, the ministers of Tranent, Hadington, and Dunbar, were consituted three of the nine prebendaries of Edinburgh.

(*q*) See her grants, in the Transact. Antiq. Soc. Edin.

(*r*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ. Major, who was born at Hadington, speaks of this house, as "monasterium pulchrum, et opulentum."

(*s*) Rym. ii. 572. (*t*) Prynne, iii. 653; Rym. ii, 725.

Virgin.

Virgin (*u*). In May 1359, William, the bishop of St. Andrews, more effectually preserved the prioress, her house, and her possessions, by an inspeximus charter, which speaks of Hadington, as being near the hostile border, and subject thereby to frequent devastation; and which confirms her rights, and recognizes her privileges (*x*). The prioress, and nuns of Hadington, were subject to other attacks. The lairds of Yester, and Makerston, ungallantly, seized their lands of *Nunhopes*. And the injured nuns had no other resource, than a complaint, in 1471, to the privy council. But, the lairds were not to be frightened from their prey. And the prioress brought a complaint of their pertinacity, and her wrongs, before the parliament, in May 1471. The appropriate judges of such injuries, upon proof of the facts, decreed the two lairds to be committed; and to refund, to the prioress and convent, the profits of their lands (*y*) The effluxion of years brought with it other grievances to the prioress, and nuns of Hadington. The state of the country was such, as that the granges of their convent should be fortified. And, at their grange of Nunrau. in Garvald parish, they had a fortalice. In February 1547-8, Elizabeth Hepburn, the prioress, appeared before the regent, and his council; and engaged to keep the fortlet of Nunrau, from their *old enemies*, or to cause it to be razed (*z*). In July 1548, a parliament assembled, in her nunnery, where it was resolved, by the Estates, to defend their harassed land against their old enemies; and to send their infant queen to France, as a place of safety, from the fraudulence, and force, which assailed them (*a*). The time came, at length, when the same prioress was required to give a statement of her estate, with a view to the suppression of her nunnery (*b*). This nunnery had, for its *economist*, old Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, the statesman, the jurist, the poet (*c*). The monastery of Had-

(*u*) Fordun. 1 xiv. c. 21.

(*x*) That charter of bishop William is printed in the Transact. Soc. Antiq. Edin. 106.

(*y*) Parl. Rec. 160, states both the wrong, and the reparation of the nuns; and incidentally furnishes a singular trait of the rudeness, and anarchy of the times.

(*z*) Keith's Apx. 56. (*a*) Ib. 55.

(*b*) In February 1561, Elizabeth Hepburn, who was now called a *venerable lady* stated, that there were then, in the convent, 18 nuns, who were each allowed 4l. yearly, for cloathes, 4 bolls of wheat, and 3 bolls of meal, with eight pence a day, for flesh, and fish. Books of assumption. She reported her revenues to be, in money 308l. 17s. 6d.; wheat 7 chalders, 11 bolls. [In this statement the oats are omitted.] She had, moreover, fines, carriages, capons, other poultry, from the tenants on her estates. The books of assumption stated this rental somewhat larger. But, there had been some dilapidations of the estates of the convent, when the hand of reform began to be felt.

(*c*) On the 15th of December, 1564, Sir Richard designates himself, in a charter to his son, "Oeconomus monasterii monialium de Hadington." Spotiswood, 514.

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ington was given by the queen to her secretary William Maitland, Sir Richard's eldest son, who is so celebrated for his talents, and tergiversation; and who is called *the father of mischief*, by Knox, and the *camelion*, by Buchanan: What was, indeed, said of Buchanan himself, might be appropriately said of Secretary Maitland; his abilities were honourable, but his crimes were disgraceful to Scotland (*d*).

At North-Berwick, on the south-western side of the town, upon a commanding height, which looks down upon the Forth, and upon the shore of Fife beyond it, Duncan, the Earl of Fife, who died, in 1154, founded a convent, for Cistercian nuns (*e*). The founder gave them some lands in his manor of North-Berwick, with the patronage of its church, and various lands, and revenues in Fife: And, they acquired the advowson of the church of Largo, of Kilconacher, Kilbrachment, and St. Monance, in Fife, with some lands, that belonged to each of them. The bishop of Dunblane gave them the church of Logie-Aithry, near Stirling. Adam de Kilconacher, the Earl of Carrick, who was their zealous patron, confirmed, in 1266, to those nuns, the grants of his fathers (*f*). And, they obtained various lands, tithes, and revenues, in East, and West-Lothian, in Fife, in Ayrshire, and in the shires of Berwick, and of Roxburgh (*g*).

(*d*) On the 13th of December, 1563, Randolph wrote to Cecil, that, "the abbey of Hadington was given by the queen to Lethington," [secretary Maitland]. Keith, 244. On the 20th of October 1567, dame *Isobel* Hepburn, the prioress of this abbey, issued her precept to Richard Cranston, her baillie, directing him to infeft William Maitland, the younger of Lethington, in the demesn lands of her monastery of Hadington, in the lands of Merton, of West Hopes, of East Hopes, of Wodend, of Newlands, of Windislaw, of Snawdown, of Carfrae, of Little-Newton, with the tithes; all which she had granted him, in fee, with the consent of her chapter. Spotiswoode, 515. Almost all those lands lie in the parish of Garvalt.

(*e*) Sir James Dalrymple, Col. 268, says he had seen David I.'s charter, confirming that foundation, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and the charters of king William, and Earl Duncan, with other charters, from the kings, the Earls of Fife, from Duncan, of Carrick, Adam de Kilconachar, the Earl of Carrick, and from the bishops of St. Andrews, to the monastery of North-Berwick; but, that they were all nearly burnt in the great fire at Edinburgh, in 1700. Spotiswoode, 515; and Keith, 282: both, being misled by Fordun, mistakingly say, that this nunnery was founded, in 1216, by a second Duncan, Earl of Fife.

(*f*) That knightly person, whose very name has been mistaken, by the Scotish chroniclers, was the first husband of the Countess of Carrick, the mother of Robert Bruce, the restorer of the Scotish monarchy: "An° 1270, obijt Adam de *Kilconcath*, comes de Carrick, in Anconia, cujus "uxorem commitissam de Carrick postea junior Rob. de Bruys accepit sibi, in sponsam." Chron. Mailros.

(*g*) Among much greater matters, Edward de Lestalric granted them a toft, in Leith, with three acres of land, at Greenside, which they leased for ever, to the monks of Newbotle, for the yearly rent of half a mark, legal money. Chart. Newbot. 57-8.

In the ancient *Taxatio*, the lands, which belonged to the nuns of North-Berwick, were rated at £66 : 13 : 4. In 1296, the prioress of North-Berwick submitted to the overpowering Edward I.; and, in return, she obtained, from his policy, writs to the several sheriffs of Fife, Edinburgh, Hadington, Berwick, and Roxburgh, to restore the estates of her convent (*b*). While submission thus ensured protection, the female inhabitants of the nunnery of North-Berwick were safe: But, in the progress of turbulence, and warfare, anarchical ages arose, when weakness only invited the attacks of violence. Such was the state of Scotland, under James III. The servants, and the tithes of the prioress, within the parishes of Kilconacher, Kilbranchmont, and St. Monance, were assaulted, and seized, by John Dishington, and other inhabitants of Fife, which seems to have been noted, for violence, in every age. The prioress applied to parliament, in December 1482, for protection against obvious wrongs. And, the Lords decreed the wrong-doers to restore the property taken, and to repair the damages done (*i*). In the subsequent reign, Margaret Home, the fourth daughter of Sir Patrick Home of Polworth, who died, in 1504, became a nun; and rose to be prioress, in this convent of North-Berwick (*k*). Her niece, Isobel Home, the third daughter of Sir Alexander Home of Polworth, who died, in 1532, from being a nun, also, succeeded her aunt, as prioress (*l*). We have thus seen that, before the Reformation began, the nunnery of North-Berwick had become, in a great measure, the inheritance of the Homes. After

(*b*) Rym. ii. 723. There was a guardian of this nunnery, as well as a prioress: On the 28th of August, 1296, William Vicaire de l'Eglise de Lancta, *gardeyn* de la Priorite de North-Berwick, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick. Prynne iii. 660. Sir James Dalrymple, Col. 268, says, this convent had a *prior*, as well as a prioress: But, Sir James was not much versed, in the details of such establishments.

(*i*) Parl. Rec. 266. This was the first parliament, after the restoration of James III., when he could hardly sustain his crown, against the insidiousness of Albany, and the intrigues of Angus.

(*k*) Dougl. Peer. 445.

(*l*) Id. In 1532, Dame Isobel Home granted to her half brother Alexander Home, in fee, the tithes of the church of Largo, in Fife. Spottiswoode, 516. She was succeeded, as prioress, by Margaret Home, who, on the 24th of March 1555-6, granted the tithes of the parish of Logie, in the diocese of Dunblain, to Sir Patrick Home of Polworth, and to his heirs. Id. On the 18th of March 1569-70. Alexander Home, the second son of Sir Patrick Home of Polworth, obtained a grant "officii Balivatus monasterii de North-Berwick." Id., which quotes the public archives. At the *Reformation*, the income of the nunnery, which was then inhabited, by eleven nuns, who had each £20 a-year, was stated thus: Money, £556 : 17 : 8; wheat, 9 chalders, 12 bolls; bear, 19 chalders, 4 bolls; oats, 14 chalders, 4 bolls; pease, and beans, 3 chalders, 9 bolls; malt, 1 boll, 3 firlots, and 3 pecks; 18 oxen, 13 cows; 1 last, 9 barrels of Salmon. Books of Assumption.

the

the Reformation, the revenues of this nunnery, which had remained undilapidated, were converted, by operation of law, into a lordship, for Sir Alexander Home of North-Berwick, a favourite of James VI. The patronage of the churches of Kilconacher, Largo, Logie, and Maybole, were conferred, by the king's pleasure, and the parliamentary power, on several persons, who thought themselves entitled to plunder the house, which they had assisted, in pulling down (*m*).

At Golyn, near the church, stood of old a convent of Cistercian nuns, which was a cell of the Cistercian nunnery of David I.'s foundation, at Berwick; and which ran the devious course of similar establishments (*n*). At Elbotle, in the parish of Dirlton, there was such a convent, for Cistercian nuns, which was also a cell of the same establishment, at South-Berwick (*o*). Such, then, were the *Cistercian* monasteries, in East-Lothian, of which we have seen the rise, the elevation, and suppression.

Of Franciscan friars, or minorites, East-Lothian had its share of their establishments. During the reign of Alexander II., a Franciscan monastery was founded, in Hadington town (*p*). In February 1355-6, while Edward III. wasted the whole lands of East-Lothian, he burnt the town, and monastery of Hadington, with the church of the minorites. Fordun speaks, feelingly, of this, as a *sumptuous work*, which was universally admired, as the *light of Lothian* (*q*): Major, on the other hand, inveighs against the minorites, for building so costly

(*m*) See the act of the Estates, on the 4th August 1565, in Glendook. There is a delineation of the ruins of the monastery of North-Berwick, in Grose's Scots Antiq. i. 74.

(*n*) Spottiswoode, 512.

(*o*) Id. The name of *El-botle* is merely an abbreviation of the Saxon *Eld*-botle, signifying the old dwelling, in contradistinction, perhaps, to Newbotle, in Mid-Lothian: In Pont's map of Lothian, in Blaeu, the place is called *Old-Bottel.*

(*p*) In 1314, Sir John Congalton of Congalton granted to those friars a provision of bread and wine to the altar of St. Duthac, in the name of the church of those minorites, near to which the bodies of his father, and mother, were buried; and the friars were obliged to celebrate the anniversaries of the grantor, and of his father, and mother, and of his ancestors, and successors, at the said altar; so long as there should be three brethren in the convent. Dougl. Peer. 521. Sir William Seton, during the reign of Robert III., made a similar grant to the same friars, of *coals*, and money. MS. Hist. of the family.

(*q*) Ford. l. xiv. c. 13. On the 16th of September 1421, the Tyne being flooded, by unusual rains, carried away 12 milns, and entered the friar church, in Hadington; so that the valuables, in the sacristry, and the books, in the library, were spoilt. Ib. l. xv. c. 34. The western part of this once splendid structure is now used as the parish church of Hadington: The other part of it, being unroofed, is falling fast into ruins. See a view of it, in the Transact. Antiq. Soc. Edin. by Col. Hutton of the artillery, and another delineation, in Grose's Scots Antiq. i. 82.

a church; and supposes that, this circumstance, as much as the sins of the town, may have induced God to give the whole to the flames: For such *oracular* observations, Major exposed himself to the ridicule of Buchanan, and the contempt of Knox, who, without superior learning, were guilty of greater faults.

Hadington also had a house of Dominican, or Black Friars, who were introduced, into Scotland, during the reign of Alexander II. But, nothing of its founder, and little of its history, are known (*r*). They ran the same course with similar establishments; and, when their usefulness was gone, their oblivion began. In 1218, Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, founded a house of *Red*, or Trinity Friars, at Dunbar: And, the lands, which piety, or zeal, had given them, were transferred, after the Reformation, to George Home of *Friarslands* (*s*). On such occasions, this observation must for ever occur, that such lands, in possession of such establishments, were of some use to the public; but, in the hands of an individual, they were of none. In 1263, Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, founded a house for Carmelites, or White Friars, at Dunbar: But, it appears not what favourite was gratified with this property, instead of the heirs of the founder (*t*). At Luffness, in Aberlady parish, there was another convent of Carmelites, to whom David II. granted a charter of confirmation, as a tribute of his approbation (*u*).

In Hadingtonshire, there were at least half a dozen hospitals, which had their usefulness, during ages of misery. The best endowed, in Scotland, perhaps, was the hospital, which was founded, in 1164, by Malcolm IV., at *Soltre*. On the summit of Soltre hill, which separates the Lothians from Lauderdale, Malcolm founded his house, for the relief of pilgrims, the sustentation of the poor, and the help of the sickly. Malcolm richly endowed it, with many lands. This youthful king gave it the privilege of sanctuary, while crimes were not unfrequent: And, there led from it, southward, through the moors to Melros, a path, which thus acquired the appropriate name of the *Girth-gate* (*x*). General Roy, a professed *quarter-master*, was led out of his course of inquiries, by this *Girthgate*, as we have seen. There was a way, which led up Lauderdale to Soltre hill; and which, as we have observed, was called *Malcolm's road*. The grants of Malcolm IV. to Soltre were confirmed, by his two immediate successors, William, and Alexander II., who added to his their own liberalities. From

(*r*) Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 64; Grose's Scots Antiq. i. 82.

(*s*) Spottiswoode, 505. (*t*) Ib. 505.

(*u*) Roberts Index, 51: Spottiswoode, in his ambition of knowledge, has mistakingly planted *Red* Friars, at Luffness. Acco. of Relig. Houses, Appx. to Hope's Minor Practics, 430.

(*x*) In the Saxon speech, we may remember, *girth* signified a sanctuary, and *gate* a way.

bishops,

bishops, barons, and from inferior persons, the master, and brethren of this house, obtained churches, tithes, lands, tofts, annuities, corn, meal, and other property, privileges, and exemptions (*y*). But, the master, and brethren of Soltre, did long enjoy such great estates, in quiet. On the 29th of July 1292, Ralph, the master of Soltre, swore fealty to Edward I., in the chapel of Edinburgh castle (*z*). On the 28th of August 1296, Thomas, the master of the Trinity hospital of Soltre, did homage to the same prince, at Berwick (*a*): And, he obtained, in return, precepts to several sheriffs, to deliver him the estates, and rights of the hospital (*b*). In 1410, Thomas de Alton was master of Soltre (*c*). And, in 1440, Thomas Lauder was also master of the same house: And, he was tutor to James II.; and was made bishop of Dunkeld, in 1453: He resigned his bishoprick, in 1476, being unable, from age, and infirmity, to perform the functions of his diocese (*d*). On the 25th of

(*y*) To this hospital belonged, from the gift of the founder, the church of Soltre, with its pertinents. It derived the church of Wemyss, in Fife, with its tithes, and tofts, from the grant of John de Methkill, during the reign of William, which was confirmed, by David, and Gamelin, the bishops of St. Andrews. Chart. Solt. 1—38. The church of Urd, [Kirkurd], in Tweedale, with its pertinents, which was confirmed by the bishop of Glasgow, in 1231. Ib. 40-2. The church of St. Martin of Strathechyn, with its pertinents, which was confirmed by the bishop of St. Andrews, between 1214 and 1248. Ib. 3. The church of Lempetlaw, in Teviotdale, was given to this hospital, by Richard Germyn, during the reign of Alexander II. Ib. 4. The church of St. Giles of Ormiston was given the hospital, by William, the bishop of St. Andrews, from 1202 to 1233. Ib. 5. The master, and brethren of this house, obtained, from Malcolm IV., the lands of Hangandshaw, in Teviotdale, which was confirmed, by Alexander II. Ib. 25—7. They acquired some lands from Simon Fraser, in the districts of Keith, Jonestoun, and Keith Harvey. Ib. 26. Richard, the *expensarius* of William, the lion, gave them his lands in Paistoun, in East-Lothian. Ib. 22. Thomas de Cranstoun gave them a *culture* of land, within the same district. Ib. 15. William de Muleneys gave them half a carrucate of land, in Salton. Ib. 11. Peter de Grame conferred on them three bovates of land, in Elviston. Ib. 49. Nicholas de Vetereponte gave them the lands of Swanyston, in Mid-Lothian. Ib. 13. In 1228, Alexander II. granted them, yearly, a thrave of corn, from every plough, within his lands, lying southward of the Forth. Ib. 41. He gave them also half a chalder of meal, yearly, from the miln of Peblis. Ib. 8. John de Strivelin granted a thrave of corn, yearly, from each plough within his lands, lying on the south of the Forth. Ib. 27. Thomas de Hay made them a similar grant, from his lands, in the same country. Ib. 53. David Olifard gave them a thrave of corn, yearly, from every plough, within his lands. Ib. 16. And, from various other persons, they obtained grants of lands, tithes, rents, and profits. See their chartulary, which remains in the Advocates Library.

(*z*) Rym. ii. 572. (*a*) Prynne, iii. 660. (*b*) Rym. ii. 726.

(*c*) Crawford's MS. Notes.

(*d*) On the 13th of March 1480-1, James III. confirmed a charter of Thomas, late bishop of Dunkeld, and *now bishop of the universal church* He died, on the 4th of November 1481; after seeing his house, the pious foundation of Malcolm IV., perverted to a different purpose. Keith, 55.

March

March 1462, Mary of Guelder, the widowed queen of James II., founded, near Edinburgh, a collegiate church, which she dedicated to the Trinity; and which was to consist also of a hospital, for the maintenance of thirteen poor persons: And, for the support of this mixed establishment, the churches, lands, and revenues, belonging to the hospital of Soltre, were assigned, by *apostolic authority*, for those useful ends (*e*). At Balencrief, the habitation at the tree, in Aberlady parish, there was a *hospital* founded, as early as the 12th century; though by whose piety it was dedicated to St. Cuthbert is now unknown. On the 29th of July 1292, William Fornal, "magister domus de "Ballencrief," swore fealty to Edward I., in the chapel of Edinburgh castle (*f*). The site of St. Cuthbert's hospital was named, by the Scotish settlers here, *Bal-an-craobh*, which is pronounced *Balancreiv*, in order to denote the habitation at the tree: And, it is now the seat of Lord Elibank. Near Setoun, there was founded, in the 12th century, a hospital, which was dedicated to St. Germains, who thus gave his name to the place (*g*). It is still the seat of a gentleman. On the 28th of August 1296, Bartholomew, the master of this hospital, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick (*h*): And, in return, he received precepts to the sheriffs of Berwick, Edinburgh, and Fife, of Kincardin, and Aberdeen, to restore the revenues of the house, which was thus situated in several shires (*i*). At Hadington town, there was of old an hospital, which was dedicated to the Virgin; and yet escaped the researches of Spottiswoode (*k*). In the vicinage of the shire town, there was a hospital dedicated to St. Laurence, and which left its name to a hamlet, on the same site (*l*). On the estate of Gosford, in Aberlady parish, there was, anciently, a hospital, at a place, which is known, by the name of Gosford *Spital*. At Houseton, in East-Lothian, there was of old

(*e*) Maitland's Edin. 207—10. Nothing remains but the ruins of the hospital of Soltre, on Soltré-hill, near the wayside from Edinburgh to Kelso: And, adjoining them, is a spring, which was consecrated, of old, to the Trinity; and is called, by the country people, the *Tarnty well*, that was much frequented, by diseased persons.

(*f*) Rym. ii. 572. On the 28th of August 1296, William Tornal "Gardein de l'hospital de "St. Cuthbert, de Balnecryf," swore fealty to the same king, at Berwick. Prynne, iii. 663.

(*g*) Among the several St. Germains, we may suppose the British, as best known, to have been the saint, to whom this hospital was dedicated. English Martyr. 97.

(*h*) Prynne, iii. 655. (*i*) Rym. ii. 725.

(*k*) Edward II., when he affected the sovereignty of Scotland, on the 19th of July 1319, conferred on Thomas de Gayregrave the custody of the hospital of the Virgin Mary, at Hadington. Rym. iii. 786.

(*l*) James V. made his chaplain Walter Ramsay, the rector of this hospital, to which the confirmation of the pope was asked. Epist. Reg. Scot. i. 193.

a hospital,

a hospital, though the piety of the founder, and the site of the foundation, be now equally unknown; as folly has changed the name of the place, which was once denoted by wisdom (*l*). Yet, Houstoun appears, as *a provostry*, in the books of the privy seal; as we learn from Keith (*m*).

Collegiate churches were not known, in Scotland, till the troublous reign of David II. The first establishment, of this kind, was founded, at Dunbar, by Patrick, Earl of March, in 1342, when it was confirmed, by William, the bishop of St. Andrews. The constitution of the collegiate church of Dunbar consisted of a dean, an archpriest, and eighteen canons. For their support, were assigned the revenues of the church of Dunbar, and the incomes of the chapels of Whittingham, of Spot, of Stanton, of Panshel [Penshiel], and of Hetherwick: The founder annexed to his collegiate establishment the churches of Linton, in East-Lothian, and Duns, and Chirnside, in Berwickshire: And, he reserved the patronage of the whole to himself, and his successors, the Earls of Dunbar (*n*). This collegiate church was confirmed, in 1492, by Henry, the bishop of St. Andrews, who recited the confirmation of his predecessor. By a new regulation of this collegiate church, there were appointed, as prebends of it, the churches of Dunbar, Pinkerton, Spot, Beltoun, Petcokis, Lintoun, Duns, and Chirnside: Except Pinkerton, these were all settled churches (*o*).

(*l*) Among the East-Lothian gentry, who swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick, on the 28th of August 1296, was "brother John, the master of the Trinity hospital, at Howeston." Prynne, iii. 956. A writ was soon after issued to the sheriff of Hadington, directing the restoration of the property of the holy Trinity, at Howeston. Rym. ii. 726. In Bagimont's Roll, the "magistratus de Howston," in the deanry of Hadington, is rated at £8.

(*m*) Hist. Apx. 257. It had been, meantime, converted, perhaps, into a collegiate church.

(*n*) Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Col. 3. Columba Dunbar was dean of the collegiate church of Dunbar, in 1411. In 1429, he was made bishop of Moray. And, he died, in 1435. Keith's Bishops, 84.

(*o*) In Bagimont's Roll, the componant parts of the collegiate church of Dunbar were separately rated, as under:

In the deanry of Hadington:					
Decanatus de Dunbar	£13	6	8		
Archiepresbyterus	8	0	0		
Rectoria de Dunbar	8	0	0		
Prebendarius de Pinkerton	5	6	8		
Rectoria de Spot	5	6	8		
Rectoria de Beltoun	£4	0	0		
Rectoria de Petcokis	2	13	4		
Rectoria de Linton	20	0	0		
In the deanry of the Merse:					
Rectoria de Duns	10	0	0		
Rectoria de Chirnside	4	0	0		

The same rates appear in a tax-roll of the archbishoprick of St. Andrews, in 1547. Master John Fleming was prebendary of Pinkerton, on the 20th of March 1478-9. Parl. Rec. 249.

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The patronage of this collegiate church fell to the king, by the forfeiture of the earldom of March, in 1435 (*p*).

Next, in antiquity, to the collegiate church of Dunbar, within this shire, was the collegiate establishment, at Dunglas. Here, in 1403, Sir Alexander Home of Home, who derived Dunglas, from his mother, Nicolas Papedy, founded a college church, for a provost, and prebendaries, whom he endowed with several lands, and some rents (*q*). Sir Alexander Home, the son of the founder, gave to this collegiate church four husband-lands, in the manor of Chirnside, which were confirmed by James II. (*r*). In Bagimont's Roll, the provostry of Dunglas, in the deanry of Hadington, was rated at £5 : 6 : 8. After the Reformation, the revenue of the provostry of Dunglas was returned, at £82 (*s*).

At Bothans, which was the name of the parish church of Yester, Sir William Hay of Locherwart founded, in 1421, a collegiate church, for a provost, six prebendaries, and two singing boys: And, he endowed his foundation with lands, and with rents. Sir William Hay, the founder, married, for his second wife, Alicia Hay, the daughter of Sir Thomas Hay of Errol, whom he left a widow, in 1421; and she outlived him almost 30 years: She granted, for the support of a chaplain, in the college church of Bothans, the lands of Blanes, within the constabulary of Hadington, with various rents, from tenements, in Hadington town, amounting to £4 : 2 : 6. There were settled on this collegiate church, also, the lands, which her son, Sir David Hay, gave as a mansion, for the accommodation of the chaplain, and his successors (*t*). In Bagimont's Roll, the *præpositura* of Bothans is rated at £40 (*u*). In December 1475, Maister Andrew Hay, the provoſt of Bothans, brought a suit, in parliament, against Robert, Lord Fleming, who was adjudged, by the lords auditors, to pay the

(*p*) Parl. Rec. 72. After the Reformation, the revenue of the archpriestry of Dunbar was stated at £80. Books of the Collectors of the Thirds.

(*q*) Dougl. Peer. 343, which quotes the charter in the archives of Home. Nisbet says, he saw the arms of Papedy impaled with those of Home, which were cut upon a stone, in the chapel of Dunglas. Heraldry, ii. 53. We may suppose the chapel, that Nisbet inspected, to have been this collegiate church.

(*r*) Spottiswoode, 522. (*s*) The Books of the Collectors of the Thirds.

(*t*) MS. Donations. On the 8th of March 1539, Robert Watherston granted, for the same purpose, of supporting a chaplain, for Bothan's church, a tenement, in the *Herdgate*, and another, in the Moorgate of Hadington, with the several annual rents, amounting to £3 : 10 : 8, in the same burgh, and two acres of land, on the northern side of the town. Id.

(*u*) After the Reformation, the revenue of this collegiate church was given in, at £100 Scots. Books of the Col. of the Thirds.

complainant

complainant 13 marks 10s. and 8d. for the debt (*a*). Some doubts have been entertained, though without a cause, whether the collegiate church of Bothans, and Yester, be the same. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church was called "ecclesia "de Bothani." Like other establishments, it was sometimes called *St. Bothans*, from the patron Saint, and sometimes *Yester*, from the place (*b*).

At Dirlton, there was founded, in 1444, a collegiate church, with a small establishment, by Sir Walter Halyburton. Its endowment seems to have been inconsiderable. Even at the Reformation, its revenue was returned only at £20 (*c*). Till that epoch, the patronage of this collegiate church continued, as a pertinent of the barony (*d*). The splendid church of Seton was made collegiate, by George, Lord Seton, in 1493. He herein formed an establishment of a provost, six prebendaries, two singing boys, and a clerk: And, he assigned, for their support, the lands, and tithes, of this church, with the chaplainries, which had been founded in it, by the piety of his ancestors (*e*). In Bagimont's Roll, the præpositura de Seton, in the deanry of Hadington, was rated at £2 : 13 : 4. At the Reformation, the revenue of this provostry was returned at £40 (*f*). In 1544, the English invaders, on their return from wasting Leith, burnt the castle of Seton: And, in their rage, spoiled the collegiate church; carrying away the bells, organs, with the usual ornaments, and other moveables, which they embarked on board their attendant fleet (*g*). Near Seton, at St. Germans, there was an establishment of the Knights Templars, which, with their revenues, were bestowed, by James IV., after their suppression, on the king's college of Aberdeen (*h*). In those religious establishments, we may perceive the singular manners, perhaps, the munificent piety of several per-

(*a*) Parl. Rec. 192. In 1469, Andrew Hay, the second son of Sir David Hay of Yeeter, was rector of Bigar.

(*b*) The village, at the church, was also called Bothans: In 1320, Sir John Gifford, of Yester, granted to the monks of Dryburgh an annual rent from his village of Bothan. Dougl. Peer. 709. Yet, Spottiswoode has made them two different places. Acco. of Religious Houses, 519-529.

(*c*) Books of the Collector of the Thirds. (*d*) Act 2 of the 16 Parl. Ja. VI.

(*e*) His charter of foundation, which was dated, on the 20th of June 1493, was confirmed by Andrew, the abbot of Newbotle, as the pope's delegate. Lord Seton built, for his collegiate church, a new sacristry, which was covered with stone. The founder died, in 1507; and was buried near the high altar of his college church. Spottiswoode, 528; Sir Richard Maitland's MS. History of the Seton family.

(*f*) Collector's Books of the Thirds.

(*g*) Old Sir Richard Maitland, who lived at the time of those terrible events, testifies the facts, in his MS. Hist. of the Seton family.

(*h*) Spottiswoode, 479.

sonages, who dignified this shire, by their residence, and improved it, by their practices.

The Reformation changed the ecclesiastical regimen of East-Lothian, without adding much to its morals. Of old, Hadington was the seat of a deanry, as well as the place of synodal meetings of the diocese. Since that epoch, it has become the seat of a presbytery, which comprehends fifteen of the East-Lothian parishes. The town obviously gave its name to the parish, to the presbytery, and to the shire: And the town derived its appellation from being the *tun*, or village of a Saxon settler, called Haden; who sat down here, on the bank of the Tyne, after the Scoto-Saxon period began. The origin of the parish is lost, in the obscurities of the preceding age. It was already a parish, at the accession of David I. to the throne. And during those times, it was of much larger extent, than at present: It comprehended a considerable part of Athelstaneford parish, till the year 1674; and a large part of Gladsmoor parish, till 1692. The ancient church of Hadington-*schire* was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, who was the common patroness of similar establishments, in this district. About the year 1134, David I. granted to the church of St. Andrew of Cilrimont, or priory of St. Andrews, in perpetual alms, the church of St. Mary, at Hadington, with its chapels, lands, tithes, and other dues, with every thing, belonging to it, within the same parish (*i*). He soon after gave to the church of St. Mary at Hadington, and to the priory of St. Andrews, the lands of Clerkton, according to their true boundaries, on both sides of the Tyne, above the town, as the limits had been perambulated; and he also conferred on those churches a toft, in Hadington, near the church, with the tithes, as well of the milns, as of other objects, within the whole parish (*k*). All those grants were confirmed by David's grandsons, Malcolm IV., and William. They were also confirmed, by their diocesans, the successive bishops of St. Andrews. Under all those confirmations, the church of Hadington remained annexed to the priory of St. Andrews, and was served, by a vicar, till the Reformation introduced here a very different system. In 1245, a convention, which was entered into, within the church of Lauder, was made, between the prior and convent of St. Andrews, and the master and monks of Hadington, for settling lasting disputes, with regard to tithes, and other ecclesiastical dues (*l*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Hadington was rated at 120 marks, while the chapel of St. Laurence, which belonged to it, as the mother church, was rated at five marks: The patronage

(*i*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xvi.
(*k*) Id. xvi.
(*l*) Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 119.

of

of the church belonged to the prior of St. Andrews, and the patronage of the chapel to the nuns of Hadington. There was also a chapel, in Hadington, which was dedicated to St. Catherine. In the same neighbourhood, there were also two chapels, belonging to the same church; the one was dedicated to St. John, which probably belonged to the Knights Templars; and the other, to St. Kentigern. And, there was a chapel, within the barony of Penstoun, which formed the western entremity of Hadington parish, till 1695, when it was annexed to Gladsmoor parish. All those chapels were founded, by the piety of ages, which have been long considered, as superstitious, by those, who do less, and talk more. At the Reformation, the patronage of the church of Hadington belonged, under those grants, and confirmations, to James Stewart, the prior of St. Andrews, the bastard brother, and minister of Mary Stewart, the well-known Earl of Murray. When the Earl of Morton became ruler of Scotland, in the quick succession of regents, he acquired the vast estates of the priory of St. Andrews, by appointing a nominal prior, and taking the property to himself. Of the corruption, which had been recently reformed, in some measure, by his agency, there was nothing more corrupt, than this appropriation of the priory, by the regent Morton. When this guilty noble was executed, for his participation, in the murder of Darnley, the temporalties of the priory became forfeited to the king: James VI. now converted the whole into a temporal lordship, for his cousin, and favourite, Esme, Duke of Lennox: And, his son, Ludovick, sold the patronage of the church of Hadington, with its tithes, both parsonage, and vicarage, in 1615, to Thomas, the first Earl of Hadington, who obtained, from the same king, in 1620, a confirmation of his purchase. And, the Earl of Hadington, at the beginning of the 18th century, sold that patronage, with his property, in Hadington parish, to Charles, the first Earl of Hopeton. In this family, the patronage of Hadington, which was thus acquired, still continues. At the end of thirty years, after the Reformation, the church of Hadington, the chapel of St. Martin, and the church of Athelstaneford, were all served, by one parson (*m*). This paucity of preachers, owing to the penury of provision, in the reformed church, continued till 1602. George Grier was now ordained the minister of St. Martin's chapel; and, he was the last, who officiated, in this ancient fane (*n*). The church of Hadington was apppointed, in 1633, one of the twelve prebends of the chapter of Edinburgh (*o*). At an episcopal visitation, in 1635, it was agreed, by the bishop of

(*m*) This fact appears from the Presbytery Records, which are preserved, as far back as 1592.

(*n*) Transact. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 67.

(*o*) Charter of Erection.

the diocese of Edinburgh, and the magistrates of Hadington, that a second minister had become necessary, for the church of Hadington: And, of consequence, William Trent was collated to this charge, when his stipend was settled at 600 marks, payable by the magistrates of the town. They now claimed the patronage of this second minister, whom they had thus established, and paid: But, this pretension was contested, in 1680, by the Earl of Hadington, the patron of the church. The College of Justice declared, in favour of the patron's right: And, this decision was afterward regarded, as a precedent, which, on an appeal to the House of Peers, was affirmed, as law, and right (*p*).

The parish of Athelstaneford, whatever Gaelic etymologists may say, derived its name, probably, from a place, that owed its appellation to some person: To Athelstan, the Anglo-Saxon conqueror, who over-ran Lothian, in 934 A. D., is attributed this name (*q*). Camden contradicts this probability, by saying, that an English commander, called Athelstan, was killed here, in 815 A. D.: And, Buchanan romances about a Danish chief, who was slain here, by the Picts: But, neither Camden, nor Buchanan, assigns any proof, for his assertion (*r*). The village, and church of Athelstanford, stand on a road, near a passage over a rivulet, which is called Cogtal-burn. The name of the ford on this stream was very early vulgarized to Elstanford: And, in the *Compositio*, 1245, it was called, with the Saxon aspirate, *Helstanfoord* (*s*). The countess Ada appears to have possessed the manor of Athelstanford, as a part of her jointure: When she founded the convent of nuns, near Hadington, she granted to it the church of Athelstanford, with the tithes, and other ecclesiastical dues, belonging to the

(*p*) Transact. Soc. Antiq. Edin. 67. For more recent particulars of this parish, see the Stat. Acco. of it, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*q*) Sax. Chron. 111; Florence, 349; Malmsbury, f. 27; Whit. Cathedral of Cornwall, 6. A Gaelic etymologist would state his sentiments thus: There is at the place a rivulet, which is passed by *a ford*, that conducts the passenger to the village, by a narrow, deep, and stony path: In the Gaelic speech, *Ath-ail* means a *Stoneford*: Whence, may be inferred, that the original name is a *redundant pleonasm*: The Saxon settlers, finding the *Ath-ail* already in existence, superadded *Stoneford*, which is, merely, a translation of the Gaelic appellation.

(*r*) In a charter of David I., *Diplom. Scotiæ*, pl. xiv. *Ethelstan* is a witness: And, it is unnecessary, by refinement, to search in the obscurities of elder times, for what may be found, in recent charters.

(*s*) In the 12th century, there was a place, in Teviotdale, named Elstane's-halch. Chart. Mel. 25.

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same church (*t*). The liberality of Ada was confirmed by several bishops of St. Andrews. The church of Athelstanford, with its pertinents, continued to belong to the nuns of Hadington, till the Reformation changed the ancient regimen. As the parish of Athelstanford was of old but small, the church was not of great value. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of *Elstaneford* was rated only at ten marks. In 1674, this parish was greatly enlarged, by annexations, from the parishes of Hadington, and of Prestonkirk (*u*). A new church, and manse, were built, in the enlarged parish of Athelstanford, about the year 1784 (*x*).

The parish of North-Berwick derived its name from the town; and the village obtained its Saxon appellation, from the same source, as the Berwick-upon-Tweed, which, in the charters of the 14th, 13th, and 12th centuries, is distinguished as South-Berwick, while the more northern town was usually called *North-Berwick*. In those charters, and in the Northumbrian topography, the common orthography of the name is *Bar*-wic, or *Bare-wic*; the bare, or naked village, or castle; the only difficulty being to discover, whether the Saxon *wic* was first applied, in fact, to a castle, or a village: The probability is, that it was to the *village*, before any *castle* existed on the site of North-Berwick, which stands on the naked shore of the Forth; being a small, narrow promontory, projecting from the town into the frith. Before the reign of David I., a church, and parish, existed here, from a period of such obscurity, as not to be easily penetrated. Under that monarch, the manor of North-Berwick belonged to Duncan, the Earl of Fife, who died, in 1154. He founded here, as we have seen, a convent for Cistercian nuns, to whom he granted the church of North-Berwick, with its tithes, and pertinents. The church of North-Berwick was dedicated to St. Andrew; and there was an altar in it, which was erected to the Virgin Mary (*y*). This church seems to have been of consider-

(*t*) After Ada's death, in 1178, the manor of Athelstanford was granted, by her son, William, the lion, to John de Montfort, who, as *dominus* de Elstaneford, granted to the monks of Newbotle a stone of wax, yearly. Chart. Newbotle, 216. The lands of Elstaneford, as they were forfeited, in the succession war, were granted by Robert I. to Richard Hereis. Roberts. Index, 11. The same lands appear to have again fallen to Robert III., who granted them to John Dolas. Ib. 141.

(*u*) Transact. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 41; Stat. Acco. x. 169.

(*x*) Id. For other particulars of this parish, see the Stat. Acco. x. 161, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*y*) Agnes Fawlaw, the wife of Robert Lauder of the Bass, with the consent of her husband, granted an annuity of 10 marks, from a tenement, in Edinburgh, and five marks, from a tenement, in Leith, for supporting a chaplain, to officiate at the Virgin Mary's altar, in St. Andrew's kirk, at North-Berwick; And this grant of the pious Agnes was confirmed by James IV., in 1491. MS. Donations, 41.

able

able value: It was valued, in the ancient *Taxatio*, at 60 marks. It remained, in the patronage of the nuns of North-Berwick, till the Reformation swept such establishments away. Meantime, the manor of North-Berwick changed its lords, in some measure, with the changes of the times. It continued in the ancient family of Fife, till the accession of Robert II., the first of the Stewarts. Isabel, Countess of Fife, the last of her race, resigned this manor to Robert, Duke of Albany, who seems to have transferred it to William, Earl Douglas. On the forfeiture of James, Earl of Douglas, in 1455, this manor was granted, with most of his forfeiture, to his heir-male, George, Earl of Angus; and in this family it long continued, with Tamtallon castle, the seat of their power, and the safeguard of their crimes. There is an act of the parliament, 1597, "anent "certain kirks of North-Berwick (*y*)." The site of the Cistercian nunnery, with much of the property, belonging to it, were granted by James VI. to Alexander Home of North-Berwick. But, whether he acquired the advowson of the parish church is uncertain; as his family failed, and the property of it was transferred to other owners. A ratification, indeed, was passed, in the parliament of 1640, to Sir William Dick, of his right to the lands, and tithes, of North-Berwick barony (*z*). The patronage of the parish church of North-Berwick, with the site of the nunnery, and the lands, that belonged to it, were afterward acquired, by Hew Dalrymple, who became president of the College of Justice, in 1698; and purchased from the Marquis of Douglas, the representative of the Earls of Angus, the remainder of the manor of North-Berwick, which was now called Tamtallon, from the castle. After all those transmissions, the property of the whole now belongs to Sir Hew Dalrymple of North-Berwick (*a*).

The ancient name of Dirlton parish was *Golyn*; and the old church stood at the village of Golyn, till the year 1612, when it was removed to Dirlton, by act of parliament. *Golyn* derives its name, from the British *Go-lyn*, signifying a little lake: And, in fact, there is still a pond here, within the village of Golyn. The church of Golyn, which was dedicated to St. Andrew, is very ancient: Yet, the epoch of St. Andrew's patronage is only the ninth century: And, from this circumstance, we may infer how old the numerous churches are, in this shire, which were dedicated to the renowned protector of the Scotican people. The Cistercian nuns, whom David I. brought to South-Berwick, appear to have acquired a right to some of the tithes, and other ecclesiastical dues of the church

(*y*) Unprinted Act, 15 Parl. Ja. VI. (*z*) Unprinted Act, 2d Parl. Char. I.

(*a*) For her particulars, the curious reader may consult the Stat. Acco. and the *Tabular State*, subjoined.

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of Golyn (*b*). The Anglo-Norman family of De Vallibus obtained a grant, during the 12th century, of the manors of Golyn, and Dirlton, with a part of the lands of Fenton, which formed a great portion of this parish. During the reign of William, the lion, William de Vaus granted to the church of Golyn the meadow, that was adjacent to the church (*c*). He soon after, however, transferred to the monks of Dryburgh the church of Golyn, with its tithes, and other pertinents, reserving the right of his son, William de Vaus, to the rectory of Golyn, during his life (*d*). This grant was confirmed, by the diocesan, and by the pope's legate, in Scotland (*e*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Golyn was rated at not less than 80 marks. After the death of William de Vallibus, the rector of Golyn, during the reign of Alexander II. a vicar was appointed, by the monks of Dryburgh, to serve the cure. In 1268, there was assigned to the vicar of Golyn a stipend of 12 marks (*f*). In Bagimont's Roll, the vicarage of Golyn was rated at £4. In this parish, there were of old no fewer than three chapels, which were subordinate to the church. As early as the reign of William, there was a chapel, which was dedicated to St. Nicolas, on Fidrey isle, near the shore of Elbotle; and the ruins whereof still remain (*g*). In the 12th century, the laird of Congalton founded a chapel, for the use of his family, and people: Disputes thereupon arose with the rector of Golyn: And this controversy was settled, in 1224, to the satisfaction of both parties, by William, bishop of St. Andrews, the diocesan (*h*). During the reign of Alexander III., Alexander de Vallibus founded a chapel, at Dirlton, in honour of All Saints; engaging that this chapel should not derogate from the rights of the mother church of Golyn (*i*). Under James III., an altar was dedicated to the Trinity, in this church, by Sir Andrew Congalton, the patronage of which was given to the lord of the manor of Congalton (*k*). After the Reformation had swept away such establishments, James VI. seems to have given the advowson

(*b*) The nuns of Berwick made a composition, with the rector of the church of Golyn, which left him three-fifths of the disputed property. Chart. Dryb. 28.

(*c*) Ib. 26. (*d*) Ib. 16.

(*e*) Ib. 19-20-21. The grant of Vaus was confirmed, by his successors, in the manor, during the reigns of Alexander II. and Alexander III. Ib. 18—182. The monks of Dryburgh, after all those confirmations, acquired, from the nuns of South-Berwick, the rights, which they had obtained, in the revenues of the church of Golyn. Ib. 27.

(*f*) Ib 14. (*g*) Ib. 18—185.

(*h*) Id. The place, where it stood, is still called, *Chapel.*

(*i*) Chart. Dryb. 183-4: A stone of wax, yearly, was also granted to the church of Golyn, by the same family, with two crofts, at the village of the canons of Dryburgh. Ib. 23-4-5.

(*k*) Dougl. Bar. 522.

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of the church of Golyn to the baron of Dirlton. In 1612, the church was removed, under an act of parliament, from its ancient site to the village of Dirlton, which thus gave its name to the parish (*l*).

The parish of Aberlady obtained its Celtic appellation, from the village of the same name, which stands at the influx of the West-Peffer into the Forth. In ancient charters, the name was written *Aberlevedi*, and *Aberleddie* (*m*). The prefix is obviously the British *Aber*, signifying the *influx* of running water. As the *Aber* is uniformly prefixed, in the topography of Scotland, to the name of the stream, whose *mouth* it denotes, we may easily suppose, that the stream, which glides into the Forth, at Aberlady, was anciently called *Leddie* (*n*): At present, the same stream is called, above, the West-Peffer water, and, below, from the name of the adjoining shore, Luffness water. To such soft-flowing streamlets, the British people applied their term *Leddie*, which is peculiarly descriptive of this stream, as well as of other rivulets, that glide, with the gentlest motion, to their issue. There appears to have been here, in early times, an establishment of the Culdees: And, *Kilspindie*, the place of their settlement, near the village of Aberlady, on the north-west, is supposed to have derived its name from the Culdees; *Cil-ys-pen-du* signifying, in the British speech, *the cell* of the *black-heads*: And, the word is pronounced *Kilyspendy*. The cell of the Culdees, near Aberlady, was, no doubt, connected with the Culdee monastery of Dunkeld: When David I. established the bishoprick of Dunkeld, he conferred on the bishop of this diocese Kilspindie, and Aberlady, with their lands adjacent, the advowson of the church, and its tithes, and other rights (*o*). This constituted the ecclesiastical barony of Aberlady, over which the bishops of Dunkeld,

(*l*) Unprinted Act 21 Parl. Ja. VI. The same parliament ratified the infeftment of the lordship of Dirlton to Lord Fenton. Id. If we may believe Grose, the antiquary, who delighted in stories, the last vicar of Golyn was expelled by James VI., *for smoaking tobacco*. Antiq. Scot. i. 71. Grose does not tell, who told him this story. He has given a good view of the remains of the ancient church. Id. There is little, in addition, to be seen in the Stat. Acco. iii. 194: But, the *Tabular State* subjoined, may be inspected.

(*m*) *Levedi* is the old English form of *lady*.

(*n*) In fact, there is in Old-Luce parish a stream, which appears to run through a flat swamp; and is called *Lady*-burn: In Kirk-Oswald, there is a rivulet, which is called *Lady*-burn; and which is said "to creep through a plain, for a half a mile, before it enters the sea."

(*o*) During the reign of William, the lion, Richard, the bishop of Dunkeld, granted to the canons of Dryburgh a croft in the village of *Aberledie*: And, the bishop's donation, was confirmed by the king's charter. Chart. Dryb. 58.

afterward,

afterward, obtained a regality (*p*). The whole parish of Aberlady was included in the bishoprick of Dunkeld, notwithstanding its local situation, in the deanry of Hadington, and the diocese of St. Andrews. Aberlady continued a mensal church of the bishops of Dunkeld, till the Reformation; and the spiritual duties were performed by a vicar, under the appointment of the bishop. In Bagimont's Roll, among the churches, in the diocese of Dunkeld, there is *Aberleddie*, in *Eist-Lothian*, which was rated at £5. Gavin Douglas, the well-known bishop of Dunkeld, who died, in 1522, granted the lands of Aberlady, and Kilspindie, to his half-brother, Archibald Douglas, the son of Archibald, the Earl of Angus, who will always be remembered, as the principal assassin of the king's servants, on Lauder-bridge (*q*). The forfeiture of Archibald Douglas was reversed, in March 1542-3, in the first parliament of the regent Arran: And, his son, Archibald, was restored, incidentally, to his father's estates of Aberlady, and Kilspindie (*r*). The second Archibald Douglas was succeeded, by his son Patrick, who built, in 1585, a fortalice, at Kilspindie, which still remains. The bishop of Dunkeld resigned to the king, in 1589, the church of Aberlady, with its teinds, and pertinents, that he might convert it into a rectory, and give the advowson to Patrick Douglas, as an independency of the diocese of Dunkeld: In pursuance of that obvious purpose, James VI. erected the whole into a barony, by the appropriate name of Aberlady (*s*). From the Douglases, this barony, with the patronage of the church of Aberlady, passed to the Fletchers, during the reign of Charles II. Sir Andrew Fletcher obtained from the king a ratification of the bishop's resignation; and the king's charter was confirmed, by the parliament of 1669 (*t*). In 1733, the barony, with the

(*p*) The parish of Aberlady contained, in after times, five baronies of small extent: Aberlady, Luffness, Balncrief, Gosford, and Redhouse: The greatest part of this last barony was disjoined from Aberlady; and annexed, in 1695, to the parish of Gladesmoor.

(*q*) Archibald, the grantee of the bishop, his brother, seems to have been a servant of James V., during his early years: And, marrying an opulent widow of Edinburgh, he became provost of this town, in 1526, when his nephew, the Earl of Angus, obtained possession of the king's person, and government. Parl. Rec. 557—62. In September of the same year, he was appointed treasurer of Scotland; and held this office, till the king, by his own enterprize, freed himself, from the domination of the Douglasses, in 1528. Ib. 566-73. In September 1528, he was convicted of treason, by parliament; and forfeited, with his two nephews, the Earl of Angus, and George Douglas. Parl. Rec. 579. The king refusing to pardon his forfeiture, he fled to France, where he died, between the years 1534, and 1539. Ib. 605; Rym. xiv. 538.

(*r*) Parl. Rec. 650. (*s*) Transact. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 515.

(*t*) The Lord Gosford, and other proprietors of the adjoining baronies, protested against that act, in the next session of parliament. Unprinted Acts of 1670.

patronage of the church, was sold to the Earl of Portmore, whose descendant now enjoys them. In 1695, the lands of Cotts, and a great part of the estate of Redhouse, were disjoined from Aberlady, and annexed to the parish of Gladesmoor, which was then established. Subordinate to the mother church, there was a small chapel, the remains of which may still be traced, at the north-west corner of the church yard. The parish of Aberlady is included within the commissariate of Dunkeld; owing to its ancient connection. The ancient church of Aberlady, which was mean, and incommodious, was replaced, in 1773, by a new place of parochial worship (*u*).

The parish of *Gladesmuir* was formed, in 1695, by abstractions, from the neighbouring parishes of Hadington, Aberlady, and Tranent. A parish church was then built on a ridge of moorland, which was known by the appropriate name of *Gledesmuir*, which gave its singular name to the whole parish. The *glide*, in the Saxon, old English, and Scotish languages, signified a kite (*x*): And, *muir* is, merely, the Scotish form of the English *moor*. As the parishes of Hadington, and Tranent, contributed the largest portions to the formation of the parish of Gladesmuir, the patronage of the new church was agreed to belong, by turns, to the Earls of Hadington, and Winton; the former being patron of Hadington, and the latter of Tranent: The Earl of Hadington's right was soon after transferred to the Earl of Hopeton, whose grandson now enjoys it: And, the Earl of Winton's right of patronage fell to the crown, in 1715, by forfeiture. In 1743, the Earl of Hopeton did credit to his own sagacity, by presenting to this parish, for its minister, William Robertson, who rose, by his various merits, to the top of the Scotish literature, and to the head of the Scotican church: Gladesmuir was his first preferment: And, it was in the quiet of the manse of Gladesmuir, that his *History of Scotland* was written: Of this work, which has contributed to his country's fame, far be it from me, by slight objections, to lessen the dignity: But, of the writing of history, it may be observed, as of the giving of laws, that it is not the best, which ought to be offered to the people; but, the best, that the people are willing to receive. Such a history, the author would not now propose to the public; nor, would the public accept such a history, from the author; so great a change has the

(*u*) Transact. Antiq. Soc. Edin. i. 511: For other intimations, the Statistical Account, and the *Tabular State*, annexed, may be inspected.

(*x*) See the Glossary to the late edition of Sir David Lindsay's Poetry, in art. *Glead* signifies a kite, in Yorkshire. In the days of Ray, *Glead* was used for a kite, in England, as well as in Scotland. In Ælfric's Sax. Glossary, *Milvus* signified *Glida*. The scripture word is *Glede*.

cultivation

cultivation of the unweeded garden of Scotish history, during fifty years, made in the public knowledge.

From the village of *Tranent* the parish took its name: And, the village is said to have acquired its appellation from a tradition, which is not yet forgotten on the opposite shore of Fife; and which supposes, that a party of *Danes*, once landing on that shore, were immediately repulsed, by the natives, who exultingly shouted, Tranent! Tranent! The mere mention of such a tradition, implies a total want of knowledge, etymological, and historic. The name of the village is significant, in the speech of the first colonists, on the banks of the Forth. In the charters of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, the name was written *Travernent*. The popular name of more recent times is *Tranent*, which seems to be contracted by colloquial use. Now, *Trev-er-nent*, in the British speech, signifies the habitation, or village, on the ravine, or vale. *Trenant*, in the same language, signifies the habitation, or village, *at* the ravine, or vale. Both those forms of the name are equally descriptive of the situation of Tranent on the eastern side of a deep, narrow valley, or ravine, in the bottom of which there is a brook (*y*). The ancient manor, and parish of Travernent, appear to have been co-extensive: They comprehended as well the present parish of Tranent, except the barony of Seton, as the present parish of Preston-Pans. Thor, the son of Swan, held the manor of Travernent, during the reign of David I. Robert de Quincy acquired the same manor, soon after the accession of William, the lion, whom he served, for some time, as justiciary. At the end of the 12th century, Robert was succeeded by his son, Seyer de Quincy, who became Earl of Winton, and died, in 1219. The manor of Travernent now passed to his son, Roger de Quincy, the Earl of Winton, who acquired, by marriage, the office of constable of Scotland, in 1234, and died, in 1264: By this event, the manor of Travernent was inherited by his three daughters, Margaret, who had married William de Ferrers, Elizabeth, who had married Alexander Cumyn, the Earl of Buchan, and Elena, who married Alan la Zouche, an English baron. The Earl of Buchan gave the share, which fell to his wife, to Alexander, the Stewart of Scotland, in exchange for the lands of Murthley: And James, the Stewart, the son of

(y) There is in Cornwall a village called Trenant, which Hall explains to signify *valley-town*. Hall's Paroch. Hist. Cornwall, 89. And, Pryce says it signifies a *dwelling on the river*. Archaiologia. The *Tref*, signifying a town, in Davis, and Richard's W. Dict., is *Trev*, in Owen's Orthography. W. Dict. *Nant*, in the British, as well as the Cornish, signifies a ravine, or valley, a hollow, which is formed by water, a rivulet. Richard, and Owen's W. Dict.; and the Cambrian Reg. 1795.

Alexander, granted this share, in 1285, to William, the son of John de Preston. The portions of the other two daughters passed to their several sons, William de Ferrers, and Alan la Zouche, who lost them by forfeiture, during the succession war. And those forfeitures were granted, by Robert I. to his nephew Alexander de Seton, in whose family they long remained (*z*). The patronage of the church of Travernent was separated from the manor, before the demise of David I. Thorald, the son of Swan, then possessing the manor of Travernent, confirmed to the canons of Holyroodhouse the church of Travernent, reserving the right of Walleran, the chaplain, during his life (*a*). On his death, probably, Malcolm IV., in 1154, confirmed the church of Travernent to the canons "de castello Puellarum," that is of *Holyroodhouse* (*b*). The canons of this House enjoyed the church of Travernent, with its rights, and revenues, till the Reformation introduced very different characters. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church was rated at 65 marks, which imply, that the church was of great value. The cure was served by a vicar, who enjoyed the small tithes. In Bagimont's Roll, the vicarage of Tranent was rated at £4 (*c*). In 1320, the monks of Newbotle made an agreement with Andrew, the perpetual vicar of Travernent, about the tithes of the village, and the land, which was called the *Cottarie* of Preston (*d*). Such was the regimen, which existed, in this parish, till the Reformation gave it a different system.

The ancient parish of Seton was annexed to Travernent, after the Reformation. In old charters, the name of the district, and the appellation of the proprietors, were written *Seyton*. Seyer de Say, an Anglo-Norman, who obtained a grant of this manor, settling here, gave it the name of Say-ton: And his descendants, who became Lords Setoun, and Earls of Winton, assumed from it the surname of Seton. The church of Setoun, however old, was rated, in the ancient *Taxatio*, at 18 marks. The patronage of the church belonged to the lords of the manor, the Setouns, who were buried, within its sacred fane. As it stood near their mansion-house, this opulent race were studious to adorn its structure, and to add to its usefulness (*e*) In May 1544, the

(*z*) Charters in the Rolls of Roberts I. Roberts. Index.

(*a*) Sir J. Dalrymp. Col. 287. (*b*) Chron. St. Crucis, in Anglia Sacra. i. 160.

(*c*) The vicarage of Tranent is in the Tax Roll of the archbishoprick of St. Andrews, 1547.

(*d*) Chart. Newbot. 156. This was confirmed, by a bull of Pope John. Ib. 258. For other notices, the reader may inspect the Statistical Account of this parish, and the *Tabular State*, subjoined.

(*e*) Old Sir Richard Maitland says, in his MS. History of this family, with whom he was connected: Catherine Sinclair, the wife of Sir William Setoun, who died, at the beginning of the reign

the English army, after burning Leith, came southward to Setoun; when they saved John Knox the trouble of spoiling the ornaments, and destroying this splendid monument of ancient piety (*f*). This church stood in Setoun park; and contained many monuments to the several members of this respectable family, which at length fell a sacrifice to their mistaken principles (*g*). Their noble mansion was pulled down, in 1770, when a new house was erected on its site. Within the parish of Setoun, at Long Nidderie, there was a chapel, the ruins of which are still apparent, and is popularly called *John Knox's kirk.*

After the Reformation, the parish of Setoun was annexed to that of Tranent, which was thus too much enlarged: But, it was somewhat reduced, in 1606, by making the baronies of Preston Grange, and Preston-Pans, a new parish,

reign of Robert III., "biggit an yle on the south side of the kirk, of fine astlar, pend it, and "theikit it with stane, with an sepulchar therein, where she lies; and *foundit an priest to serve* "*there perpetually.* This lady, in her widowhood, dwelt, where now are the priests chambers, in "Seton, [the collegiate canons]; and planted, and made all their yard, that they have, yet, "at this day; and held an gret house, and an honourable" Her son, Sir John Setoun, who died, in 1441, was buried in the aile, which his mother had built. Id. In 1493, George, Lord Setoun, as we have seen, converted this church into a collegiate form. He died, in 1507, and was buried, near the high altar of his collegiate church. Id. His son, George, Lord Seton, "theikit the queir of the church, with stane, and repaired the same, with *glaising windows*; "made the desks therein, and syllarings above the altar; and pavementit the said queir; and gave "it certain vestments, a compleit stand of claith of gold, and others of silk." Id. This Lord George fell in Floddon-field; and was buried in the choir, which he had thus repaired, and ornamented. Id. His widow, Janet, the daughter of Patrick, the first Earl of Bothwell, built the north aile of the church of Setoun, taking down the aile, which dame Catherine Sinclair had built on the south side, because the side of it stood to the side of the church; and she thereby made a perfect cornet, and *cross-kirk*; and built the steeple to a great height. She gave this family church many ornaments: A complete stand of purple velvet, flowered with gold, a complete stand of white Camoise velvet, flowered with gold, a complete stand of white dameis, a complete stand of shamlet of silk, a complete stand of black double worset, with certain other chesabils, and vestments of sundry silks; she also gave to this church a great case of silver, an eucharist of silver, a chalice over-gilt, a pendicle to the high altar, of fine wove arras, with other pendicles; she loosed the sachristry, and made great locked almries, [cupboards, or presses], therein; she founded two prebends, and built their chambers, and vaults. Thus far Sir Richard Maitland's MS. History of the Setoun family. It is seldom, that we are supplied with such a minute account of the ornaments, belonging to a collegiate church.

(*f*) Sir Richard Maitland, who lived, in the neighbourhood, at the time, says, that the English destroyed the castle of Setoun, spoiled the kirk, took away *the bells, organs*, and all other trussable [moveable] things, and put them in their ships, lying off in the frith, and burnt the timber-work in the church. MS. Hist. of the Setouns.

(*g*) Of the collegiate church of Setoun, there is a good view in Grose's Scots Antiq. i. 64, where it has been, mistakingly, placed, in Edinburghshire.

under

under the name of Preston (*h*). When Charles I., in an unadvised hour, erected the bishoprick of Edinburgh, he granted to the bishop, the church of Tranent, with the mansion, glebe, church-lands, tithes, and other ecclesiastical dues, as they had belonged previously, to the abbey of Holyrood: And the parson of Tranent was constituted one of the prebendaries of the bishop's chapter (*i*). Meantime, the Earls of Winton, who were the patrons of the old church of Setoun, obtained the patronage of the united parishes of Tranent, and Setoun (*k*). The lands of Winton were, however, restored to Pencaithland parish, after the forfeiture of the Earl, in 1715. In 1695, the parish of Tranent was further diminished, by the annexation of the north-east corner of it to the new parish of Gladesmuir: And, the Earl of Winton, as patron of Tranent, obtained the patronage of the newly erected parish of Gladesmuir. The Earl of Winton's patronages were forfeited to the king, by the attainder of the last earl (*l*).

The parish of *Preston-Pans* is modern. It was created, in 1606, by the parliament of Perth; by dismembering the parish of Tranent; and by endowing a newly erected church, in Preston (*m*). Yet, though the church, as we

(*h*) Unprinted Acts, 18 Parl. Ja. VI.

(*i*) Charter of Erection, 29th September 1633. This establishment was subverted, in 1641; was restored, in 1662; and was abolished for ever, in 1689.

(*k*) In 1681, the parliament passed an act, in favour of the Earl of Wintoun; disjoining his lands of Winton, from the parish of Pencaithland; and annexing them to the parish of Tranent. Unprinted Act, 1 sess. 3 parl. Car. II.

(*l*) For some other particulars of the parish of Tranent, see the Stat. Acco. x. 83, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*m*) The history of the erection of this new parish is given in the preamble of the act of parliament, erecting it. Unprinted Act, 18 Parl. Ja. VI. The parliament recited: That considering the inhabitants of Preston, and of Preston-Pans, sometime within the parish of Tranent, cannot resort to the kirk of Tranent, it being insufficient to contain them, they being numerous, and daily increasing, and being too far from them; and considering that, by the labour, pains, and expence of Mr. John Davidson, minister, a sufficient kirk, with a manse, are built in Preston-Pans; and that there is a glebe provided for the same kirk, by George Hamilton of Preston, out of his own proper heritage; and that the same Mr. John Davidson had founded, in Preston-Pans, a school, for teaching the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, and for instructing youth, in virtue, and learning; and that he has endowed the same with his heritage, and all his moveable, and free goods, for a perpetual stipend to the same school: The Estates, therefore, erected the said newly built kirk into a parish kirk, which was to be called the parish kirk of Preston; and dismembered the same from the parish kirk of Tranent; and they ratified the foundation of the said school, with all the infeftments, donations, and amortizations of lands, rents, and other revenues, which had been thus given by the laird of Preston, and the late Mr. John Davidson, to the ministers, serving the cure, at the said newly erected kirk, and the masters of the same school, and their successors, in their several faculties.

have

have thus seen, was built at Preston-Pans, and the parish was to be called Preston, popular usage has over-ruled the parliament, in calling this parish *Preston-Pans*. It comprehends the two baronies of Preston, and Preston-Grange, which are commonly called the east, and west baronies (*n*). Prestoun derived its name from the Saxon *Prest-tun*, signifying the priests town, or habitation: There are many places of the same name, both in North, and South-Britain. Preston-Grange, and Preston-Pans, are derivations from the original name: The former from the grange, which the monks of Newbotle settled there, as we have seen: And, the latter from the salt pans, which were established on that site (*o*).

The parish of *Pencatland* is ancient. In charters of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, the name of this district was written, *Pencathlan*, *Pencaithlan*, and *Pencathlen*: And, it is probably derived from the British *Pen-caeth-lan*, signifying the end of the narrow plot of ground, or inclosure. The church, and mansion-house of Pencaitlan, stand on the edge of a narrow flat, or meadow, on the northern bank of the Tyne: And, the village of West-Pencaitland is situated on the edge of a high bank, on the south side of the same river. During the reign of William, the lion, the manor of Pencaithland was possessed by Everard de Pencaithlan, who assumed a surname from his place. He probably obtained the lands of Pencaithlan, from William: For, Everard granted to the monks of Kelso, the church of his manor of Pencaithlan, with the tithes, and other rights belonging to it, in pure alms, for the salvation of his lord, King William (*p*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of *Pencaitlan* was rated, at 40 marks. Before the accession of Robert Bruce, the church of Pencaitlan

(*n*) The barony of Preston, including Preston-Pans, was long the property of the Hamiltons of Preston. George Hamilton, who was the proprietor of Preston, when this parish was erected, was succeeded by Sir John Hamilton of Preston, who, in 1617, obtained from James VI., a charter, erecting Preston, and Preston grange, into a burgh of barony, with the usual privileges. In 1647, Thomas Hamilton of Preston was retoured heir of entail and provision of the late John Hamilton of Preston, "nepotis sui patris." Thomas enjoyed this barony for some time after the Restoration. It was sold, in 1704, by Sir William Hamilton of Preston, to Doctor James Oswald, who also purchased from him Fingalton, the family estate of the Hamiltons, in Lanerkshire: At Preston, there is the ruin of a tower, in which the Hamiltons resided. It was accidentally burnt in 1663: And, some years afterward, Preston-house was erected, which, by the will of the late proprietor, James Shaw, was, in 1784, converted into a hospital, for maintaining, and educating, twenty-four boys.

(*o*) For other particulars, see the Stat. Acco. xvii. 61, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*p*) Chart. Kelso, 367: And this grant was confirmed by the same king. Ib. 13—387. It was also confirmed, by Roger, the bishop of St. Andrews. Ib. 82.

had

had ceased to belong to the monks of Kelso, owing to whatever cause (*q*). The manor of Pencaitland, with the lands of Nisbet, were forfeited, during the succession war, by Thomas de Pencaithland, the descendant of Everard: And it was granted, by Robert Bruce, to Robert de Lawder, for his homage, and service (*r*). This manor appeared, soon after, to belong to John de Maxwell of Pencaitland, the younger brother of Sir Eustace Maxwell of Caerlaverock; but, whether John acquired it, by grant, or by marriage, cannot be easily ascertained. He certainly granted to the monks of Dryburgh an annuity from his lands of Pencaitland: And his grant was confirmed by David II. (*s*). He granted to the same monks the advowson of the parish church of Pencaitland, with the chapel of Payston, and the church-lands, tithes, and profits (*t*). This grant was confirmed by Sir John Maxwell, his son, who succeeded his father in the lands of Pencaitland, and his uncle, Sir Eustace, in the family estate of Caerlaverock (*u*). It was also confirmed by William, the bishop of St. Andrews, and by William, the prior, in 1343 (*x*). And, it was further confirmed, by David II., in 1346 (*y*). The church of Pencaitland, and the chapel of Paystoun, remained with the canons of Dryburgh till the Reformation. The cure was served, by a vicar. In Bagimont's Roll, the vicarage of Pencaetland was rated at £2 : 13 : 4. After the Reformation, the lands of Paystoun, comprehending the hamlets of East-Paystoun, West-Paystoun; Paystoun bank, and Paystoun mill, were disjoined from the parish of Pencaetland, and annexed to

(*q*) It appears not among the churches, which belonged to those monks, between the years 1309 and 1316. Chart. Kelso.

(*r*) Regist. Rob. I. Rot. Car. 55.

(*s*) Robert's Index, 38.

(*t*) The lands of *Payston*, which is vulgarized to *Peasetoun*, upon which the chapel stood, formed the southern extremity of the parish of Pencaetland: After the Reformation, they were disjoined from it; and annexed to the smaller parish of Ormiston, which adjoins Pencaithland on the west.

(*u*) In his charter, he calls himself the son of the late John de Maxwell, and the heir of Eustace de Maxwell, his (John's) brother. Crawford's MS. Gleanings, 364. Douglas has mistakingly made them the son, and grandson, in place of the brother, and nephew of Eustace de Maxwell, who seems not to have had any son. Peerage, 516. During the reign of Robert II., John Maitland of Thirlstane held some lands in Pencaitland, under Sir Robert Maxwell, the son of the last John; and Sir Robert granted the superiority of the same lands to the canons of Dryburgh.

(*x*) The bishop's charter, which is recited, in that of the prior, states, that the patronage of the church of the Pencaitland, and of the chapel of Paystoun, were granted to those canons by John de Maxwell of Pencaitland, and Dominus John de Maxwell, Dominus de Maxwell. Crawford's MS. Gleanings, 359.

(*y*) Ib. 359, 364-5.

Ormiston,

Ormiston, which adjoins it, on the west. In 1681, the lands of Winton were taken from the parish of Pencaitland, and given to the parish of Tranent (*a*). In 1673, died Robert Douglas, the *indulged* preacher of Pencaitland, who had been minister of Edinburgh, a person of piety, judgment, and learning: "No "man, it is said, contributed more to the Restoration, and received less benefit "from it (*b*):" But, if he had been a minister of solid judgment, and good learning, he would have pushed aside the prejudice, that prompted him to reject the bishoprick, which was offered to his prudence.

The parish of *Saltoun* derived its appellation, from the manor-place, and village of the same name. In ancient charters, this designation was written *Saultoun*, *Saulton*, and *Salton*. As the prefix has no descriptive meaning, the place may be supposed to have obtained its name from some settler here, of the name of *Saul*, who cannot now be traced, whose *tun*, or dwelling, it may have been (*c*). During the reign of David I., the manor of Saltoun belonged to Hugh Morvill, the constable, who granted the church of Saltoun, with a carrucate of land, and the tenth of the multure of the mill of Salton, to Dryburgh abbey. The liberality of Hugh was approved by Malcolm IV., and by Richard, the son, and successor of the constable (*d*). The church of Saltoun was rated, in the ancient Taxatio, at 30 marks. Richard Morville gave the lands of Herdmanston, which formed a part of the manor of Saltoun, to Henry de Saint Clair, the sheriff of the Morvilles (*e*). Henry de Saint Clair was the progenitor of the Sinclairs of Herdmanston, who retained this estate till recent times. In the 13th century, John de Saint Clair erected a chapel at Herdmanston, by the leave of the canons of Dryburgh, to whom he granted two acres of land, with an indemnity, that his chapel should not injure the mother church of Saltoun (*f*). There were other vassals of the Morevilles, and their successors, the Lords of Galloway,

(*a*) Unprinted Act, in favour of the Earl of Winton. After the forfeiture of the Earl's descendant, in 1715, Winton was again annexed to the parish of Pencaitland, to which it naturally belongs.

(*b*) Lauchlan Shaw's MS. Hist. of the Scotican Church. See the Stat. Acco. xvii. 41, and the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*c*) Sir James Dalrymple says, this manor obtained its name from the family of *Soulis*; as he had seen an old charter, designing it *Soulis-toun*. Collect. 395. Yet, has this mistaken intimation misled Lord Hailes, Annals, i. 274, and the minister of the parish. Stat. Acco. x. 251. Sir James wrote this account of Saltoun from memory, which deceived him: For, various documents, in succession, show that, during the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, the family of Soulis never possessed Salton, which was never called Soulistown.

(*d*) Chart. Dryburgh, 1-2.

(*e*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 75.

(*f*) Chart. Dryb. 143.

during the 12th and 13th centuries, who made similar grants (*g*). The superiority of the manor of Saltoun was forfeited by the descendants of the Lords of Galloway, during the succession war. In the reign of Alexander III., a considerable part of the manor of Saltoun was held by William de Abernethy, the son of Sir Patrick Abernethy of Abernethy. William supported the pretensions of Bruce, to whom he became tenant in chief, by the forfeiture of his superiors, who adhered to the Baliols; and he obtained from the gratitude of Bruce, a large addition to his lands, for his support. William de Abernethy was the progenitor of a family, who acquired the title of Lord Saltoun, in 1455 (*h*). During the year 1488, the canons of Dryburgh pursued, in parliament, Adam Bell, for withholding their tithes of Saltoun: But, when Bell vouched the vicar, Dene Dewar, who had given him a lease of his ecclesiastical dues; the Lords recommended to the abbot of Dryburgh, to summon *the Dene* before his *spiritual* judge (*i*). The canons of Dryburgh continued, with such slight interruptions, to enjoy the church of Saltoun, till the Reformation swept such establishments away. In 1633, when the bishoprick of Edinburgh was erected, the church of Saltoun, with its manse, glebe, and ecclesiastical rights, were transferred to the bishop (*k*). When the estate of Saltoun was acquired, in 1643, by Sir Andrew Fletcher, from Lord Abernethy, the advowson of the church was incidentally obtained. And, in 1672, the parliament confirmed to the well-known Andrew Fletcher, at the age of nineteen, the estate of Saltoun, with its pertinents (*l*). At the Restoration, the cure of Saltoun was served, by Patrick Scougal, the celebrated bishop of Aberdeen. He was succeeded, in the parish of Saltoun, by Gilbert Burnet, a not less famous, though not a better man, who acquired, in 1665, his first preferment, in the church, from Sir Robert Fletcher, the patron of Saltoun (*m*). We have now seen, that eminent men

(*g*) See the Chart. of Dryburgh, and Soltre, throughout.

(*h*) William de Abernethy of Saltoun granted to the canons of Dryburgh a messuage, with a brewhouse, "in villa de Saltoun." Chart. Dryb. 191. Upon the death of Alexander, Lord Abernethy of Saltoun, in 1669, without issue, his estates, and title, descended to his cousin, Alexander Fraser of Philorth, the son of Margaret Abernethy, the only daughter of George Lord Saltoun. Crawford's Peer. 435.

(*i*) Parl. Rec. 343—53. (*k*) Charter of Erection.

(*l*) Unprinted Act, 3d sess. 2d parl. Cha. ii.

(*m*) When Bishop Burnet died, in 1715, aged 72, he left some legacies to the parish of Saltoun, which have proved lastingly beneficial to the parishioners: He devised 20,000 marks Scots, the interest whereof was directed to be applied to the clothing, and educating of 30 children, to the providing of them with apprentice fees, to the relieving of the indigent, and to the obtaining of a parish library. By the judicious management of the trustees, this legacy has increased to 2,000l. Sterling;

men have been connected with Saltoun parish, from the epoch of record; beginning with the Morvilles, and ending with the Fletchers, who all distinguished themselves, by their actions, according to the prevailing sentiments, of their several ages, whether of piety, or patriotism (*n*).

The parish of Bolton took its name from the village: And the name of the hamlet is certainly Saxon. *Bolt*, in the A. S. speech, signifies a mansion. This term may have been applied to the manor-house; and when a village collected around it, according to the practice of that age, the hamlet may have been called *Bolt-town*. It is possible, indeed, that a person, named Bolt, may have settled here, and given his own name to his settlement, or *tun* (*o*). Early in the reign of William, the lion, the manor of Bolton was granted by the king to William de Vetereponte, the son of an English baron of the same name, who was popularly called *Vipont*. He also acquired from the same king the manors of Langton, in Berwickshire, and Caredden, in West-Lothian (*p*). William de Vetereponte granted the church of Bolton, with its lands, tithes, and pertinents, to the canons of Holyrood: And, this gift was confirmed, by a charter of William, the lion (*q*). The church of Bolton remained in the hands of the canons of Holyrood, till the Reformation. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Bolton was rated at the inconsiderable value of 20 marks. Robert I. confirmed all those grants to the Viponts: And, they were all confirmed to the same family, by David II. (*r*). Bolton passed, afterward, to other proprietors. In the reign of James II., it belonged to George, Lord Haliburton, of Dirlton, who pledged it to the king, for a debt of 100 marks; and upon redeeming it, he obtained, in

Sterling; and the bishop's bequest has completely answered his beneficent purpose. He also bequeathed a capital, affording an yearly interest of 150 marks Scots, for the poor of Saltoun parish, to be distributed, by the minister. By all those bequests, which do honour to the sense, and benevolence of Bishop Burnet, the children of Saltoun are well educated, and the poor properly supported. Stat. Acco. x. 256-7. Close to the minister's manse, there is a tree, which is called "Bishop Burnet's Tree." Forest's map of Hadingtonshire will thus prove a monument to the bishop's memory, if his good deeds should be forgotten.

(*n*) The parish church, and manse, stand at the village of East-Saltoun, which, in 1792, contained 281 inhabitants: The village of East-Saltoun, at the same time, contained 127 inhabitants. Stat. Acco. x. 253, which may be inspected for other particulars; and see the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*o*) Near Kinross, there is a hamlet called Bolton; and there are, in England, many places of the same name.

(*p*) Those manors were all confirmed to him, by William, the lion, between the years 1171 and 1178.

(*q*) Crawford's MS. Copy from the Autograph. (*r*) Reg. David II. lib. i. 137.

1459, from the same king, a confirmation of his inheritance (*s*). In 1494, there was a continued suit, in parliament, by Marion, the lady of Bolton, and George Home, her husband, against Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, and Adam Hepburn, his brother, for detaining, violently, during seven years, the barony of Bolton, with its pertinents. The lady produced, as her right, a *charter*, from the late heir: The earl gave in a *lease*, from a stranger: And, Bothwell, who was, at that epoch, all-powerful, appears to have retained the disputed property (*t*). In 1526, and 1543, Bolton was in possession of a cadet of his family, by the name of Hepburn of Bolton (*u*). In January 1568, John Hepburn of Bolton was executed, as the associate of the Earl of Bothwell, his chief, in the murder of Darnley (*x*). The manor of Bolton, thus forfeited, was given to William Maitland, the well-known Secretary Lethington, the author of the plot, which ended in the death of Darnley (*y*). It was confirmed to the Earl of Lauderdale, in 1621 (*z*). In 1633, the epoch of the episcopate of Edinburgh, the church of Bolton, with its usual pertinents, as they had belonged to the canons of Holyrood, were annexed to the newly created bishoprick, which was itself subverted, in 1641. Such, then, are the various revolutions of the manor, and church, of Bolton (*a*).

The parish of Humbie comprehends the ancient districts of Keith-Hundeby, and Keith-Marshall. At the epoch of record, *Keith* appears to have been the ancient name of the whole district, which is intersected by a small river, that runs in a narrow bottom, between steep banks. The name of Keith is obviously derived from the British *Caeth*, signifying strait, confined, narrow; and was appropriately applied to the *narrow bottom*, through which the riveret runs, as well as to other places, that bear the same name, in Scotland, from similar circumstances (*b*). From David I., Hervei, the son of Warin, obtained a grant of

(*s*) Dougl. Peer. 322, who quotes the charter in the Pub. Archives.

(*t*) Parl. Rec. 446. (*u*) Ib. 563-4.

(*x*) Spots. 214; Arnot's Crim. Trials, 9. (*y*) Stat. Acco. iv. 287.

(*z*) Unprinted Act, 23d parl. Ja. VI., 4th August 1621. The famous Duke of Lauderdale, while he acted, with the insurgent covenanters, appears to have annexed the patronage of the church of Bolton to the manor. Richard, Earl of Lauderdale, who died about the year 1693, sold the barony of Bolton, with the patronage of the church, and even the ancient inheritance of Lethington to Sir Thomas Levingston; and Sir Thomas transferred the whole to Walter, Lord Blantyre, in whose family the property remains.

(*a*) The curious reader will be disappointed, if he look into the Stat. Acco. iv. 285, for any additional history of this parish: He may inspect the *Tabular State*, annexed.

(*b*) Keith, in Banffshire, stands in a confined hollow, on the river Isla, which runs, for a considerable

of the north-west half of this district, which was called from him Keith-Hervey; and which was, afterward, called Keith-Marshall. From the same king, Symon Fraser acquired a grant of the south-east half of the same district, which was denominated, from him, Keith-Symon; and which was, afterward, called Keith Hundeby. As the church stood within the district of Keith-Symon, Hervei erected a chapel, in his own manor of Keith-Hervei, for the accommodation of his tenants; and, according to the established custom, settled an yearly tribute to the mother church (*c*). Symon Fraser granted to the monks of Kelso the church of Keith, with its pertinents, and other privileges (*d*). During those times, Hervei de Keith, the king's marshal, had a controversy with those monks, about the tribute, which he ought to pay to them, for his chapel of Keith-Hervei. This pertinacious contest was settled by Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow, and Osbert, the abbot of Paisley, who decided, that the monks ought to receive only twenty shillings, annually, from the chapel, and manor of Keith-Hervei: And this determination was confirmed, by the diocesan, Richard, the bishop of St. Andrews, who died, in 1177 (*e*). Symon Fraser's estate was carried, by his daughter, Eda, to Hugh Lorens, her husband: And their daughter Eda transferred the same property to Philip de Keith, the marshal: By those two female transmissions, the whole manor of Keith was united in one family. Philip, who died, some time before the year 1220, confirmed the church of Keith, with its pertinents, to the monks of Kelso (*f*). During the reign of Alexander II., the manor of Keith-Hervei-Marshal was made a distinct parish, with its chapel, for the separate church, that was thenceforth to be independant of the church of Keith-Symon, which was at length distinguished, by the name of Keith-Hundeby (*g*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Keith-Hundeby was rated at 80 marks, while the church of Keith-Marshal was

siderable distance above, in a narrow ravine, between steep banks. A part of the river Ericht, in Perthshire, where it runs through a narrow chasm, between steep rocks, and forms a cascade, is called *the Keith*.

(*c*) Chart. Kelso.

(*d*) Ib. 84—97. This grant was confirmed by a charter of Malcolm IV. Ib. 89—376, and by William, the lion. Ib. 13—90.

(*e*) Ib. 94-5-6. The bishops Hugh, and Roger, of the same see, confirmed to the monks of Kelso the church of Keith, with the twenty shillings, as the allowance, from the chapel of Keith Hervei. Ib. 82-3.

(*f*) Ib. 86—8.

(*g*) The adjunct Hundeby was the name of a hamlet near the church: This appellation, which is plainly derived from the Saxon *Hundeby*, the dog's dwelling, has been vulgarized to *Humbie*: There are a *Hun-by*, in Durham, and a *Hun-by*, in Lincolnshire.

only

only rated at 12 marks. When the monks of Kelso estimated their whole estate, during the reign of Robert Bruce, they stated, that they enjoyed the church of Hundeby-Keith, "in rectoria," which used to be worth £20 a-year: And, they had, incidentally, the village, and lands, of Hundeby-Keith, which customably rented, for 10 marks a-year (*b*). In Bagimont's Roll, indeed, the rectory of Keith-Marshall was rated at £4; but, the rectory of Keith-Hundeby was not rated, in that Roll; as it belonged to the monks of Kelso, who continued to enjoy it, till the Reformation swept away such exemptions. The patronage of the church of Keith-Marshall belonged to the descendants of Sir Robert Keith, by the grant of Robert Bruce, till their whole property here was sold by William, Earl Marshal, during the perturbations of Charles I.'s reign; which involved him, and his country, in inextricable difficultie[s]. After the Reformation, the ancient parishes of Keith-Hundeby, and Keith-Marshall, were conjoined; and the united parish has been since known, by the name of *Humbie*, the patronage of which belongs, jointly, to the King, and the Earl of Hopeton (*i*).

The old name of the parish of *Yester* was Bothans, till the Marquis of Tweedale built his present house, which he called *Yester*, the baronial name of the extensive domains of the Giffords (*k*). William, the lion, granted to Hugh de Gifford the lands of *Yestred*, who gave to the monks of Melros a toft, in his village of *Yestred*. The baronial domains of Yester lie along the vale of a rivulet, which is formed, from several streamlets, which fall down, from the western declivities of the Lamermoor. In this vale, or *strath*, on the west bank of the water, stands Yester house, the splendid seat of the Marquis of Tweedale: And the localities, and the facts, evince the British origin of the name to have been Ystrad, signifying a vale, or *strath*, in the speech of the Ottadini settlers on the stream, which has lost its original name, in colloquial

(*b*) Chart. Kelso, 26—32. Sir Robert Keith, the marshal of Robert Bruce, granted those monks leave to build a miln on their lands of Hundeby Keith, with permission for their *work oxen*, with their carts, and ploughs, to pass, and repass, over his manor. Ib. 99.

(*i*) The Stat. Acco. and the *Tabular State*, subjoined to this shire, may be inspected, for some other particulars.

(*k*) In the ancient *Taxatio*, there is ecclesia Bothani: In Bagimont's Roll there is *Præceptura de Bothans*: So in the Roll of St. Andrews 1547, there was, in the deanry of Dunbar, *Præpositura de Bothans*. Reliq. Divi. Andreæ. The 18th of January was the festival of Bothan, as we know from Dempster. As late as 1521, Robert Wetherstone, the provost of Bothans, granted to a chaplain, in the parish church of Hadington, several parcels of land, in Mortmain. MS. Extracts from the Records.

corruptions.

corruptions (*l*). The patronage of the church has belonged to the lords of the manor of *Yestred*, from the 12th century to the present (*m*). This manor was granted by William, the lion, to Hugh Gifford, the son of Hugh, an English Gentleman, who settled, in Lothian, under David I. From that early age to the present, Yestred has remained with his descendants. Hugh Gifford of Yester, who lived under David II. and Robert II., had only four daughters, to inherit his large estates: And, Johanna, the eldest, marrying Sir William Hay of Locherwart, transferred the manor, with the patronage of the church, to him, and their conjoint posterity. Thus arose the family of Yester, and Locherwart, who obtained the titles of Lord Yester, in 1488, Earl of Tweedale, in 1646, and Marquis of Tweedale, in 1694. Sir William Hay, in 1421, converted the church of St. Bothan, into a collegiate form; consisting of a provost, six prebendaries, and two singing boys, who enjoyed the lands, tithes, and other church revenues of the parish, till the Reformation introduced a very different system. The church now lost its collegiate form: The name of *Saint Bothan* was no longer reverenced: And, the ancient name of *Yester*, which was not understood, became again the Cambro-British name of the parish. A new parish church, and manse, were built, in 1708, in a less central place, at the village of Gifford; and the ancient church of St. Bothan, with its adjacent kirk-town, were resigned to the annihilation of time, and chance. From the village, where the modern church stands, the parish is now popularly called *Gifford;* while the legal name is *Yester* (*n*). There was of old, at Duncanlaw, in the north-east corner of Yester parish, a chapel, which was dedicated to Saint Nicholas, which has also been swept away, by modern improvements (*o*).

The united parish of *Garvald*, and *Barra*, comprehends the separate parishes of the same names. *Garvald* derived its Celtic appellation, from the rivulet, which is called *Garvald* water, as it drains the parish, and courses by the church, and village of Garvald: *Garw-ald*, in the British, and Garv-ald,

(*l*) See Richard's Welsh Dict.

(*m*) The church of St. Bothan appears to have been but of middling value: For, it was rated, in the ancient *Taxatio*, at 30 marks.

(*n*) The village of Gifford did not exist, when Pont made his map of the Lothians, during the reign of Charles I. It has since arisen on the east bank of Gifford water, in the lower end of the parish; and now contains more than 400 people. For other particulars, see the Stat. Acco. i. 342, and the *Tabular State*, annexed

(*o*) Robert III. gave to the chapel of St. Nicholas, at Duncanlaw, some lands, which had belonged to John Straton. Roberts. Index, 145. Duncanlaw belonged to the Giffords of old. Ib. 61.

[Garbh-ald],

[Garbh-ald], in the Gaelic, signify the rough rivulet, which is very descriptive of a mountain torrent, which floods its banks, and spreads gravel over the adjacent grounds: And, there are other streams of similar qualities, in North-Britain, which have obtained the same name of Garv-ald; and several have retained their ancient names, in the more idiomatical form of *Ald-garv*. The church of Garvald, with it's pertinents, and a carrucate of land adjacent, were granted to the Cistercian nuns, which the Countess Ada settled near Hadington, during the reign of Malcolm IV. They established a grange, near the church, and formed a village, which thus obtained the name of *Nun-raw*. They also acquired the lands of Slade, and Snowdoun, forming together almost the whole parish. They obtained, in May 1359, from their diocesan, William, the bishop of St. Andrews, a confirmation of all their spiritual rights; as they had lost their title-deeds, during the revolutionary war of David II.: And the bishop's charter was confirmed by James II., in August 1458 (*p*). The church of Garvald, and the greatest part of the parish, remained with those opulent nuns, till the Reformation delivered the whole to less beneficent hands. As the parish was not populous of old, the church was merely rated, in the ancient *Taxatio*, at 15 marks. The name of *Barra* is obviously Celtic: In the Gaelic, *Bar* signifies a height, a summit, and *Ra'* a fortlet, a strength of any kind: The old church, mansion, and village, of *Barra*, stand on the summit of a ridge, which slopes to the south, and north. In the British speech, *Barrau*, the plural of *Bar*, signifies a bush, a bunch, a tuft (*q*). The Celtic name may have been originally imposed, by the British; and continued by the Gaelic settlers of subsequent times, from observing the fitness of the name to the thing signified. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of *Barra* was rated at 25 marks, which implies more population, and improvement, than those of Garvald. William, the parson of Barra, swore fealty to Edward I., on the 29th of August 1296; and obtained a return of his rights (*r*). In the 12th and 13th centuries, the patronage of the church of Barra belonged to the lords of the manor. At the beginning of the 14th century, Thomas de Morham, who possessed both the adjoining manors of Barra, and Morham, granted to the monks of Holy-roodhouse the patronage of the church of Barra, with the pertinents: This grant was confirmed by his heiress, Euphemia, who married Sir John Gifford of Yester; and who carried the manors of Morham, and Barra, into the family of Gifford: And, the son, and heir of Euphemia, respecting her liberality, con-

(*p*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 11.
(*q*) Owen's Dict. in vo. *Bar.*
(*r*) Prynne, iii. 657; Rym. ii. 725.

firmed

firmed her grant (*s*). The monks of Holyroodhouse enjoyed the patronage, and the pertinents, of the church of Barra, till the Reformation introduced a different system, though the commendator for some time enjoyed the rights of the church of Barra, without performing the duties. The church of Barra, and all its rights, were granted to the newly erected bishoprick of Edinburgh, in 1633. When this establishment fell, amidst the revolutions of subsequent times, the Hays of Yester, and Tweedale, who represented the ancient Giffords, and Morhams, acquired the patronage of the church of Barra. The parishes of Garvalt, and Barra, were united, in 1702: And, the patronage of the conjoined churches belongs, jointly, to the King, and the Marquis of Tweedale, who enjoyed the advowsons of the separate parishes. The minister was required, by the annexation, to preach, alternately, in the two parish churches, till the year 1744, when the church of Barra became quite unfit for divine service: And, the church of Garvald has been made, by reparation, to serve every purpose of an extensive parish, though not without some inconvenience (*t*).

Morham parish, which is the smallest, in Hadingtonshire, derived its name from the Saxon *Mor-ham*, the dwelling on the moor. Till recent times, the parish was appropriately called Morham-*moor*: After all, that improvement has gained from the waste, enough remains to justify the ancient appellation of *Moor ham*. The church of Morham is old: And it was valued in the ancient *Taxatio* at 20 marks, which imply more people, and products, than were naturally to have been expected, from the sterility of the soil. The rectory of Morham was rated, in Bagimont's Roll, at £41 The patronage of the church has always belonged to the lord of the manor. Under William, the lion, this manor was enjoyed, by a family, bearing the name of *Malherb*, who assumed from the lands the more known name of Morham (*u*). The Morhams continued to enjoy it, throughout the 13th century (*x*). The family of Sir Thomas Morham ended in a female heir, Euphemia, who carried the manor, and the patronage of the church, to Sir John Gifford (*y*). From his family, the property went, by another female transmission, to the Hays of Locherwart: And, in recent times, the lands of Morham, with the patronage of the church, were acquired by the Dalrymples of Hailes: And they belonged to the late Sir David

(*s*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Coll. xxxviii.

(*t*) For other particulars, the more curious reader may consult the Stat. Acco. xiii. 353, and the *Tabular State*, subjoined.

(*u*) Chart. Newbotle. (*x*) Ib. 90—113.

(*y*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. xxxviii. The ancient fortalice of Morham stood on an eminence, near the church, whereof not a vestige remains. Stat. Acco. ii, 334.

Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, whose daughter now enjoys them (*z*). Thus much, then, with regard to the several parishes, in the presbytery of Hadington.

The presbytery of *Dunbar* will be found to comprehend eight parishes, in Hadingtonshire, and one in Berwickshire. The parish of *Dunbar* took its Celtic name, from the town; and the town obtained its designation, from the fortlet on the rock, which, at this place, projects into the sea. *Dun-bar*, in the British, and *Dun-bar*, in the Gaelic, signify the fort, on the height, top, or extremity; but ought not to be rendered, according to the late Lord Hailes's translation, into the English *top-cliff*. The parish of Dunbar was of old the most valuable of any, in the deanry of Lothian, or indeed within the diocese of St. Andrews. Besides the present parish, it contained the parochial districts of Whittingham, Stenton, and Spot, which were anciently chapelries, that were subordinate to the mother church of Dunbar. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Dunbar, with the chapel of Whittingham, were valued at 180 marks, which is a greater valuation, than any other church, in Scotland, could bear. In this most extensive parish, there were of old no fewer than six chapels, which were all subordinate, according to the ecclesiastical system of those times, to the mother church (*a*). From the earliest times, of which we have any accurate account, the Earls of Dunbar were proprietors of the whole parish, and patrons of the church, and the subordinate chapels (*b*). In 1342, Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, converted the parochial church into a collegiate form: And the eight prebends, which he established, were the chapelries of Whittingham, Spot, Stanton, Penshiel, and Hetherwick, within this parish, with Duns, and Chirnside, in Berwickshire. Soon after that establishment, several of those chapelries, Spot, Stanton, and Hetherwick, were converted into parish churches, independant of the mother church, yet dependant as prebends of the college. Spot, and Stanton, still continue separate parishes. When Hetherwick was made a distinct parish, it was called Beltoun, being the name of two villages, in the vicinity of Hetherwick, as well as the estate: And, the parish of Beltoun

(*z*) For more particulars, the more curious reader may consult the Stat. Acco. ii. and the *Tabular State*, subjoined.

(*a*) (1), There was a chapel at Hederwick, or Belton, in the western corner of the present parish. (2), There was a chapel, at Pinkerton, in the south-east of this parish. (3), There was a chapel, at Whittingham, in the lowlands of Whittingham, in the present parish of Whittingham. (4), There was a chapel, at Penshiel; in the Lamermoor. (5), There was a chapel, at Stanton. (6), And, there was a chapel, at Spot.

(*b*) Adam, the parson of Dunbar, died, in 1179. Chron. Mailros. On the 26th of April 1209, Randulph, "sacerdos de Dunbar," accepted the cure of Eccles. Id.

comprehended

comprehended the western extremity of the present parish of Dunbar. It continued a separate parish, till the Reformation, when it was re-annexed to Dunbar. In Bagimont's Roll, the rectory of Dunbar was rated at £8; and the rectory of Beltoun at £4. Dunbar, and Beltoun, appear, as separate rectories, in the Tax-Roll of the archbishoprick, 1547. The patronage of the church of Dunbar fell to the king, with the forfeiture of the earldom of March, in January 1434-5 (*c*). During the reign of James III., the earldom of Dunbar, with the patronage of the church, were enjoyed, by the traitorous Duke of Albany; and again fell to the king, on the forfeiture of this unworthy brother, in 1483. The church of Dunbar ceased to be collegiate, at the Reformation. When the bishoprick of Edinburgh was formed, in 1633, the parson of Dunbar was constituted one of its prebendaries. Andrew Wood was removed from Spot to Dunbar, soon after the Restoration; and was thence promoted, in 1676, to the bishoprick of the Isles, with which he held, by dispensation, the rectory of Dunbar: In 1680, he was translated to the see of Cathness, which he ruled, till his episcopate was abolished, at the Revolution of 1689: And he died, at Dunbar, in 1695, at the venerable age of seventy-six (*d*).

The name of the parish of *Spot*, has always been written, in this form, except, that it has been sometimes spelt *Spott*. There are several places of the same name, in England, as well as in Scotland. They seem all to have derived their several names, from the English *Spot*, a particular place, a small piece of ground. The church, and hamlet, of *Spot*, stand in a confined space, upon a peninsula, between two ravines, through which run two rivulets, which unite their streams, at a little distance below: It is a *sheltered, warm spot*. This church was of old a chapel of Dunbar, as we have seen. The patronage belonged to the Earl of Dunbar, and March; and when he was attainted, in January 1434-5, the advowson fell to the crown. In Bagimont's Roll, the rectory of Spot was rated at £5:6:8. It appears, in the Tax-Roll of St. Andrews, 1547. In September 1528, Robert Galbraith, the rector of Spot, appeared in parliament, as advocate, for Queen Margaret, on the forfeiture of the Earl of Angus (*e*). In 1532, he was at the head of the ten advocates, who were chosen, as general procurators, on the establishment of the Court of Session (*f*). In 1537, he was appointed a senator of the College of Justice. In February 1540-1, he appeared, in parliament, as one of the king's council (*g*).

(*c*) Parl. Rec. 72.

(*d*) For other particulars, the curious reader may consult the Stat. Acco. v., and the *Tabular State*, subjoined.

(*e*) Parl. Rec. 582. (*f*) Black Acts, fol. cxvi. (*g*) Parl. Rec. 628.

And, in March 1544, he was assassinated by John Carketle, a burgess of Edinburgh (*b*). George Home of Spot was tried for the murder of Darnley; and, afterward, sat as one of the jurymen, on the trial of Archibald Douglas, for the same murder: He was, soon after, himself assassinated, by his son-in-law, James Douglas of Spot, according to general suspicion, who was one of the traitorous accomplices of Francis, Earl of Bothwell, when he attempted, on the 27th of December 1591, to seize the king, and murder Maitland, the chancellor (*i*).

The village, and parish of Stenton, derive their names, from the Saxon *Stan-tun*, the *Stone town*. The minister of the place, without attempting to explain the meaning of the name, assures us of the stoney qualities of the soil, and how much of his parish is inclosed with the freestone, which every where abounds (*k*). Stenton, we have seen a chapel, and a prebend of Dunbar, and a rectory, the advowson whereof devolved on the crown, by the forfeiture of the Earl of March, by James I. For several ages, this parish was called *Petcoks*, from the name of a village, a mile and a quarter, north-east of Stenton. In Bagimont's Roll, the rectory of Petcoks is rated at £2 : 13 : 4. The rectory of Petcoks also appears in the Tax-Roll of St. Andrews, 1547 (*l*): But, the stoney qualities of the scil, within the parish, have induced the people to call this district *Stenton*.

The name of the parish of Whittingham is derived, no doubt, from the Saxon Whit-ing-ham, the dwelling on the white mead. There are in England several places of the name of Whittingham, as we may learn from the Villare: And, there are various places, called Whittington, which has nearly the same meaning. The village, and church of Whittingham, stand on the bank of Garvald water. Whitingham parish formed of old two chapelries, which were subordinate to the church of Dunbar: The lower part of the parish was served by the

(*b*) Carketle, and six accomplices, were accused, in parliament, of the cruel slaughter of Robert Galbraith, the rector of Spot, and one of the senators of the College of Justice. Ib. 675. He was succeeded, as rector of Spot, by James Hamilton, the natural brother of the Duke of Chatelherault, who soon resigned this rectory, when he was postulate to the see of Glasgow. Keith, 173. He was followed by a son of Home of Coldenknows, who was rector of Spot, at the Reformation. And, he was succeeded by Andrew Wood, who died bishop of Cathness, as we have seen.

(*i*) Arnot's Crim. Trials, 35. The more curious reader may consult the Stat. Acco. v. 451, with the Extracts of the Parish Records, in p. 452, and the *Tabular State*, subjoined.

(*k*) Stat. Acco. iii. 231. There are several places, in Scotland, called *Stenton*, and several in England, named *Stanton*.

(*l*) For other particulars, see the *Tabular State*, subjoined.

chapel

chapel of Whittingham; and the higher part, in the Lamermoor, was served by the chapel of Penshiel: And these two chapels, we may remember, formed two of the prebends of the collegiate church, when it was settled under this form, in 1342. The Earls of March held their baronial courts at Whittingham (*m*). In 1372, George Earl of March gave, in marriage, with his sister Agnes, to James Douglas of Dalkeith, the manor of Whittingham, with the patronage of the chapel (*n*). When Whittingham, and Penshiel, became a separate parish, the Douglasses of Dalkeith enjoyed the patronage. In October 1564, Queen Mary granted to James Earl of Morton, who represented the Douglases of Dalkeith, all his estates, with the barony of Whittingham, with the castle, and mills, and also the advowson of the church of Whittingham: And, the queen's grant to that unworthy servant was ratified by parliament, on the 19th of April 1567 (*o*). It was, in the guilty castle of Whittingham, that Morton met Bothwell, to concert the murder of Darnley, during the first week of December 1566 (*p*). Morton was forfeited, in 1581: But, James VI. returned the traitor's estates to his family, from whom Whittingham passed to more worthy proprietors (*q*).

The village of Preston derives its name, like other Prestons, from its being the hamlet of the priest. It is very ancient; and there appears to have been a church here, in very early times, on the northern bank of the Tyne. Preston was one of the villages, where Baldred preached; and was one of the three villages, which contended for his body, after his decease, in the seventh century. Baldred was long the patron of this parish, which he had dignified by his residence (*r*). In the 12th century, this parish was called *Linton*, from the name

(*m*) In 1363, Patrick, Earl of March, granted to Alexander de Ricklinton the half of the lands of Spot, which Sir Alexander Ramsay had resigned "in plena curia nostra apud Whytinge-"ham." Roberts. Index, 76.

(*n*) Ib. 136. (*o*) Parl. Rec. 763.

(*p*) See his confession, on the scafford, to the ministers of Edinburgh, in Bannatyne's Journal, 494; and Crawford's Memoirs of Scotland, 2d ed. Apx. 2. Morton was then just returned from England, where he had been expatriated, for the murder of Rizzio; and was now pardoned, by the queen. Darnley was assassinated, in pursuance of that concert, on the 10th of February 1566-7.

(*q*) The estate of Whittingham, and the patronage of the church, belongs to Hay of Drumellier. See the Stat. Acco. ii. 345, and the *Tabular State*, subjoined.

(*r*) The tradition is, that he had built the church, which was rebuilt, in 1770. His statue lay long in the church-yard: And, Mr. Baron Hepburn intended to have caused it to be built into the church wall; but, an irreverent mason broke it in pieces, during his necessary absence. Mr. Baron Hepburn's MS. Letter to me of the 1st December 1801. In the vicinity of the very ancient church, there is a spring of the purest water, which is called *St. Baldred's Well*; and a pool, or eddy,

name of the village, on the northern bank of the Tyne, somewhat above *Preston* (*s*): And, that village derived its name from a remarkable *pool*, which the Tyne forms here, by falling over a rock: Now, *Llyn*, in the British, and *Linn*, in the Gaelic, signify a *pool*: And, to the Celtic term, the Saxon settlers affixed their *tun*, to denote their dwelling at the *Lin* (*t*). The church of Linton appears to have been of great value: In the ancient *Taxatio*, it was valued at 100 marks: Dunbar, at 180 marks, and Hadington, at 130, were only of superior value among the churches, in the deanry of Lothian. At a subsequent period, the tenth of the rectory of Linton was rated in Bagimont's Roll, at £20. Richard, the parson of Linton, swore fealty to Edward I, and received a precept, in return, for the restoration of his property (*u*). The patronage of the church belonged to the Earls of Dunbar, who held the whole parish; and the lands were enjoyed under them, by various vassals (*x*). When Earl Patrick formed his collegiate establishment, in the church of Dunbar, he made the church of Linton one of the prebends, and indeed the most valuable of the whole of them. The patronage of the rectory, and of the prebend, fell to the king, by the forfeiture of the earldom, in January 1434-5. *Linton* continued the proper name of the parish till the Reformation (*y*). It was even then, however, colloquially, called *Haugh*, from the location of the church on a flat, or *haugh*, on the margin of the Tyne. In June 1493, there was a suit heard, in parliament, by John Ireland, the parson of *Halch*, against George Smethtoun (*z*), and Robert Fleming, which throws some light on ancient practices. The parson complained, that the parties had wrongfully obstructed his servants, in pasturing his

eddy, in the Tyne, that is known as *St. Baldred's Whirl*. Stat. Acco. xi. 86. On the coast of Tyningham, there is, as we have observed, a remarkable bason, formed by the sea, in a rock, which is filled, at spring tides, and is called *St. Baldred's Cradle*. The Honourable Mr. Baron Hepburn has informed me, that his uncle, showing him St. Baldred's Cradle, said the tradition was, that it was rocked, by the winds, and waves.

(*s*) Chart. Newbotle, 121.

(*t*) There are many places of the same name, in England, as well as in Scotland. On the 17th of July 1127, Blahan, the presbyter of *Linton*, witnessed the charter of Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, to the monks of St. Cuthbert, at Coldingham. Smith's Bede, Apx. xx.

(*u*) Rym. ii 724.

(*x*) Chart. Newbotle; and Roberts. Index. On the lands of Waughton, in the northern extremity of the parish, there was previous to the Reformation, a chapel, which was subordinate to the church; and the ruins of which are still obvious to the antiquarian eye.

(*y*) The rectory of *Linton* appears in the Tax-Roll of St. Andrews, 1547.

(*z*) Those were local names, from Smethtoun, [Smeaton], in the vicinity of Preston, within this parish.

cattle

cattle on the moor of Preston, which he had a right to do, *by reason of his kirk.* David Hepburn of Waughton appeared, for his interest, alleging that *the moor* belonged to him, *in heritage.* The Lords, judicially, ordered the sheriff to summon, on a day named, *thirty* persons, the best, and worthiest of the country, as an inquest, to determine *how the said moor had stood, in times bypast:* And the Lords ordained the patron of *the Halch,* to be called for his interest (*a*). This is a very instructive proceeding in parliament. We may remember that, by a very ancient canon of the Scotican church, the parson had a right of commonage over every common, in his parish: And that canon being followed, by immemorial custom, neither the plea of heritage, nor a grant of the crown, could over-rule the parson's right. This proceeding, however, shows the beginning of opposition to a practice, that must have been very inconvenient, if not unjust, and certainly impolitic. The patronage of this parish church was probably then invested in Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, whose influence was then unbounded: And, the patronage seems to have been immemorially annexed to the lordship of Hailes, in this parish (*b*). The more ancient names of this parish, *Linton,* and *Hauch,* were superseded, after the Reformation, by the name of *Preston-haugh*; which has, also, in its turn, been superseded, during recent times, by the more appropriate designation of *Preston-kirk* (*c*).

The parish of *Whitekirk,* and *Tyningham,* comprehends the ancient parishes of Aldham and Tyningham, of Hamir, or Whitekirk. *Tyningham* derives its name, from the location of the village upon a *meadow,* on the northern side of the *Tyne. Tyne-ing-ham* signifies, in the Saxon, the hamlet upon the meadow, on the Tyne (*d*). The church of Tyningham is very ancient: It was founded, in the 6th century, by St. Baldred, who died, here, in 607, after preaching the gospel to a confiding people, who fought for his body, after his spirit had

(*a*) Parl. Rec. 378. No further proceedings appear in the Record; as the laird of Waughton was probably told, by his lawyers, that his plea was bad; Nor does the patron appear.

(*b*) On the 10th of December 1543, appeared, in parliament, Maister Nicol Creichton, parson of *Hauch*; and entered a protest on behalf of the bishop of Dunkeld: But, neither the bishop's rights, nor his wrongs, appear on the record. The *Testament* of Sir Patrick Hepburn of Waughton, dated the 31st of August 1547, remains in the hands of the Honourable Mr. Baron Hepburn, who obligingly furnished me with a copy. By it, Sir Patrick "made his eldest son, Patrick, "assignee to *the kirk of Hauche,* during my *taks* [leases] that I have, of Maister Nicol Creichton, "*now being parson of the Hauche.*"

(*c*) See the Stat. Acco. xi. 83, and the *Tabular State,* subjoined.

(*d*) *Ing,* in the A. S., means a meadow; *ham* signifies a dwelling; and Tyne is the British name of the river.

fled.

fled (*e*). If we could believe, in the genuineness of Duncan's charter, to St. Cuthbert, and his servitors, we ought to admit, that four remarkable places, lying within this united parish, were granted by him to St. Cuthbert (*f*). Tyningham, Audham, Scuchale, [Scougal], and Cnolle, [Knowes], with Hetherwick, and Brocesmouth, are the places, which are contained, in the supposititious charter of Duncan to St. Cuthbert. This charter has always been suspected of forgery, by antiquaries, from the unsuitableness of its form, more than from an examination of its matter. It appears not, from any document, that St. Cuthbert's monks, who were sufficiently pertinacious, ever enjoyed, or claimed the churches, and lands, which Duncan is supposed to have given them; and which none of his successors, from Edgar to Robert III., ever confirmed. It may even be shown, that those churches, and lands, did not belong to him, to give, or them to receive. At the epoch of Duncan's pretended charter, Hetherwick belonged to Cospatrick of Dunbar, and continued in his family, till the sad epoch of its forfeiture. Brocesmouth was possessed by William Morville, and Muriel, his spouse, who bestowed a part of this property on the monks of Kelso (*g*). It is not to be believed, that such a king, as Duncan, would give to St. Cuthbert the lands, which Malcolm Canmore had conferred on such a person, as Cospatrick, the Earl of Northumberland: And as we never see St. Cuthbert's *servitors*, in possession of any of those lands, it is not to be credited, that they ever enjoyed them. On the other hand, the chartulary of Coldingham evinces, that the first property, which was given to the monks of St. Cuthbert, in Scotland, was conferred, by the charters of Edgar, after the demise of Duncan; and which were confirmed, by his successors, who recognized his grants, and allowed their possession. If the six places, lying in Hadingtonshire, which Duncan is supposed to have granted to the monks of St. Cuthbert, had

(*e*) Such is the legend! It is pretty certain, that Baldred died, in 607 A. D. 'In 941, Anlaf, the Dane, spoiled the church of St. Balther, [Baldred], and burnt the village of Tyningham. Chron. Mailros; Hoveden, 423; and Mat. of Westminster. This is a very early notice of the kirk-town of Tyningham.

(*f*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl iv. The late William Robertson of the Register Office, at Edinburgh, has given a copy of this charter, with a positive opinion, as to its authenticity. Index, 153. He formed his opinion, by his eye, rather than his understanding; by a view of the parchment, more than by an examination of its contents.

(*g*) Chart. Kelso, 13—220. It afterward belonged to the bishop of St. Andrews. Aldham, and Suchele, also belonged to the bishops of St. Andrews. It is a fact, which the chartulary of Coldingham testifies, that the monks of St. Cuthbert never had any other property, in East-Lothian, than a toft, in Hadington, which William, the lion, gave them, and an annuity of four pennies, in Golyn, which William de Vailibus conferred on them.

been

been really conveyed to them,' we should have seen, in the chartulary of Coldingham, the same confirmations of them, followed by possession, as we therein perceive of the thirteen places, in Berwickshire, which were undoubtedly granted, by the charters of Edgar. Here, then, are facts, which, in addition to other objections, evince, that the charter of Duncan to St. Cuthbert is as putative, as his birth, and title. The church of *Tyningham* enjoyed of old the privilege of sanctuary (*b*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Tyningham was valued at 40 marks: And, in Bagimont's Roll, it was rated at £10: 13: 4. William Spot, the parson of Tyningham, swore fealty to Edward, on the 2d of September 1296; and was rewarded with the restitution of his property (*i*). The manor of Tyningham, with the patronage of the church, belonged to the bishops of St. Andrews (*k*): And they were included within the regality of that see, which lay on the southern side of the Forth. During the reign of David II, Patrick de Leuchars of Fifeshire was rector of Tyningham; and rose to be bishop of Brechin, and chancellor of Scotland (*l*). Roger de Musselburgh probably succeeded him, as rector of Tyningham (*m*): And, Roger was again employed, during 1372, in a similar trust (*n*). Under James III., George Brown, who became bishop of Dunkeld, was rector of Tyningham (*o*): And as he joined the rebellious faction, which had promoted his advancement; he concurred with them, in pursuing his sovereign to an

(*b*) Malcolm IV. granted to the monks of Kelso the church of Inverlethan; giving to that church the same privilege of sanctuary, as *Tyningham*, and Stow enjoyed. Chart. Kelso, 20. Tyningham, and Stow, we may remember, were connected with the see of St. Andrews.

(*i*) Rym. ii. 725.

(*k*) Alexander Fossard de Tyningham, Richard le Barker de Tyningham, and Gilbert Fitzhenry de Tyningham, the tenants of the bishop of St. Andrews, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick, on the 28th of August 1296. Prynne, iii. 658.

(*l*) He was consecrated bishop, in 1354; he was soon after made chancellor; an office, which he held till 1370, during the troublous administration of David II., who demised, in 1371. Bishop Leuchars was alive, in 1373, but was dead, in 1384. Keith, 95.

(*m*) On the 5th of February 1366, Roger, with twenty horsemen, obtained a safe conduct to enter Berwick; to make a payment of David's ransom. Rym. vi. 493.

(*n*) On the 23d June 1372, Roger witnessed, at Berwick, a notorial proceeding of the Chamberlain of Scotland, with regard to another payment of David's ransom. Parl. Rec. 127.

(*o*) He was the son of George Brown, the treasurer of Dundee; he studied at St. Andrews, where he became one of the four regents of St. Salvator's college. He was ordained a presbyter, in 1464. and became chancellor of Aberdeen. He was by James II. sent, on an ambassage to Rome, in 1384, where he was consecrated, by Sixtus IV., the bishop of Dunkeld.

untimely end, on Stirling-field (*p*). Tyningham, with the patronage of the church, appear to have been conferred on St. Mary's college, which was founded, at St. Andrews, in 1552, by Archbishop Hamilton. This munificence seems not to have promoted the interest of the parish (*q*). Tyningham was for a while held by the Earl of Hadington, under the archbishop (*r*). The earl, on the 7th of February 1628, obtained a charter, under the Great Seal, of the lands, and lordship of Tyningham (*s*). Tyningham became the seat of this prosperous family, who, by plantation, and other improvements, ornamented their domain, and beautified the country. *Ald-ham*, in the Saxon, signifies the old dwelling, or hamlet (*t*). The kirk-town stands on the sea cliff, in the northern extremity of the parish. The church is probably as ancient, as the 6th century, if it were founded by Baldred, who died in 607 A.D. This parish only contained the lands of *Ald-ham*, and Scuchal, [Scougal]: And, those are two of the places, which are certainly mentioned, in the supposititious charter of Duncan, yet, were never enjoyed by St. Cuthbert's monks, in pursuance of the grant. The lands of Scuchal were long possessed by the family of Scougal, which produced some eminent men, under the bishops of St. Andrews, who were patrons of the church of Aldham, from the earliest times. The lands of Aldham were held, under the archbishop of St. Andrews, by Adam Otterburn, who was the king's advocate, from 1525 to 1537; and was meantime appointed one of the senators of the College of Justice, till he died about the year 1547. Both Aldham, and Scougal, continued with the archbishop, till the year 1630 (*u*). This parish, from its paucity of people, was of little value; and was of course only estimated, in the ancient Taxatio, at six marks. William, the parson of Aldham, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick, on the 28th of August 1296; and received, in return, the restitution of his property (*x*). The ruins of the ancient church of Aldham on the sea-cliff were

(*p*) Parl. Rec. 318. The guilty bishop died, on the 14th of January 1514-15, aged 76. Innes's MS. Chronology.

(*q*) On the 27th June 1565, a complaint was made to the General Assembly, by the parishioners of Tynningham, who paid their tithes to the new college of St. Andrews; and yet had no preaching, or administration of the sacraments. Mr. John Douglas, the rector of the university, and master of the new college, promised to satisfy the said complaints; and that the kirk should not be again troubled, with such a complaint. Keith's Hist. 544.

(*r*) Relig. Divi. And. 118. (*s*) Dougl. Peer, 318.

(*t*) In England there are several places of the same name; In Suffolk, there is the parish of *Oldham*.

(*u*) Relig. Divi Andreæ, 120. (*x*) Prynne, iii. 663; Rym. ii. 724.

apparent,

apparent, in 1770, but were soon after removed, for some domestic purpose. At Scougal, about a mile south-east of Aldham, there was of old a chapel, the ruins whereof still remain, in proof of the piety of the Scougals.

The parish of *Hamer*, or Whitekirk, was anciently called *Hamer*, from the kirk-town. *Ham-er*, in the Saxon, signifies the greater ham. It may have obtained this appellation, in contradistinction to Aldham, which stood only two miles, on the northward. The parish of *Hamer* was more populous, than Aldham, though not so populous, as Tyningham: In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of *Hamer* was valued, only, at 10 marks. Both the church, and manor, of Hamer, were granted, during the 12th century, to the monks of Holyrood-house, though by whom cannot now be ascertained. They retained both till the Reformation The church of Hamer, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, from the whiteness of its appearance, was early called *Whitekirk*; and at length became, in the popular tradition, the name of the village, and parish. In 1356, when Edward III. invaded East-Lothian; as he was attended by shipping, the sailors entered the church of our Lady, in the barony of Hamer, and spoiled her of her ornaments. In relating this outrage, Fordun forgets not to tell, how the Virgin raised such a storm, as made the sailors wish, that they had not offended her, by their spoliation (*y*). The canons of Holyrood, who resided here, for the service of the Virgin, seem to have been unable to prevent, or to punish, the profanity of the seamen (*z*). We may learn, however, from this intimation, that the monks, usually, officiated at those churches, which belonged to the religious houses. The church of our Lady, at Whitekirk, became a place of frequent pilgrimage (*a*). The church, and lands, and barony of *Auld Hamer*, or Whitekirk, with all, that had pertained to the canons of Holyrood of this ancient establishment, were cast into the form of a *regality*; and granted, in 1633, to the bishop of Edinburgh, and his successors. On the suppression of the bishoprick, in 1689, the patronage of Whitekirk devolved on the king. During the 17th century, the parish of Whitekirk was augmented, by the annexation of the little parish of Aldham: And, in 1761, to this united parish was annexed the adjoining parish of Tyningham. The present parish thus comprehends the ancient *scires* of Tyningham, Aldham, and Hamer, or Whitekirk (*b*): The churches of Tyningham, and of Aldham, have been

(*y*) Ford. l. xiv. c 13-14. (*z*) Ib. ii. 355.

(*a*) See Hay's MS. Acco. of Religious Establishments, in the Advocate's Lib. W. 2. 2.

(*b*) Simeon of Durham records, in 854 A D., the parishes of *Aldham*, and Tyningham, as then belonging to the bishoprick of Lindisfarn. Twisden, 139.

demolished; and Whitekirk is now the only place of worship, for the parishioners of the three parishes, conjoined (*c*). The patronage of this united parish belongs, by turns, to the king, in right of Whitekirk, and the Earl of Hadington, in virtue of Tyningham (*d*).

The village of *Innerwick* derived its name, from the Saxon *Inner-wic*, signifying an *interior* dwelling, or hamlet. While there are two villages, on the shore, *Skateraw*, and *Thorntonloch*, within this parish, the village of Innerwick stands *inland*, a mile and a quarter. To such circumstances, and location, it, no doubt, owes its equivocal appellation. There appears not any water, near the village of Innerwick, to which the Gaelic *Inver* could be fitly applied; and, moreover, *wic*, being a Saxon term, either for a castle, or a hamlet, and not the name of a stream, could not, analogically, be coupled with the Gaelic Inver, which is, indeed, corrupted, by colloquial use, to *Inner* (*e*). In many charters of the 12th and 13th centuries, the name of this place is written Innerwic, and Ennerwic: In more modern writings, it is uniformly spelt Innerwick, which is adopted by the minister of the parish: The extensive manor of Innerwick was granted, by David I., to Walter, the son of Alan, *the first stewart*; and David's grant was confirmed, by Malcolm IV., in 1157. Various English vassals settled, within the manor of Innerwick (*f*). His descendants enjoyed the superiority of this manor, even down to recent times. Walter, the son of Alan, granted to his favourite monks of Paisley, at the epoch of their establishment, the church of Innerwick, with its pertinents, a carrucate of land, between the church and the sea, with the miln of Innerwick (*g*). Malcolm IV. confirmed this foundation charter (*h*). The church of Innerwick was

(*c*) The ancient church of Tyningham stood a quarter of a mile below the village, on the northern side of the Tyne, in a beautiful field, which has a gentle slope to the water's edge; whence the church was distant 300 yards. MS. Relation of the Rev. Dr. Carfrae of Dunbar.

(*d*) The curious reader will find little addition to the curious detail above, in the Stat. Acco. xvii. 574; yet, some important facts will be found, in the *Tabular State*, subjoined.

(*e*) *In*, saith Somner, *in, intro, intus*, in, within, inwardly: In the Saxon, *in* is a very frequent prefix. See Somner: *Er*, he adds, "Terminatio comparativorum apud Anglo-Saxones; ut *est*, "superlativorum:" Thus *in-er*, among the Anglo-Saxons, means more than within. Neither Bailey, nor Johnson, has sufficiently adverted to this exposition of Somner.

(*f*) Caledonia, i, 576-7; Chart. Paisley, and Kelso. (*g*) Chart. Paisley, 7—9.

(*h*) Ib. 8. William, the lion, confirmed it. Ib. 10. And, Alan, the son of Walter, added his confirmation. Ib. 35. It was confirmed, by Richard, the bishop of St. Andrews, the diocesan, who allowed the monks to enjoy the church of Innerwick, to their proper use. Ib. 14. And to all those confirmations Pope Alexander III. added two bulls of recognition. Ib. 11-12.

not

not very rich: It was valued, in the ancient *Taxatio*, at only 30 marks. The cure was served, by a vicar, who was appointed by the monks. William, who ruled the see of St. Andrews, from 1202 to 1233, confirmed to the monks of Paisley their church of Innerwick, with the pertinents, to their proper use: And, by his episcopal authority, he ordained, that the vicar should have the *altarages*, with some land, on the western side of the cemetery; rendering yearly to the monks seven marks of money, as a pension (*i*). The vicar, in fact, enjoyed a messuage, and garden, near the burying-ground, and an acre of ground, on its northern side (*k*). In Bagimont's Roll, the vicarage was rated at £3 : 6 : 8 (*l*). Thomas de Fulcon, the vicar, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick, on the 28th of August 1296 (*m*); and, no doubt, obtained a restoration of his rights. Of old, there was, within this parish, a chapel dedicated to St. Dennis, the ruins whereof are still standing on a small promontory, in the northern corner of this maritime parish. The monks of Paisley continued to enjoy the church of Innerwick, till the Reformation introduced here, a very different system. In the meantime, the manor of Innerwick was held, by various vassals, under *the Stewart*. The monks of Kelso obtained, from that beneficent race, some lands, and pastures, within this manor (*n*). The second Walter, the Stewart, gave them liberty to erect a miln on their lands, within his manor; and he renounced to them, an annuity of twenty shillings, and two pair of boots, which they were wont to pay him, for the fee-firm of certain pastures, within the manor of Innerwick (*o*). A remarkable change at length arrived. This barony, and indeed the whole possessions of the Stewart of Scotland, were erected by Robert III. into a free regality, on the 10th of December 1404, as a principality for the eldest son of the Scotish kings (*p*). When Renfrew became a separate shire, the barony of Innerwick was annexed to it; as it was part of the stewartry, though it was actually situated, within East-Lothian (*q*). Sir Peter Wedderburn of Gosford, who became a senator of

(*i*) Chart. Paisley, 15. (*k*) Ib. 48.

(*l*) Honorius III. added his confirmation of the church, and its pertinents, with a carrucate of land, common of pasture, within the manor, and the miln of Innerwick. Ib. 149. Honorius died, in 1227. The monks also enjoyed the necessary accommodation, for collecting their tithes. Ib. 48. In 1247, the monks obtained from David, the bishop of St. Andrews, and from John, the prior, a confirmation of the church of Innerwick, with all that belonged to it. Ib. 17-18.

(*m*) Prynne, iii. 658. (*n*) Chart. Kelso, 247—60. (*o*) Ib. 246.

(*p*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ; Carmichael's Tracts; Casus Principis.

(*q*) Between the years 1661, and 1669, Charles II., as stewart of Scotland, granted many charters

of the College of Justice, in 1668, obtained, in February 1670, to him, and his heirs of entail, a grant of the rectory, and vicarage-tithes of Innerwick. In July 1670, he obtained a grant to him, and his heirs of entail, of the barony of Thornton, in the parish of Innerwick. And, in January 1671, he obtained the barony itself of Innerwick (*r*). Some other changes seem to have taken place, in the barony of Innerwick, as the patronage of the church belongs to a different family (*s*).

The name of the parish of Oldhamstocks is derived from the name of the kirk-town: And, the ancient appellation of the village was usually written, in charters, *Aldhamstoc*, and *Aldhamstok* (*t*). These forms of the word are obviously derived from the Saxon *Aldham*, the old habitation, and *Stoc*, a place (*u*). Though *Old*hamstocks be the modern spelling, the popular name is *Aldhamstoks*: The final (s) first appeared, in the 16th century. The village, and church, stand upon the high bank of a rivulet, which is called, at this place, the *Dean* burn, though below it is named the Dunglas-burn. The church of Oldhamstoks is ancient (*x*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, it was rated at the high value of 60 marks. In Bagimont's Roll, it was rated at £10. This church never belonged to any monastery. The patronage of the rectory seems to have continued with the lord of the manor, who cannot be easily traced, on so doubtful a frontier: Oldhamstocks appears not among the manors, or baronies, of Hadington constabulary, in the Tax-Roll of 1613: And, from this circumstance, we may infer, that it had been long merged in the barony of Dunglas. After various successions, the patronage of the church of Aldhamstocks became invested, in Hunter of Thurston. On the 28th of August 1296, Thomas de

charters to the vassals of the stewartry, living upon the manor of Innerwick: And their lands are described, as lying in the constabulary of Hadington, and sheriffdom of Edinburgh, but by annexation, within the sheriffwick of Renfrew. MS. Collection of Charters.

(*r*) Douglas's Baron. 283, which quotes the charters, in the Pub. Archives.

(*s*) The inquisitive reader will gain very little additional information, as to this parish, from the Stat. Acco. i. 121; but, the *Tabular State*, subjoined, supplies some other notices.

(*t*) Chart. Coldingham.

(*u*) The Saxon *Stoc*, which means the same as *Stow*, a place, appears, in the names of many places, in England: In Spelman's Villare, there are twenty places, named *Stoke*; and many compounds; as *Stoke*-bury, Basing-*stoke*, *Stoke*-pogis, *Stoke*-severn, &c.

(*x*) On the 17th of July 1127, Aldulph, the presbyter of *Aldehamstoc*, witnessed a charter of Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, to the monks of St. Cuthbert, at Coldingham. Smith's Bede, Appx. xx.

Hunsingour,

Hunsingour, the parson of Aldhamstock swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick; and was thereupon restored to his rectory (*y*). The subsequent history of this parish is obscure. It is recorded, as an existing rectory, in the Archbishop's Roll of 1547. Thomas Hepburn, the parson of Aldhamstocks, was admitted master of requests to Queen Mary, on the 7th of May 1567, two days after her inauspicious marriage with Bothwell (*z*). A detached part of the parish of Aldhamstocks, consisting of the lands of Butterdean, and lying on the northern side of the Ey water, is in Berwickshire (*a*). Thus much, then, with regard to the several parishes, in the presbytery of Dunbar.

The parish of Ormiston is comprehended, within the presbytery of Dalkeith. This parish derives its name, from the kirk-town, which itself obtained its well-known appellation, from some Saxon settler here, whose tun, or dwelling, it became. Orme was a common name, during the 11th and 12th centuries; as we know from the chartularies: But, it is in vain to attempt the ascertaining of Orme, who actually gave his name to this hamlet. The church was dedicated to St. Giles. And, it was granted, with its pertinents, to the hospital of Soltre, which was founded, as we have seen, by Malcolm IV. William, the bishop of St. Andrews, in the 13th century, confirmed to the master, and brothers of Soltre, the church of St. Giles, at Ormiston, with its revenues, to their proper use (*b*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Ormiston was valued only at 12 marks. Mary of Guilder, the widowed queen of James II., when she founded the Trinity College, at Edinburgh, in March 1462, annexed to it all the churches, with their rights, which belonged to the hospital of Soltre. She now assigned the revenues of the church of Ormiston, in four equal shares, to the prebendaries of Ormiston, Gilestoun, Hill, and Newlands, belonging to her college. This foundation of Mary of Guelder was confirmed, in April 1462, by James, bishop of St. Andrews, the diocesan (*c*). The regent Murray introduced a less useful regimen. In 1567, he gave the Trinity Church, with its revenues, to Sir Simon Preston, the provost of Edinburgh, who conferred the whole on the city; and the magistrates purchased the right of Robert Pont, the provost of this collegiate establishment, in 1587 (*d*). The patronage of the

(*y*) Prynne, iii. 662.

(*z*) Keith's Hist. 387. On the 18th of August 1568, Thomas Hepburn, the same parson, with others, were prosecuted, in parliament, for aiding the queen, in making her escape from Lochleven castle; and were, on the subsequent day, convicted of treason. Parl. Rec. 806-7-12.

(*a*) See the *Tabular State*, subjoined. (*b*) Chart. Soltre, 5.

(*c*) Maitland's Hist. 208. (*d*) Ib. 212.

church

church of Ormiston was meantime acquired by Cockburn, the lord of the manor, who certainly enjoyed it, in after times. In 1747, John Cockburn, of Ormiston, sold his estate, with the patronage of the church, to John, Earl of Hopeton, who now became proprietor of the whole parish (*e*). After the Reformation, the parish of Ormiston was considerably enlarged, by the annexation of the estate of Peiston, which was disjoined from Pencaithland. Whether the fine village of Ormiston, standing on the northern side of the Tyne, was ever a baronial burrough, is uncertain. In the middle of the broad street, which runs through the town, from east to west, there is *a cross*, of the erection whereof tradition is silent; but, "from its ancient appearance, saith the minister, it is evidently a "*relick of popery* (*f*):" And, from this intimation, we may infer, that the inhabitants are better farmers, than antiquaries (*g*).

Soutra, and *Fala*, make but one united parish; the first lying, in Hadington, and the latter, in Edinburghshire; and both forming a part of the presbytery of Dalkeith. The church, and hamlet of Soutra, stand in a very conspicuous site, on the summit of Soutra hill, which separates Lothian from Lauderdale; and sends its rivulets, in opposite directions, to the north, and south. This hamlet, which was so long the active scene of charity, commands a most extensive prospect; a natural circumstance this, whence it obviously derived its descriptive name, from the language of the British people: *Swl-tre* signifying, in the Cambro-British language, *prospect-town* (*h*). Here, was a hospital established, by Malcolm IV., as we have seen; to which was annexed a chapel: And, when this district was formed into a parish, the chapel was declared to be the parish church. This parish church does not appear in the ancient *Taxatio*; as it belonged to the master, and brothers, of this charitable foundation. Thus it continued till Mary of Guelder, in her widowhood, established, in 1462, her collegiate church, near Edinburgh, as we have seen: And, the churches, and lands, belonging to the hospital of Soltre, were perverted to a very different

(*e*) Stat. Acco. iv. 171.

(*f*) It is obviously the market-cross of a prosperous town, in the midst of an agricultural country. The *market-cross* was an object of grant, in former times, with respect to policy, more than to religion.

(*g*) Of Ormiston, was Mr. Andrew Wight, the son of a very intelligent farmer, who was employed, in 1773, by the trustees for the forfeited estates, to make the Agricultural Surveys, which were printed in 1778, and the following years.

(*h*) See Owen's Dict. in vo. *swl*, a prospect: *Tref*, or *tre*, signifies a homested, a hamlet. In the charters of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, the name of this place is written *Soltre*.

purpose.

purpose. The church of Soltre was now served by a vicar (*i*). Other perversions followed. At length, the regent Murray gave the Trinity Church, with its pertinents, to the provost of Edinburgh, who assigned the whole to the corporation: And, in this manner, did the city acquire the patronage of the church of Soutra, with the property of the most part of the parish (*k*). It was, afterward, annexed to Fala: And, from the period of the annexation, the magistrates of Edinburgh, and Sir John Dalrymple, became the patrons, by turns, of the united parish (*l*).

Thus much, then, with respect to the twenty-four parishes, lying within the shire of Hadington: To the foregoing notices is immediately subjoined a TABULAR STATE, as an useful supplement, which will, perhaps, be found both interesting in its facts, and useful, in its informations. In making up the amount of the stipends of those several parishes, the grain has been valued; the wheat, at £1 : 5 : 9 per boll; the barley, at 19s. 4¼d.; the oats, at 14s. 9d.; the pease, at 14s. 6d. per boll; and the oat-meal, at 16s. 8d. per boll of eight stone; being an average of the fier prices of Hadington, for the seven years, ending in 1795; taking the medium of the three qualities of the grain (*m*). The stipends of mostly all the parishes, in this shire, have been augmented, during recent times, when the prices of necessaries became higher, and the value of money grew less (*n*).

(*i*) In 1467, John Heriot, the vicar of Soutra, appears as a witness, in several charters. Spottiswoode's Acco. of Rel. Houses, 536. In October 1479, on hearing a cause, in parliament, the Lords directed Rolly Lermonth, and others, to prove, that Schir John Herriot, the vicar of Soutra, had power from Schir Edward of Bonkle, the provost of the Trinity College, beside Edinburgh, to lease the tithes of Fawnys. Parl. Rec. 257.

(*k*) See Maitland's Edinburgh, 210-12.

(*l*) The united parish is four miles long, and four miles broad; is served by one minister, whose stipend, in 1755, was 68l. 2s. 9d., and in 1798, 77l. 13s.: And the number of its parishioners, in 1755, was 312; in 1791, 372; and in 1801, 354.

(*m*) The allowance, for communion elements, and the value of the glebes, are included; but, not the value of the manses, and office houses. The boll of barley, and oats, in Hadingtonshire, is 6 bushels, 9 pints, 4.9 cubic inches, English standard measure, which is about 6 pints more, than the Linlithgow boll. The boll of wheat, and pease, contains 4 bushels, 13 pints, 9.4 cubic inches, English standard measure; being nearly 3 per cent. above the Scotish standard measure.

(*n*) The parishes, the stipends whereof have been thus augmented, are: Hadington, Athelstaneford, Aberlady, Gladsmuir, Pencaithland, Saltoun, Bolton, Humbie, Yester, Garvald and Barra, Dunbar, Spot, Stenton, Whittingham, Prestonkirk, Innerwick, and Aldhamstocks.

The TABULAR STATE.

The Presbyteries.	The Names of the Parishes.	Their Extent. Length Miles.	Their Extent. Breadth Miles.	Their Inhabitants In 1755.	Their Inhabitants In 1791.	Their Inhabitants In 1801.	The Number of Ministers.	Their Stipends. In 1755. £. s. d.	Their Stipends. In 1798. £. s. d.	Their Patrons.
HADINGTON	Hadington	6	5	3,975	3,915	4,049	2	100 13 4 66 2 2	202 10 9 171 9 4	The Earl of Hopeton.
	Athelstaneford	4	2½	691	927	897	1	71 1 1	177 2 8	Kinloch of Gilmerton.
	North-Berwick	3	2½	1,412	1,500	1,583	1	72 6 8	160 14 8	Dalrymple of North-Berwick.
	Dirleton	4¼	4	1,700	1,200	1,115	1	106 4 4	215 3 6	Nisbet of Dirleton.
	Aberlady	3	2	739	800	875	1	79 9 11	168 13 9	The Earl of Wemyss.
	Gladesmuir	1½	1½	1,415	1,380	1,470	1	74 7 6	164 19 9	The King, and the Earl of Hopeton.
	Tranent	5	2½	2,459	2,732	3,046	1	82 12 4	153 16 0	The King.
	Preston-Pans	2½	1	1,596	2,028	1,964	1	116 16 9	191 10 3	The Earl of Hindford.
	Pencaithland	4	3	910	1,033	925	1	85 16 9	178 18 8	Hamilton of Pencaithland.
	Salton	3	1½	761	830	768	1	84 10 6	155 3 8	Fetcher of Salton.
	Bolton	5	1¼	359	235	252	1	66 13 9	124 12 0	Lord Blantyre.
	Humbie	5½	5	570	670	785	1	77 4 5	141 0 10	The King, and the Earl of Hopeton.
	Yester	5	2	1,091	933	929	1	69 6 0	153 7 6	The Marquis of Tweedale.
	Garvald and Barra	8	4	774	730	749	1	67 13 6	152 9 9	The King, and the Marquis of Tweedale.
	Morham	2¼	1	245	190	254	1	69 10 0	137 13 6	Dalrymple of Hailes.
DUNBAR	Dunbar	8	2	3,281	3,700	3,951	1	98 1 10	223 4 9	The Duke of Roxburgh.
	Spot	10	5	727	619	502	1	63 17 2	165 0 8	Hay of Spot.
	Stenton	4	3	631	624	620	1	56 11 8	121 15 0	Nisbet of Dirleton.
	Whittingham	10	3½	714	654	658	1	62 19 8	128 9 8	Hay of Drumellier.
	Prestonkirk	6	4	1,318	1,176	1,471	1	86 15 4	185 12 3	Dalrymple of Hailes.
	Whitekirk, and Tyningham	5½	4	968	994	925	1	123 11 4	155 6 6	The King, and the Earl of Hadington.
	Innerwick	10	4	941	960	846	1	83 3 4	169 15 3	Nisbet of Dirleton.
	Oldhamstocks (part of)	6	3	504	404	466	1	83 1 1	123 6 5	Hunter of Thurston.
OAKEITH	Ormiston	5	1½	810	864	766	1	78 13 3	180 12 4	The Earl of Hopeton.
	Soutra (annexed to Fala)	4	1½	206	126	120	1	33 0 0	37 6 0	The City of Edinburgh.
	The Total 24	—	—	28,697	29,230	29,986	25	2,060 3 8	4,139 15 5	

CHAP. V.

Of Edinburghshire.

§ 1. *Of its Name.*] THIS county, obviously, derived its appellation, from the city of Edinburgh, the chief town of the shire, the metropolis of the kingdom. The name of the capital of North-Britain, as it has puzzled all the antiquaries, has been proposed, as an appropriate theme, for scholastic dissertation. Meantime, it is certain, that the *town* derived its name from the *castle*, rather than the castle, from the town, in whatever language they may be denominated. What appellation, the British settlers gave to the rock, the *Din* of the first people, the *Burgh* of the Saxon intruders, is not quite clear. Aneurin, the Ottadinian poet, who wrote during the *sixth* century, speaks of *Dinas Eidyn*, the *city of Eidyn:* But, those poetical expressions must have been applied to some southern city, on the Eden river, which was more familiar to Aneurin, who, as he had shared in the unsuccessful conflicts of those times, knew the localities of the affecting scenes. The ancient *Triads* of the British people notice *Caer*-Eidyn, and *Dinas*-Eidyn: Yet, is it probable, that the *Triads* only copied the prior names of the place, and the anterior notice of the thing, from Aneurin. As it is certain, that the Romans never had a post on the remarkable site of Edinburgh, it is equally obvious, that they never gave it a name, however much conjecture has tortured the expression, and the purpose, of Ptolomy (*a*). The oldest name, that can now be traced up to this commodious rock, is *maydyn*, to which was added, pleonastically, the English *castle*; and this appellation has been applied to several British fortlets, in North, and South-Britain: We may, from all those circumstances, infer, that the Gadeni people had a strength, on this site, the scene of so many struggles, at the troublous epochs of the Roman abdication, and of the Saxon intrusion (*b*). The Britons, saith Camden, "called

(*a*) See Camden's Britannia; Horsley, 364; Gordon's Iter. Septent. 180—83.

(*b*) Wyntown's Chronykil, i. 54. That *Celtic* name certainly preceded the Saxon: For the *Castrum Puellarum* appears, as its designation, in charters, at the dawn of record: Now, this is a mere translation of *Maiden Castle*, which is itself the mere vulgarism of the *May-dyn* of the British people. Baxter, who has an ingenious etymon, always at hand, informs us, that the Maiden

" called it *Castel Myned Agned*, the Scots [Scoto-Saxons] the *Maiden's* castle, " and the Virgin's castle, of certain young maidens of the royal blood, who " were kept there, in old time." Such were the popular traditions, which this learned antiquary thought it worth his while to adopt. The whole proceeded, probably, from the *Maydyn* of the British times: Hence, the *Maiden* castle; hence, the *Castrum puellarum*; and hence, the fable of the Pictish princesses, who are feigned to have been educated, in a castle, which seems to have never belonged to the Pictish people. The late Lord Hailes, indeed, made it a question of serious inquiry, whether Edinburgh castle was ever known by the name of *Castrum puellarum* (*c*). But, Walter Hemingford would have answered that question, in the affirmative (*d*): And, the Chartulary of Newbotle would have shown him the way to the *Castrum puellarum* (*e*). On this question, then,

Castle is the *Maidun* of the British, signifying *ingentis Collis*: The affix *din* is obviously the British word, for a *castle*: And, the research of Bullet has found *Mai*, in the Gaulish, to signify *grand*. Yet, the fact, perhaps, does not warrant this exposition. Mai-din, British, or Magh-dun, Gaelic, may, appositely, signify the fort, or fortified mount, in the plain. And, there is nothing, in the Saxon, that would apply, with any fitness, to the thing signified. What may be found in the Scandinavian Gothic, upon the point, I pretend not to know!

(*c*) Scots Mag. 1773, p. 120: There is one answer, in p. 222; and a second, in p. 240.

(*d*) Historia, i. 98: After the capture of Roxburgh castle, by Edward I, in 1296, Hemingford adds: " Profectus est, cum exercitu toto, ad *Castrum Puellarum*, quod *Anglice* dicitur " *Edensburch*." In a prior age, indeed, M. Paris, in giving an account of the English physician, who was sent, in 1255, to Edinburgh castle, to visit the discontented queen of Alexander III., says, " Cùm autem idem magister Reginaldus [the doctor] ad *Castrum Puellarum*, quod *vulgariter* " dicitur *Edenburc*, exposita adventus sui causa et literas ostenderet tam regis quam reginæ Anglo- " rum, dictam causam testificantes, admissus est benignè." Hist. 907. This is a still more curious passage, than the former, from Hemmingford. We thus perceive, that *Castrum Puellarum* was the *learned* name of the place, and Edenburc only the *vulgar* appellation. In a still prior period, we shall immediately find, that *Castellum Puellarum* was the technical, and diplomatic name of Edinburgh castle, which was one of the five castles, which William, the lion, surrendered to Henry II., in 1174; viz. the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, and Gadeworthe, *Castellum Puellarum*, et Castellum de Stryvlyn. Rym. i. 89; Hoveden, 545. And, Fordun, the best of the Scotish historians, in giving an account of the defeat of Guey, the count of Namur, on the burrough-moor, in 1335, says, he retreated to the site of the ruined " Castrum Puellarum de " Edinburgh." L. xiii. c. 35.

(*e*) There is a charter of Radulphus, the abbot of Holyrood; giving the monks of Newbotle " illam particulam terre nostre in feodo de Petendreich que jacet ex orientale parte vie regie et " publicę que ducit a monasterio de Newbotle versus *Castrum Puellarum*; scilicet, inter *parcum* " juxta Newbotle et rivulem que dicitur Balnebuth versus aquilonem et inter viam predictam et " terram dictorum monachorum versus orientem." Chart. Newbot. No. 16. There is no date to this charter: But, it must have been made, as we know, from the name of the grantor, about the year 1253.

there

there can no longer be any doubt. The fact is, that the name of the castle was very early applied to the town, and to the monastery below it; as we might, indeed, learn, from Hemingford, in 1296, and from M. Paris, in 1255 (*f*). We now perceive, that the earliest name of this metropolis was imposed, by the Gadeni people, in their own significant speech, whose *strength* it was, even before the arrival of Agricola among them, during the first century.

There is still less difficulty in ascertaining, when the Saxon name of the same capital was imposed, by Edwin, the Northumbrian king, who gave his own celebrated appellation to the *burgh*, on the *rock*; whence the town derived its appropriate designation (*g*). The Saxon name, then, assumed the forms of *Edwines-burgh*, and *Edenes-burgh*, the *fort* of Edwine (*h*).

(*f*) There was a charter of David I. witnessed, by William, the abbot "de Castello Puellarum." Charleton's Hist. Whitby, 82. "An° 1154, Malcolmus rex dedit ecclesiam de Travernent canonicis "*de Castello Puellarum.*" Chron. Sanct. Crucis Edin. in Anglia Sacra, i. 161. There is a charter of Malcolm IV. to the monks of Cambuskenneth, which was dated "apud *oppidum* puellarum." Chart. Cambus. 54. In the charters of David I., who demised, in 1153, we may perceive, that he sometimes speaks of those objects, by the name of *Castrum Puellarum*, and, sometimes, by the name of *Edenburgh*. Chart. Newbot. 27-8; Chart. Kelso, 8; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 106; Chart. May, 9; Dugd. Monast. ii. 1055. There is a charter of Earl Henry, who died, in 1152, in which Edinburgh castle is called *Castrum Puellarum*. Chart. Kelso, 240. Several of the charters of Malcolm IV., who demised, in 1165, bear to have been granted, at the *Castrum Puellarum*, at *Castellum Puellarum*, at *Oppidum Puellarum*, and at Edinburg. Chart. Newbot. 159, 175; Chart. Paisley, 8; Chart. Cambusken. 54; Chart. Aberd. 211; Chart. May, 16; and Chart. Antiq, Bibl. Harl. 11. Of the charters of William, who succeeded his brother, in 1165, few were granted, at Edinburgh; of those few, most of them are dated, from *Edinburgh*, and scarcely any from *Castellum Puellarum*. Many of the charters of Alexander II. were dated from Edinburgh castle; as he resided in it: And he uses the designation of *Castrum Puellarum*, generally, and but seldom *Edinburg*. See the Chartularies, throughout. Alexander III., who demised, in 1286, dates his charters, commonly, from *Castrum Puellarum*, sometimes *Castellum Puellarum*; once, in 1278, he speaks of his residence at *Castrum Puellarum de Edinburgh*; but, never, as far as appears, by the name of *Edinburgh*, only. See his charters. It is unnecessary to trace so clear a point any further. It does not appear, however, that the coins of the Scotish kings bear *Castrum Puellarum*, or *Oppidum Puellarum*, as the name of the place of mintage.

(*g*) Edwin, the potent king of Northumberland, fell a premature sacrifice to civil discord, in 634 A. D. Savill's Fasti, annexed to the "Scriptores Post Bedam."

(*h*) See the charters of Scone, by Alexander I., and of Holyroodhouse, by David I. Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col.; and Maitland's Edinburgh. See also the Coins of William, the lion, in Cardonel's Numismata, pl. I: "Adam on Edenebu—." We thus see, that the name of the mint-master was Adam; and that the language of the inscription was Saxon; the A. S *on*, being placed, to denote the English *in*: This, then, is a very early specimen of the Saxon speech of Edinburgh. See Caledonia, i. 254. Fordun, however, has his own fiction, i. 64; and Wyntown has his conceit, which comes nearer to the *British* original. Chronyc. i. 54.

The

The next change of this dignified name was, from the *Saxon* to the *Gaelic*; from *Edwins-burgh* to *Dun-Edin:* And, herein the philologist may perceive the different formations of the Saxon, and the Gaelic; the name of the Saxon king being *prefixed*, in the first; and the name of the same king being *annexed*, in the last: Nor, is this translation so modern, as superficiality would suppose: The Register of the priory of St. Andrews, in recording the demise of Edgar, [1107], says, "mortuus in Dun-Eden et sepultus in Dunfermling (*i*)."

In more recent times, this metropolis has received, from ignorance, and refinement, several names, which betray the unpropitious sources, whence they proceeded. Bolton, in his admirable *Hypercritica*, when exposing the absurdity of changing proper names, in Latin histories, adds: "In this fine, and mere "schoolish folly, Buchanan is often taken, not without casting his reader into "obscurity:" It was he, who first called the Scotish metropolis, *Edina*, rather than Edinburg-us, which had been more appropriate, though less poetical (*k*).

The *charters*, we have just seen, cast the clearest lights on the ancient names of Edinburgh; but, the *seals* of this city rather obscure the clear, than illustrate the dark. There is a very ancient seal, which was engraved, at the expence of the Antiquary Society of London, in the work of Astle, on the Scotish seals (*l*).

Maitland

(*i*) Innes's Crit. Essay, 797-803. In more recent times, indeed, Edinburgh is called, in Gaelic, *Dun-monaidh*, the hill of the moor, both in the Highland Tales, and in Bishop Careswell's Translation of the Service of the Church, which was printed, at Edinburgh.

(*k*) The classical name is now *Edinensis*. See the elegant title page of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Lesley, the contemporary, and rival of Buchanan, says, indeed: "Cruthnæus Camelodunum Primariam Pictorum urbem, et Agnedam, postea *Ethinburgum* ab "Etho quodam Pictorum rege dictam, cum Puellarum Castro (ubi regis et nobilium Pictorum "filiæ, dum nuptui darentur, servari et præceptis ad humanitatem et virtutem informari solebant) "condidit." Edit. Rome, 1578, p. 84. In his curious map, however, Lesley has *Edinburgum*: But, St. Andrews, he dignifies, as the metropolis.

(*l*) Pl. ii. No. 1: The committee of antiquaries was unable to read the *legend* of this seal. And, the letter-press, in p. 13, by way of exposition, says, that "it is doubtful, if the *Castrum* "*Puellarum* be not Dumfries, though repeatedly inferred, to be Edinburgh, by our English his-"torians of the thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries." But, we have seen above, from a thousand charters, what fitness there was, in this *doubt* of antiquarianism. I was disposed to doubt, whether there were such a seal of Edinburgh, till I received a letter from Col. Henry Hutton of the artillery, who is compiling a *Monasticon Scotiæ*, dated the 13th of December 1801: "I met with a curious old "seal of Edinburgh, the last time I was in Scotland, appendant to some old papers, (I think of "the 15th century), in the charter room of the city [of Edinburgh]. It has two sides, on one "of which is the figure of St. Giles, [the guardian saint of the city], with a *legend*, which has "hitherto baffled all my endeavours to decypher." I have also tried, in vain, to decypher the same legend. There is the delineation by Sir James Balfour, of the common seal of Edinburgh city,

Maitland seems to have been the first inquirer, who freed both the history of Edinburgh, and the origin of its name, from the fables, which had involved both, for ages, in fictitious honours (*m*).

In the meantime, the shire of Edinburgh was known, both in history, and tradition, by the significant name of Mid-Lothian. The fine country, lying along the Forth, from the Tweed to the Avon, was scarcely known, by the name of Lothian, till the *tenth* century had almost expired (*n*). During the reign of David I., Lothian still extended southward to the Tweed (*o*). It was, during the subsequent reigns, restricted to the country, lying northward of the Lamermoor. And, in the 13th century, Lothian became divided, by the national policy, into three parts, which were known in the tradition, and recognized, in the law of the nation, by the names of East, West, and Mid-Lothian (*p*).

§ II. *Of its Situation, and Extent.*] Mid-Lothian has Linlithgow, on the west, the Forth, on the north, Hadington, and a small part of Berwick, on the East, and Selkirk, Peebles, and Lanerk, on the south. Edinburghshire, or Mid-Lothian, lies between 55° 39′ 30″, and 55° 59′ 20″ north latitude; and between 2° 52′, and 3° 45′ 10″ west longitude, from Greenwich. The college of Edinburgh, according to astronomical observations, stands in 55° 57′ 57″ of north latitude, and 3° 12′ west longitude of Greenwich (*q*). Edinburgh-

city, in the Brit. Mus. Harl. 4694. The device is a large castle: The legend is: "S. Commune "burgi de Edenburgi." One of the earliest maps of Edinburgh is that of James Gordon of Rothemay, during the reign of Charles I.; which was engraved, by F. de Wit of Amsterdam; and he calls the city, civitas *Edinodunensis*.

(*m*) Mait. Hist. Edin. 2—6.

(*n*) Caledonia, i. 259, wherein the meaning of the word Lothian is investigated.

(*o*) See the charter of Robert I. Robert. Index, 155.

(*p*) Bagimont's Roll; Transact. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 119.

(*q*) Doctor Lind had the goodness to communicate to me the mean result of many observations, by the astronomers, at Hawkhill observatory, as follows:

	N. Lat.	W. Long. of Greenwich.
Hawkhill observatory	55° 58′ 28″	3° 10′ 7″
The Steeple of St. Giles's church, Edinburgh.	55° 57′ 38″	3° 11′ 55″
The summit of Arthur's Seat	55° 57′ 18″	3° 10′ 0″

There must be some error, in noting the longitude of the summit of Arthur's Seat; which is somewhat westward of Hawkhill; and must be about 3° 10′ 50″ W. of Greenwich. In Andrew Hart's Bible, which was printed, at Edinburgh, in 1610, there is an *exact Callender*, calculated to the latitude of Edinburgh, which is under 56 degrees. This Callender was calculated by Robert Pont, the father of Timothy, the topographer.

shire extends from east to west, 38 miles, and from north to south 15 miles. These measurements give a superficies of 358 square miles, which contain 229,120 English acres (*r*). And, the number of people, being, in 1801, 124,124, this population is equal to 34.671 souls to a square mile.

The three Lothians have been often surveyed. Timothy Pont finished his map, during the reign of Charles I. (*s*). The *three Lothians* were again surveyed during King William's reign, by John Adair, with less skill, perhaps, and certainly with less utility (*t*). John Laurie published a valuable map of Mid-Lothian, in 1763. And, in 1773, Andrew, and Mostyn Armstrong, published a six sheet map of the three Lothians, which was reduced, and engraved by Kitchen (*u*). And, there is a very useful sketch of this shire prefixed to the Agricultural Survey of Mid-Lothian, by George Robertson, in 1795, with a view to its important subject. In proportion, as old notices are relinquished, for new intimations, such surveys become less helpful to the topographer, and less amusive to the reader.

§ III. *Of its natural Objects.*] The area of Edinburghshire may be considered as mountainous. The Pentland hills commence, in Liberton parish, near the centre of the county; and extend, in a south-west direction, about twelve miles; stretching beyond the boundary of the shire into Peebles. The Caerketan Craig, which is situated at the northern extremity of the Pentland range, rises above the level of the sea fourteen hundred and fifty feet, amidst other hills of great eights (*x*). The Logan-house hill, which is situated towards the middle of

(*r*) On the large map of Mid-Lothian, in 1763, by Laurie, the superficies of this shire is 358 square miles, or 229,120 statute acres. On the map of the Lothians, by Armstrong, it is 337 square miles, or 241,280 statute acres. On Arrowsmith's map of Scotland, from the Engineers Survey, this shire contains 358 square miles, or 229,120 statute acres, which I have adopted, as most accurate.

(*s*) His map of Lothian, and Linlithgow, is No. 9. of Blaeu's *Atlas Scotiæ*; and is of considerable value.

(*t*) The Surveys of Adair were engraved by R. Cooper.

(*u*) The latitudes, and longitudes of this map, were supplied, by that excellent mathematician, the Reverend Alexander Bryce of Kirknewton.

(*x*) The Pentland hills of the northern range rise, above the sea-level, according to Laurie's map of Mid-Lothian, to the following elevations:

Leep hill	1,500 feet.	A nameless hill	1,350 feet.
Caerketan hill	1,450	A nameless hill	1,340
Castle law	1,390	Craigintarrie	1,210

the

the same range, and is the highest of the Pe
most accurate observations, to be seventeen hun
sea, at Leith; and is surrounded by other hills
Spital hill, which is the most southerly of the Pentlan
hills to a great elevation (*x*). The Pentland hills, in Glenc
other eminences of that mountainous tract, consist of different so
and of other lapideous strata, which are commonly termed primitiv

Next to the Pentland mountains, the Moorfoot hills are the most co
ranges. From Coatlaw, standing on the west side of Morfoot water, the
northerly range stretches east-north-east, about ten miles, having Tweeddale
on the west; and terminates, in Cowberry hill, near the source of the Gala
water (*a*). The other range also branches off, from Coatlaw, on the western
point; and extends, with a wider spread, than the former, about ten miles, in
a south-east direction, over the extensive country, which is drained by the
Heriot, and Luggate, waters (*b*). These two ranges of the Moorfoot heights
may be regarded, as two sides of a large triangle, having the river Gala for its
base, on the east. The northern range of the Moorfoot hills cuts off, as it were,
from Edinburghshire, the parishes of Heriot, and Stow, which form the south-
east corner of this county. Heriot, and Stow, which constitute a sort of district
by themselves, are watered by the Heriot, and Gala, streams: They are studded,
irregularly, by some round hills, which, however, do not form any regular
range (*c*). In Ratho parish, there is a small congeries of hills, which run, from

(*y*) The Pentland hills of the middle range rise above the sea-level, according to Laurie's map, to the following elevations:

A nameless hill -	1,600 feet.	Kipps hill -	1,420 feet.
Carnethie - -	1,500	Black hill West -	1,360
Black hill East -	1,550	Hare hill - -	1,330

(*x*) The Pentland hills of the southern range, rise above the sea-level, according to Laurie's map, to the following elevations:

The Spital hill to - - 1,360 feet. Three nameless hills, in the south part of the range, to 1,590, 1,380, 1,310 feet.

(*a*) Coatlaw, the most westerly of those mountains, rises to the height of 1,680 feet, above the level of the sea: There are other hills, among the Moorfoot eminences, which rise above the same level to the different elevations of 1,500, 1,450, 1,430, 1,400, 1,390, 1,360, and 1,320 feet, Laurie's map of Mid-Lothian.

(*b*) Blackhope Scaurs, which is the highest hill, in this range, rises 1,850 feet, above the level of the sea: The other hills, in this range, ascend to the various elevations of 1,680, 1,660, 1,650, 1,600, 1,580, 1,540, 1,520, 1,470, and 1,420 feet, above the same level. Id.

(*c*) Agricult. Survey, 18.

and which are called Platt hills, from two
of those mountainets (*d*). Through the parish
this name, in a curving direction, from south-east
of two miles, and rise to an elevation of four hundred
above the level of the sea. The Corstorphin hills could
the appellation of mounts, if they had not been, in a manner,
the midst of a rich plain, which is several miles in extent, wherein
four hundred and seventy-four feet above the level of the sea; and
several indentations along their summits, which make them a very con-
spicuous object. Between Dalmahoy, and the river Leith, on the south, there
are three hills, in a line, which are called Dalmahoy Craigs (*e*). On the summit of
the hill of Ravelrig, there seem to be a *ring camp*, and at the base of it, an encamp-
ment of a square form, which is indicative of a Roman work (*f*). Between the
parishes of Crichton, and Cranston, on the east, and Cockpen, and Dalkeith,
on the west, there is a continued ridge of hill, which stretches nearly six miles,
from south to north; and which does not much obstruct the road, from Edin-
burgh to Coldstream, that crosses its centre (*g*).

Arthur's Seat, and Salisbury Craigs, exhibit a wild, and romantic scene of
vast precipices, and broken rocks, which, from some points, seem to overhang
the lower suburbs of Edinburgh (*h*). In any other situation, than the singular
site of Edinburgh, the Calton-hill, which has scarcely been noticed by tourists,
would be considered, as an eminence of considerable height, as a rock of
uncommon appearance, that supplies a walk of very diversified views.

Edinburghshire is undoubtedly well watered. The Forth, which bounds it,
on the north, communicates to this county many advantages of navigation, of
food, and of fertilization. After the Forth, the Esk may be said to be the chief
river, which is composed of two streams, that unite their kindred waters, below
Dalkeith, and glide in a deep channel, into the Forth, at Inveresk: The Esk
is swelled by the waters of many streams, from the Pentland hills, particularly,
by the Glencross water, near Achindinny; and, after a various course of

(*d*) The Platt hills rise six hundred feet above the level of the sea.

(*e*) The southmost is 680 feet, and the next is 660 feet, above the sea.

(*f*) Armstrong's map; Stat. Acco. of Currie, v. 5. p. 326.

(*g*) The sketch of the county, in the Agricult. Survey. That ridge is, in different places, 550, 590, 600, and 680, above the sea-level.

(*h*) Pennant's Tour, 55: Arthur's Seat rises 790 feet above the sea-level; Salisbury Craigs 550 feet; and the Calton hill 320 feet. Laurie's map.

two-

[illegible] of this shire, great plenty of freestone, and of good quality. [illegible] and edinstone, are found in every parish. In Pennycuik, there are [illegible] millstones, marble, and petrifactions. The annual value of all these does not surpass six thousand pounds. Ironstone abounds; and copper exists. What has been found of marl is sufficient to show, that more might be discovered, in this county, by diligent search (*k*). A copper mine was laid open, in 1754, [illegible] Lumphoy, on Leith water, six miles south-west of Edinburgh (*l*).

The mineral waters of this shire contribute to preserve, or to restore, the health of the inhabitants. St. Bernard's Well, on the rocky margin of the Leith water, has been recently praised, for its good qualities, perhaps equal to its real value. In Cramond parish, there is a mineral spring, which is called *the Well of Spa*, and has been found beneficial, in scorbutic complaints (*m*). In Mid-Calder parish, there are sulphureous waters, which have been experienced, like those of Harrowgate, to be beneficial, in complaints of scrophula, and gravel. In the more elevated parish of Pennycuick, there are several chalybeate springs, which are supposed, by the common people, to have cured them of many maladies. Two miles, southward, of Edinburgh, is St. Catherine's, or the oily well, which engaged the protection of King James; and is said to have cured cutaneous and other disorders of the people, "though plunged in ills, "and exercised in cares."

§ iv. *Of its Antiquities.*] The natural objects, which have just been mentioned, may be deemed some of its earliest antiquities. But, it is the colonization of the area of this shire, by the progressive settlements of the Britons, the Romans, the Saxons, and the Scoto-Irish, with the languages, which they left, in its topography, that ought to be considered, as the most interesting of its antiquities; because they are the most instructive. The Ottadini, and Gadeni people, the British descendants of the first colonists, enjoyed their original land, during the second century of our common era; as we know, from Ptolomy, and Richard (*n*): And, their language, as it appears, in the maps of this shire, is a satisfactory proof of their settlement, and genealogy (*o*). The Romans seem not to have left, in the topography of Mid-Lothian, any specimens

(*k*) Stat. Acco. x. 429; xv. 437; xviii. 371: Agricult. Survey, 25-6.
(*l*) Scots Mag. 1754, 450.
(*m*) Wood's History of Cramond, 115.
(*n*) Caledonia, i. 58-59.
(*o*) Those British people left in the names of the waters, within Mid-Lothian, indubitable traces of their significant speech: There are, as we have seen, the *Forth*, the *Badotria* of Tacitus, the Amon, the Esk, the Leith, the Breich, the Gose, and the rivulet Gogar: In the appellation of

two-and-twenty miles, contributes, by its junction, to form "
"ing Esk."

Several streamlets, which flow from Cairn-edge, a hilly range, that separ
Peebles from Edinburgh, form the commodious river Leith, which flows in a
hollow channel, between well wooded banks. It afterwards receives the Beve-
law burn, with some smaller rivulets: And, coursing in a north-east direction
two-and-twenty miles, it glides into the Forth, where its issue, which was
old called Inverleith, forms the port of Leith (*i*). Amon river, which rises,
Lanerkshire, and runs through the southern corner of Linlithgowshire, first
waters Edinburghshire, where it is joined by the Breich-Burn: The Amon,
from this junction, forms the boundary, between the shires of Linlithgow, and
Edinburgh, till it falls into the Forth, at Cramond, the *Caer-amon* of the Bri-
tons, the *Alaterva* of the Romans; except, indeed, for the course of two miles,
within the parish of Mid-Calder, where the county of Edinburgh projects a mile
to the westward of it. The Gala water rises in the Moorfoot range: It is soon
enlarged by the greater volume of Heriot stream, when both take the name of
the Gala: It is joined, in its course, by Luggate water, with several streamlets,
which drain the valley, through which it glides: The Gala now pursues its
southerly direction, for ten miles, when it enters Selkirkshire, and, after a
meandering course, mixes its waters with the Tweed, which peoples it with
the finny tribes. Such are the streams, which ornament, and benefit Edinburgh-
shire: Yet, do they not furnish an abundant fishery, either for foreign traffic,
or domestic use. Nor, are there any lakes, in this shire, which, for their size,
or usefulness, or embellishment, merit much mention.

This county abounds with minerals, and fossils. Beds of pit-coal stretch
across the county, from Carlops to Musselburgh, from south-west, to north-
east, fifteen miles in length, and eight in breadth. This valuable fuel has been
known, and used, here, since the happy times of Alexander II., if not earlier.
There are, at present, raised yearly about a hundred and eighty thousand tons,
of the value of thirty-nine thousand pounds. Limestone, equally, abounds, in
Edinburghshire, though it lies nearer to the hills. There are probably made,
in every year, sixteen hundred thousand bushels, which are worth ten thousand

(*i*) This is the most useful river of any, in Edinburghshire, perhaps, in Scotland: In the course
of ten miles, it drives 14 corn mills, 12 barley mills, 20 flour mills, 7 saw mills, 5 fulling mills,
5 snuff mills, 4 paper mills, 2 lint mills, and 2 leather mills. Stat. Acco. xix. p. 590. The rent
of some of those mills, which are in the vicinity of the metropolis, is upwards of £20 Sterling per
foot of water-fall. And, it forms, at its confluence, the commercial port of Edinburgh.

ments of their language, whatever remains they may have left of their [illegible] encampments, their baths, and sepulchres. Soon after their abdication, the Anglo-Saxons intruded into Mid-Lothian, though in fewer numbers, than settled in Berwick, and in Hadington; as we may infer, from the smaller number of the names, which have been imposed by them in this shire, than in either of those counties (*p*). The Scoto-Irish came in, from the west, at length, upon the *British*, perhaps, and upon the Anglo-Saxon settlers, in Mid-Lothian. As we proceed, westward, from the Tweed, along the Forth, through the shires of Berwick, and Hadington, and Edinburgh, we see the Gaelic names, gradually increase, in numbers (*q*). The Celtic names appear to be, in this shire, about one-fourth of the Anglo-Saxon; owing probably to the superinduction of the *English* names, both upon the Gaelic, and the Anglo-Saxon names proper: But, the English appellations are not fit objects of this etymological inquiry; as they may be said, to have been applied to their several localities, within time of memory. The Gaelic names were imposed, partly, after 843 A. D., the commencement of the Scotish period; but more, perhaps, after Lothian had been ceded, in 1020 A. D. to the Scotish king. In this manner, then, are the facts of topography, usefully, brought in, to support the feeble intimations of dubious history, in exclusion of traditional fictions.

Edinburghshire does not abound in the stone monuments of the earliest people. In Kirknewton parish, however, there are still appearances of druidical

of places, may be equally traced to the Celtic speech: Cramond, Cockpen, Caerbarrin, [Carberry], Dreg-horn, Dalkeith, Inch-Keith, Kail, Nidref, [Nidderie], Pendreich, Roslin, *Keir*-hill, *Lin*-foot, *Lin*-house water, and others, might be instanced, to show, how the English adjuncts have been engrafted on British roots.

(*p*) The Anglo-Saxon names of places appear to decrease in numbers, as we proceed towards the north, and west, where the Scoto-Irish begin to prevail: In the south, and south-east, may be seen the Anglo-Saxon, *Law*, *Rigg*, *Dod*, *Shiel*, *Lee*, *Dean*, *Hope*, *Ham*, *Burgh*, *Wie*, Shaw, By, Clough, Holm, Threap, and *Chester*: There are a few instances of Saxon words, in single names; as *Stow*, *Botle*, in Newbotle, Wade, or Weid, in Les-wade, *Thwait*, in Morthwait, [Morphet]. But, there is no example of *Fell*; nor any intimation, that a *Scandinavian* people ever resided, in Edinburghshire.

(*q*) The most obvious Gaelic names are: *Achincorth*, *Achenlecks*-walls, *Achinbound*-hill, *Achtigamel*, *Allermore*-hill, *Achendenny*, *Achenoul*, *Badds*, *Balgreen*, *Badlieth*, *Balernoe*, *Bellerny*, *Braid*, *Catcuin*, *Calder*, *Crossaimit*, *Carnethie*-hill, *Cairnie*, *Cairn*-hill, *Craig*, *Craigentarrie*, *Carry*, *Dalry*, *Drumsheugh*, *Dalmahoy*, *Dalwolsie*, [Dalhousie], *Drum*, *Drumsheu*, *Drumdrynan*, *Drumbralden*, *Garvald*, *Glencross*, *Inverzeik*, *Inch*, *Inverleith*, *Killin*-water, *Killeith*, *Lumphoy*, *Moredun*, *Pow*-burn, *Phantassie*, *Ratho*, *Torphichen*-hill, *Torquehan*, *Torsonce*, *Tipperlin*, *Torphin*, *Torbreck*, *Kipps*, *Wymet*, [Wolmet]. The Celtic *Pol*, or Pow, appears only in *Pow*-burn, *Pol*-beth, and *Pol*-ton: But, there are not, in this shire, any instance of either *Ald*, or *Gil*.

circles.

On Heriot-town hill, there is a circle, consisting of high stones, measuring seventy, or eighty feet, in diameter (*s*). Such are the faint remorials of the worship, which the first settlers offered to the Deity. There are many cairns, in this shire, which may be equally deemed the funereal monuments of the pristine inhabitants. In Borthwick parish, on the lands of Currie, there are several cairns, the cemeteries of the earliest times (*t*). On the grounds of Comiston, in Collington parish, there are two very large conical cairns, wherein human bones have been found, with fragments of ancient armour. Not far from those curious remains, stands a massy block of whinstone, which is called the *Cat*-stane; and which is seven feet high above the ground, and more than four feet below it (*u*): All those intimations denote the site of an early conflict, as indeed the remains of an ancient encampment evince. In Mid-Calder parish, there are several mounds of earth, which appear to be the repositories of the dead; and which are known, in the southern parts of our island, by the appropriate name of *barrows* (*x*). In the vicinity of Newbotle abbey, there was of old a large tumulus, which was composed of earth, of a conical figure, 30 feet high, and 90 feet diameter, at the base; and which was surrounded by a circle of stones: This barrow, which had a fir-tree growing on its summit, was removed, when Newbotle house was rebuilt. Upon opening this tumulus, there was found a stone coffin, near seven feet long, that contained a human skull, which was presented to the Antiquarian Society of Edinburgh, in April 1782 (*y*). In August 1754, a farmer, ploughing his field, at Roslin, turned up the cover of a stone coffin, about nine feet long, which contained the bones of a human body. The bones were much decayed, except the skull, and teeth, which were sound, and large (*z*). This must have been the grave of some British warrior, rather than the coffin of one of the chiefs, who fell, in the battles of Roslin, during the year 1303.

In Edinburghshire, there remain also various specimens of the military art of the earliest people. In Pennycuick parish, near the tenth mile-stone, from Edinburgh, on the Linton road, is an *oval camp*, on an eminence, which

(*r*) Stat. Acco. ix. 415. (*t*) Ib. xvi. 57.

(*t*) Ib. xiii. 635. Below the tumuli, and even around them, there have been dug up earthen pots, which were full of half-burnt bones, and which were each covered, by a flat stone: The pots were of coarse, but curious workmanship; and were ornamented with various figures. Ib. 636.

(*u*) Ib. xix. 591; And Mait. Edin. 508; The name is obviously derived, from the British *Cad*, the Gaelic *Cath*, signifying a battle; and cat-stane means the *battle-stone*.

(*x*) Stat. Acco. xiv. 371. (*y*) Account of that Society, 95.

(*z*) Scots Mag. 1754, 402.

measures,

measures, within, eighty-four, by sixty-seven yards; inclosing a n[illegible] tumuli, that are each eleven yards in diameter. It is encompassed, [illegible] ditches, each four yards wide, with a mound of six yards between th[illegible] having three entrances: And, it is called, by the tradition of the countr[illegible] *the Castle.* There is a similar encampment, on the bank of Harkenburn, with[illegible] the woods of Pennycuick (*a*). In Borthwick parish, on the farm of Cat-cune, there is a field, which has, immemorially, been called the Chesters, in the middle whereof there is an oval encampment, measuring about half an acre. In the midst of this oval, is an immense round whinstone, which labour has not yet been able to remove. And, a hundred yards distant from it, are several cairns, the sepulchral monuments of the warriors, who had defended the *Cat-cune*, the battle-hillock, as the Celtic name imports (*b*). In Crichton parish, at Longfaugh, there are the remains of a camp, having a circular form, which may still be traced, on a rising ground. In the neighbourhood of this ancient strength, there have been, recently, dug up many bones, the only rests of the brave men, who were its best defence (*c*). In Heriot parish, on Midhill-head, there may still be seen three large *rings*, or deep ditches, of about a hundred paces diameter, the obvious security of the earliest people (*d*). In Liberton parish, there is an ancient rampart of an *oval* form: In the same vicinity, there are the remains of fortifications, which retain the characteristic names of *Kaims:* There are, near them, two tumuli, called *Caer-duff*-knows, or the *Black Camp*, on the knolls: And, there are, also, here, as proper accompaniments of so many warlike objects, *Cat*-stanes, or battle-stones (*e*).

(*a*) Scots Mag. x. 431.

(*b*) A mile and a half, south-west, from this field, on the lands of Middleton, are *Chesters*, of quite a different description: The former Chester, is on a southern exposure; these Chesters, are on a northern: They are on a sloping bank, and consist of five terraces, alternately, overhanging a pleasant valley, and rivulet. The Reverend Mr Clunie the minister of Borthwick, MS. Letter to me. These last intimations seem to import, that the site of a camp had been converted into a place of sport.

(*c*) Stat. Acco. xiv. 436. (*d*) Ib. xvi. 57-8.

(*e*) Antiq. Trans. Edin. 304—8. In the ancient British speech, *Cad* signifies a battle, a striving to keep: So *Cath*, in the Gaelic, equally, signifies a battle. The Saxons, who affixed their word *stane* to the Celtic term *Cat*, found those memorials of warfare, already in existence, adopted a previous appellation, which, perhaps, they did not perfectly understand. *Caer* means, in the British, a *mound*, for *defence*; and *Du*, black; and, so in the Gaelic same word *Duff*, signifies *black*. We have already seen *Cat*-stane, and *Cat*-cune; on the northern side of the Pentland hills, the *Cat*-heaps. Mait. Hist. Edin. *Cath, Cat, Cad*; all carry the intelligent mind back to the disastrous con[illegible]

parish, near the house of Mavis-bank, there is a *circular* mount of which is begirt with ramparts, that are now cut into terraces: Herein been found ancient weapons of *brass*, with fibulæ, bridle-bits, and other like articles, of a similar nature (*f*). There is reason to believe, that the omans, according to their custom, may have taken possession of this ancient rength, as a commodious post, for protecting their passage of the Esk (*g*). In Ratho parish, there are two ancient strengths, which are surrounded by ramparts; the one on Kaims-hill, in the south-western part of the parish; and the other, the South Plat-hill, near the manse: The last has been greatly destroyed, carrying away the stones, for the various purposes of improvement (*h*). To this class of military antiquities, may be referred the *Maiden* castles of Roslin, and of Edinburgh, as fortlets of the British people; which the name pretty plainly intimates: And, this circumstance will probably lead some minds to consider the *Castrum Puellarum* of Edinburgh, as a Gadeni strength of the very earliest times. To all those may be added the caves of Hawthornden, which were probably the hiding places of the first people; and which may have been improved, by more recent warriors. If we except the topographical language, which is still spoken, in this shire, those notices indicate the chief remains of the Ottadini, and Gadeni, the British tribes, who had inhabited the wilds of this shire, during a thousand years, before they were disturbed, by the intrusion of strangers.

Towards the conclusion of the first century, the Romans entered upon the area of Edinburghshire. And they retained their possession more than three hundred and sixty years, by roads, by camps, and by naval stations. Their antiquities have been already investigated, and need not be repeated (*i*). During

(*f*) In Pennycuick parish, near Brunt-stane castle, was lately found an arrow-head of flint, barbed, which was about two inches long, and one inch broad; it is preserved in Pennycuick house. Stat. Acco. x. 420—5.

(*g*) Ib. x. 286-7; Roy's Milit. Antiq. 103: Roy points to this place, as the *traject* of the Romans over the North Esk, on their route to Cramond.

(*h*) Stat. Acco. vii. 264.

(*i*) See Caledonia, i. 164—66. A gold coin of the Emperor Vitellius was found in 1775, by roughing a field, in the neighbourhood of Pennycuick house; and presented to the Antiquarian ciety of Edinburgh, by Sir Ja. Clerk, in 1782. Acco. of the Society, p. 62. A copper coin Emperor Vespasian was found, in a garden, at the Pleasance of Edinburgh; and was pre- ome Society, by Doctor John Aitkin, in 1782. Ib. 72. Near Ingleston, in Ratho, o dug up, a piece of a pillar, having upon each side the Roman *securis*, the badge, istracy, says Sibbald, who presented this relict to the College of Edinburgh.

their

their long residence in this shire, the Romans erected altars, [illegible] even now to be seen, and dropt their coins, and their arms, [illegible] found. At length, their legions retired from the shores of the Forth, they delighted to dwell: And, at the epoch of 446 A. D., the Romans ab[illegible] their government, within their province of *Valentia*; leaving the *Ottadi[illegible] Gadeni*, in possession of the pleasant country of their British forefathers, [illegible] out any pretension of the *Picts*, or any intrusion of the Scots.

At the commencement of the Pictish period, the Romanized descendants of the first settlers were doomed to sustain a fresh struggle, which, from their new habits, they were little able to encounter. They were invaded by a fierce people, who, as they were of a different lineage, spoke a dissimilar language. And they were over-run, during the year 449, rather than subdued, by a Saxon people: But, at the end of a century of wretchedness, they submitted to the superior genius of the Saxon Ida. They were now mingled with a race, who have transmitted their speech, and their policy, through many ages of change, to the present times. They were at length placed under the jurisdiction, both civil, and ecclesiastical, of the Northumbrian kingdom. About the year 620, the warlike Edwin built, on their northern frontier, a *burgh*, which ensured their submission, and has transmitted his name, with eclat, to our inquisitive times. The disaster of the intemperate Egfrid, in 685 A. D., gave the ancient people some repose; but involved the mingled inhabitants, in new perturbations, through ages of conflict. The cession of *the Lothians*, by a Northumbrian earl, to Malcolm II., the Scotish king, in 1020 A. D., introduced among the ancient British, and the Anglo-Saxons, the Scotish people, who long enjoyed all the predominancy of superior power. Such were the succeeding people, and various authorities, which followed each other, in this shire, during more than six centuries, either of barbarous quiet, or of wasteful hostility. The several maps of this shire must be considered, as curious delineations of the antiquities of the successive colonists; and as satisfactory evidences of their genealogical history.

In addition to all those antiquities, there are various objects, which, however regarded by some, can only be deemed modern antiques; "because they're "old, because they're new." In this class, Edinburgh castle is the first point. This fortlet was originally built upon a precipitous rock, whose area measures seven acres; and whose height is 294 feet above the sea-level: It was of old only accessible, on the eastern side, which is now fortified by art. That it was a strength of the British people, in the earliest times, we have already seen.

parish, which is, it will be found, to be an interesting object, in the varied been f national annals (*a*).

like miller castle stands at no great distance, on the south-east: Like it, omane, in its present form, furnishes little instruction, either from its age, or renonitecture: But, if the true appellation be *Craig-moil-ard*, signifying, in In Gaelic, a rock, bare, in the plain, with a correspondent situation, these circumstances would evince, that it probably received its Celtic name, after the epoch of 1020. But, there is nothing to show, in what age, or by what hand, it was built. A village had risen under the shelter of this castle, as early as the reign of William, the lion (*b*). The castle became the property of the Prestons, as early as 1374, who long retained it. In 1427, the castellated wall was built; as an inscription testifies. It was in this castle, that James III.'s brother, the Earl of Mar, was imprisoned. In 1554, it was burned, by the English army. It seems to have been soon repaired. And here Mary Stewart resided, when Murray, and Lethington, and her other ministers, made their insidious proposal to her of a divorce from Darnley. At the epoch of the Restoration, Craigmiller became the property of the great lawyer, Sir Alexander Gilmore (*c*).

Crichton castle, which was the fortlet of Cancellor Chrichton, under James II., is situated about ten miles south-east of Edinburgh, on the edge of a bank, above a grassy glen. During his life, it was razed by the Douglases: It was afterward rebuilt, with more ornament, but less strength; and yet has become a ruin, owing to time, and chance (*d*). Borthwick castle stands south-east of Edinburgh a dozen miles, the ruined residence of Lord Borthwick; being a vast equilateral tower, ninety feet high; with square, and round bastions, at equal distances, from its base. This fortlet was the property of James Earl Bothwell, who sought refuge here, from insurgency, with Mary Stewart (*e*). Dalhousie castle, standing eight miles south-east of Edinburgh, the property of

(*a*) A prospect of the south side of the castle of Edinburgh may be seen in Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ*, 1693, No. 1: "Facies Arcis *Edenburgeenæ*." In Grose's Antiquities of Scotland, 1789, there are five views of Edinburgh castle. And, in Cardonell's Pict. Antiq. 1789, there is a S. W. view of Edinburgh castle. But, the most picturesque of all, is Campbell's view of "Edinburgh from the west," in his Tour, facing p. 192 of vol. ii.

(*b*) In the Hadington Collections, there is a charter of William, the son of Henry de Craigmiller, of a toft, in this village, to the monks of Dunfermlin, dated in 1212.

(*c*) There are two views of Craigmiller in Grose's Antiq. ii. 50-1; there is a view of it, in Cardonel's Antiquities; and the clearest view seems to be that, in Campbell's Tour, ii. 285.

(*d*) That ruin may be seen, in Grose, ii. 52.

(*e*) Its ruin may be seen, in Grose, ii. 68.

the

the gallant Ramsays of Dalwolslie, has undergone many changes, during the revolutions of Mid-Lothian (*f*). Hawthornden, a small castellated mansion, which is perched on a high projecting rock, that overhangs the North Esk, is more celebrated than any of those castles; from its being the residence of William Drummond, the most ingenious, and amiable, of the poets of Charles I.'s reign (*g*). Hawthornden, and Roslin, every tourist visits, from Edinburgh, to enjoy the softness of their scenery, and to admire the picturesque of their beauties. The origin of Roslin castle is laid in fable. It stands upon a peninsular rock, which runs out into the meadow of the Esk (*h*). Much less is said of the sieges, which it has sustained, than of the hilarities, that have enlivened its massy walls, through many a rude age. Ravensnook castle, in Pennycuick parish, on the Esk, was also the property of the Sinclairs of Roslin (*i*). Brunston castle, which also stands on the Esk, within the same parish, is a ruin, large, and unsightly, that is surrounded, by a ditch (*k*). Within Pennycuick parish there are several other towers, which seem to evince, that anarchy had long predominated, in this hilly district (*l*). In that neighbourhood, may still be seen the ancient tower of Woodhouselee, in a hollow glen, beside the river. The heiress of Woodhouselee fell a sacrifice to the corrupt tyranny of the regent Murray (*m*). Her husband, Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, put the guilty tyrant to death, as "base-born Murray rode, through old "Linlithgow's crowded town." Four miles distant, on the slope of the Pentland hills, is Woodhouselee of modern times, the elegant seat of Lord

(*f*) There is a view of it, in Grose, ii. 69.

(*g*) There are three views of it, in Grose, ii. 53—8. There is an etching of Hawthornden, by the present Marchioness of Stafford: This accomplished lady was too erudite to forget that, "Here, Jonson sat, in Drummond's classic shade."

(*h*) There are two plates of Roslin castle in Cardonel.

(*i*) Stat. Acco. x. 425. (*k*) Id.

(*l*) From Brunston, on the north-west, at no great distance, there is the ruin of a strong tower; and there are two other ruinous towers, at Braidwood, and at Wellstown. Id. In the same parish, on Glencross water, there is a strong tower, called Logan house, which is said to have been a hunting seat of one of the James's. Id. About a mile to the westward, there is the Howlet's house, which is also ruinous. Still further westward, on the northern side of the hills, appears the ruin of Bevelaw tower, which is also said to have been a hunting seat of the James's. Id.

(*m*) Grose has two views of Woodhouselee: And he gives from Crawford's Memoirs the frightful narrative of that lady's death. Antiq. ii. 59. Walter Scot, in a true poetic vein, conducts his Grey Brother, "To *haunted Woodhouselee*:" He again touches, with a happy pencil, this terrible incident of the Scotish history, in his admirable poem of *Cadyow Castle*.

Woodhouselee, one of the senators of the College of Justice (*n*). Throughout the whole course of the Esk, every scene is interesting: "Roslin's rocky "glen" has been already intimated; and we have merely touched "classic "Hawthornden:" We now arrive, at Dalkeith, "which all the virtues love." Among its other honours, it enjoys a British name, describing its natural qualities of a *narrow* dale. During the 12th and 13th centuries, it was possessed, by "the gallant Grahams." As early as the reign of David II., there was at Dalkeith a baronial castle, which was held, by the turbulent Douglases. Dalkeith castle had the honour to receive the princess Margaret, on her way to her espousals, at Edinburgh (*o*). After the battle of Pinkie, it was readily surrendered,

(*n*) Of old, this was called Fullford tower, which was enlarged, and adorned, by the late William Tytler, the celebrated defender of Mary Stewart. Stat. Acco. xv. 441.

(*o*) On the iid of August 1503, the sayd quene departed from Fast castle, nobly appoynted, and accompanyed: And at the departynge, they schot much ordonnaunce, and had very good chere, soe that every man was content.—The said quene, accompanied as before, drew her way toward Hadington. And in passyng before Donbare, they schot ordonnaunce, for the luffe of her. She was lodged for that sam nyght in the abbay of the nonnes, ny to Hadington, and her company at the said place: Wher in lyk wys was ordoured provysyon at the Grey Freres, as well for the company, as for the horsys, as on the day before.—And thorough the countre in sum places war made, by force, wayes for the cariage, and the grett quantyte of people sembled, for to se the said quene, bringyng with them plaunte of drynke, for ychone that wold have it, on paying therefore.—The iiid day of the said monneth, the quene departed from the said abbay, wher sche and her company, had grett chere; and in fayre aray, and ordre, past thorough the said towne of Hadington, wher sche was sen of the people in grett myrthe. And from that she passed to hyr lodgynge to Acquick [Dalkeith.]—Half a mylle ny to the said toune, sche apoynted hyr rychly, hyr ladyes, and lordis, and others of hyr company did the same; and in fayr ordre entred into the castell, wher cam before hyr without the gatt the lord of the said place, called the Counte of Morton, honnestly appoynted, and acompayned of many gentylmen, in presentynge hyr the kees of the said castell. And she was wellcomed as lady and maistresse.—Betwyxt the two gatts was the Lady Morton, acompayned of gentylmen, and ladyes. The wiche kneeled doune, and the said quene toke hyr up, and kyssed hyr, and so she was conveyd to hyr chammer within the said castell, the wich was well ordonned, and a strong place.—After that sche was come and well appoynted, and also hyr lordes, ladyes, knyghts, gentylmen, gentylwomen, the kynge cam arayed in a jakette of cramsyn velvet, bordered with cloth of gold. Hys lewre behinde hys bake, hys beerde somethygne long, acompayned of the Right Reverend Father in God my Lord the Arch Bischop of Saunte Andrews, brother of the said kynge, and Chauncellor of Scotlaunde, the Bischop of Castenate, the Erls of Huntly, Argyle, and Lennos, and the Lord Hambleton, cousin of the said kyng, with many others, lordes, knyghtes, and gentylmen, to the numbre of LX horsys. The king was conveyed to the quene's chamber, wher she mett hym at her grett chamber dore, right honorably acompayned. At the mettynge he and she maid grett reverences the one to the tother, his hed being bare, and they kyssed togeder, and in lykwys kyssed the ladyes, and others also.

surrendered, by the order of George Douglas, the proprietor (*p*). Here, Mary Stewart, visited Morton, her unworthy chancellor; and conferred several favours on him (*q*). In the subsequent century, this barony was acquired, by the Scots, a milder race. On the ancient site, Anne, the Duchess of Buccleugh, and Monmouth, built the present house, in imitation of the palace of Loo, but on a smaller scale (*r*). In the parish of Inveresk, below, is Pinkie house, which was built, by Alexander Seton, the chancellor, who was created Lord Fyvie, in 1591, Earl of Dunfermlin, in 1605; and who died, in 1622.

In Cranston parish, was of old *Cousland* castle, which was burnt by the regent Somerset (*s*). In Currie parish, on the estate of Malenie, is *Lennox* tower, where the Lennox family never lived (*t*). On the Gore water, in Borthwick parish, is the ruin of a strong house, which is called *Catcune* castle, near the memorable site of the Gadeni town, the scene of many a conflict (*u*). Upon the Upper Tyne, in Edinburghshire, is the ruin of Locherwart castle, the ancient seat of the Hays, the progenitors of the Marquis of Tweedale. There are the ruins of Fala tower, standing on the northern edge of Fala moss, within the eastern limit of Edinburghshire. Luggate castle may be seen, in its ruins, on Luggate water, in the eastern division of Edinburghshire. In the western, stood Corstorphin castle, the ancient seat of the Foresters of Corstorphin (*x*). Marchiston tower, near Edinburgh, is often mentioned, with fond recollection, as the residence of Napier, who invented the *logarithms*; and who dedicated

also. And he in especiall welcomed th Erle of Surrey varey hertly.—Then the quene and he went asyd, and commoned togeder by long space. She held good manere, and he bare heded during the tym, and many courteysyes passed. Incontynent was the board sett and served. They wasched their haunds in humble reverences, and after, sett them doune togeder, wher many good devyses war rehersed.—After the soupper they wasched ageyn, with the reverences: Mynstrells begonne to blowe, wher daunced the quene, accompayned of my lady of Surrey. This doon, the kyng tuke licence of hyr, for yt was latte, and he went to hys bed at Edinborg, varey well countent of so fayr metting, and that hee had found the fayr company togader. Lel. Col. iv 282.

(*p*) "On Wednesday the xiiii of September [1548], my lord's grace, saith Patten, ridying "back, eastward, to divers places, took *Da-kyth*, in his way, where a howse of George Douglasses "doth stande: And comyng sumwhat nere it, he sent Soomerset his herald to knowe, whom kept "it, and whether the kepers woold holde it, or yield it to his grace: Answere was made, that "there was a lx parsons within, whoom their maister lying thereat, the Saturday at night, after "the batel, dyd will, that they, the hous, and all that was in it, shoulde be at my lordes graces "commandment, and pleasure."

(*q*) Randolph's Correspondence, in the Paper Office.

(*r*) Stat Acco. xii. 25-6. (*s*) Ib. ix. 281. (*t*) Ib. xiii. 326.

(*u*) Reverend J. Clu ie's MS. Account.

(*x*) In Pont's map of Lothian, it is represented, as a large pile. Blaeu's Atlas Scotiæ, No. 9.

many.

many of his after thoughts to "musing meditation," on the *Apocalipse* (*y*). But, it is in vain, to enlarge the list of such antiquities, to which chronology cannot attach, and by which architecture cannot be enlightened. It is apparent, that Mid-Lothian, lying at so great a distance, from the hostile confines, on the south, and having the shelter of the Lamermoor, and of other ridges, did not contain the number of *bastel houses*, which we have seen, in the border shires of Roxburgh, and of Berwick.

§ v. *Of its Establishment, as a Shire.*] It is more than probable, that Mid-Lothian was placed under the salutary regimen of a sheriff, as early as the epoch of the Scoto-Saxon period, as early, indeed, as the introduction of the Scoto-Saxon laws. Under David I., there was a sheriff here, though his extent of jurisdiction is not very apparent (*z*). Under Malcolm IV., and William, the lion, the sheriff of Edinburgh appears more definitely (*a*). Under Alexander II., John de Vallibus was sheriff of Edinburgh (*b*). In 1271, Sir William Sinclair of Roslin was appointed sheriff of Edinburghshire, for life; and he is supposed to have lived till 1300 (*c*). There is reason to believe, that Edinburghshire, during those times, extended over Hadington, on the east, and over Linlithgow, on the west (*d*). When Edward I. endeavoured to settle the government of Scotland, in 1305, he appointed Ive de Adeburgh the sheriff of Edinburgh,

(*y*) There is a view of Merchiston tower, in Grose's Antiq. i. 62.

(*z*) In David's charter to the canons of Holyrood, in Maitland's Hist. Edin. 145, Norman, *the sheriff*, is a witness.

(*a*) In a charter of Malcolm IV., Galfrid, whom he calls, "vicecomes meus de *Castello Puellarum*," is mentioned, as a perambulator, with other sheriffs of the neighbouring shires. Chart. Newbot. 175. The *Castellum Puellarum* was here put, for the *town*; and the town had not yet obtained the privilege of having its own sheriff. Henry de Brade was sheriff of Edinburgh, under William, the lion. Ib. 23-24. He was mentioned, as sheriff of Edinburghshire, about the year 1200. Crawford's MS. Gleanings, from the Records, 24.

(*b*) Ib. 130; Nisbet's Heraldry, 250, of the second series.

(*c*) Chart. Dunferm.; Crawford's Peer. 381; Dougl. Peer. 550. On the 9th of May 1278, William de Sinclair, then sheriff of Edinburghshire, was present in the king's chamber, with several respectable barons, within the *Castrum Puellarum*, when a resignation of the lands of Bethwalduf was made into the king's hands. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 112. He also witnessed a charter of Nicholas de Vetereponte to the hospital of Soltre. Chart. Solt. 13. William de Sinclair witnessed other charters, between 1272, and 1282. Chart. Newbot. 26. He was certainly sheriff of this extensive shire, at the demise of Alexander III. He was alive, in the disastrous year 1296.

(*d*) In October 1296, the castle of Edinburgh, with the sheriffdoms of *Edinburgh*, Linlithcu, and Hadington, were committed to the charge of Walter de Huntercumbe, a Northumberland baron, by Edward I. Rym. ii. 731.

Hadington,

Hadington, and Linlithgow (*e*). When Randolph surprized the castle of Edinburgh, in 1313, Peter Luband was captain of the ancient fortalice, and sheriff of Edinburghshire, under the English king (*f*). In June 1334, Edward Baliol assigned to Edward III. the town, the castle, and county of Edinburgh, with the constabularies of Linlithgow, and Hadington (*g*). Edward, thereupon, appointed John de Kingston, the keeper of the castle, and sheriff of Edinburghshire: But, such trusts, he did not long execute. In 1335, Edward appointed John de Strivelin the sheriff of Edinburghshire, and the keeper of the castle (*h*). In 1337, Sir Andrew Moray, the guardian, besieged Edinburgh castle; and Lothian having submitted to his power, the guardian appointed Laurence Preston, the sheriff of Lothian; and the sheriffdom was wasted by Preston's efforts to maintain his own authority, and the quiet of his shire, against the English (*i*). At the epoch of the restoration of David II., the sheriffdom of Edinburgh continued to extend over the constabularies of Hadington, on the east, and of Linlithgow, on the west (*k*). During the latter part of the reign of David II., Symon de Preston was sheriff of Edinburghshire (*l*). Adam Forrester of Corstorphin was sheriff of Edinburghshire, and of Lothian, in 1382, during the reign of Robert II. (*m*). Robert III. granted to William Lindsay of the Byres, during his life, the offices of sheriff of Edinburgh, and constable of Hadington (*n*). In 1435, Sir Henry Preston

(*e*) Ryley's Placita, 504.

(*f*) Leland's Collect. ii. 546; Barbour, 205: Leland miscalls the sheriff, indeed, Leland; Lord Hailes has adopted into his Annals, ii. 38, the name of Leland, for Luband. His real name was Luband; as we may learn from the record, as given by Ryley's Placita, 505. He was captain of Linlithgow castle, in 1305; while a small district, only, was then subject to the English. Robert Bruce granted to Robert Lauder the lands of Colden, within the barony of Dalkeith, which were of Peter Luband, knight, late convicted of treason against the king. Roberts. Index, 7. Robert I. granted Garmylton Dunning to Alexander Stewart, which belonged to Peter Luband, knight. Id. Robert I. granted to Alexander Stewart the lands of Fischerflatis, which were of Peter Luband, knight. Id.

(*g*) Rym. iv. 615.

(*h*) Ayloffe's Cal. 161-2. He was again appointed to the same trusts, in 1336. Ib. 169.

(*i*) Fordun, xiii. 41.

(*k*) In a charter of David, the son of Walter, the laird of Kinneil, dated the 6th of April 1362, this barony is declared to be, in constabulario de Linlithgow, infra vicecomitatum de Edinburgh. Chart. Glasgow, 359. In David II.'s confirmation of that charter, the same terms of description are used. Ib. 363.

(*l*) In 1366, Symon de Preston, the sheriff of Edinburgh, witnessed a deed of Malcolm de Fawside. Roberts. Index. 79. On the 23d of February 1368-9, Symon de Preston of Gorton, [Goverton of old], "tunc temporis vicecomes de Laudoniæ," witnessed a charter of David II. Ib. 84. David II. was restored, in 1357, and demised, in 1371.

(*m*) Chart. Aberdeen, 383—6. (*n*) Roberts. Index, 142. He died, in 1413-14.

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of Craigmiller was the sheriff of Edinburghshire, and provost of the city, under James I. (*o*). As early as the reign of James III., it became the practice, for the sheriffs of Edinburgh, to attend the meetings of parliament (*p*). They owed that attendance to the parliament, as the highest court. During the treasonous year 1482, Alexander Hepburn, the sheriff of Edinburghshire, appeared before the parliament, to answer, for the erroneous execution of a precept, from *the king's chapel*, [the chancery]: And, the Lords found, that being informally executed, the return ought to be set aside (*q*). In July 1488, Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, who had contributed, by his guilty enterprize, to the accession of the infant James IV., was nominated sheriff of Edinburghshire, in fee, and heritage (*r*): And, he died, in 1508. He was succeeded, by his son, Adam, who obtained a confirmation of his hereditary offices; which, however, did not comprehend the sheriffship of Linlithgow, though his patent did extend to Hadington, and Berwick (*s*). Adam died, in 1513, with James IV., on Floddon-field. His son, Patrick, Earl of Bothwell, while yet an infant, succeeded him, as sheriff of Edinburghshire; and died, in September 1556 (*t*). He was succeeded, by his son, the notorious James, Earl Bothwell, who was served heir to his estates, and offices, on the 3d of November 1556 (*u*). James, Earl of Bothwell, as *sheriff* of Edinburgh, opened the parliament, on the 29th November 1558, with the marschal, and constable, of Scotland, which had now become the form (*x*). James, Earl Bothwell, was one of the commissioners, who opened the parliament, on the 14th of April 1567 (*y*). It was, in this parliament, which restored so many persons, and confirmed so many rights, that confirmed the estates, and offices of the Earl of Bothwell (*z*). He forfeited, soon after, all those estates, and offices, by a singular fortune, which acquitted him of crime,

(*o*) Macfarlane's MS. Collections. (*p*) Parl. Rec. 273.

(*q*) Ib. 283. Hepburn of Whitsun continued, for some turbulent years, to be the sheriff of Edinburghshire; as we may see, in the Parl. Rec. 283—301.

(*r*) Ib. 359—97. In 1503, the Earl of Bothwell was sheriff of Lothian, and constable of Hadington; but, Hamilton of Kincavel was then sheriff of Linlithgow. Sir James Balfour's Practicks, 16. When the Earl of Bothwell was made sheriff of Lothian, in fee, his grant, and power, seems not to have extended to Linlithgow.

(*s*) Privy Seal Rec. Lib. fo. 151: Under the Bothwells, Henry Naper, James Logan of Restalrig, and others, acted as *sheriff-deputes*. Parl. Rec.

(*t*) Parl. Rec. 689; Lord Haile's Rem. on the Hist. Scotland, 173.

(*u*) See the late Lord Haile's Rem. on the Hist. of Scotland, 173-4.

(*x*) Parl. Rec. 729: Mary Stewart, we may remember, had been married to Francis, the dauphin of France, on the 24th of April 1558; and her mother, Mary, acted, as regent of Scotland.

(*y*) Ib. 749: But, he is not called *sheriff*, in the Record. (*z*) Ib. 754.

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when he was formally tried; yet, found him guilty, when he was, a second time, irregularly accused. Bothwell's successor, as sheriff of Edinburgh, is not distinctly known. John Marjoribanks, *the sheriff-depute*, with the deputies of the constable, and marshal, opened the parliament, on the 17th of November 1569 (*a*). In the subsequent year, James, Earl of Morton, who had, by his crimes, contributed so materially both to the acquittal, and the forfeiture of Bothwell, was appointed his successor, as sheriff of Edinburghshire (*b*). He probably ceased to be sheriff, when he was chosen regent, in 1572. In 1581, James VI. created Francis, the infant nephew of the forfeited Bothwell, Earl of Bothwell, and sheriff of Edinburgh, and proprietor of all the other offices, and estates, of his uncle (*c*). After committing several murders, and some treasons, though frequently pardoned, by the facility, which had made him an earl, and sheriff, Francis, Lord Bothwell, was forfeited, in 1593. Sir William Seton, the fourth son of George, Lord Seton, was now appointed successor to that unworthy noble (*d*). Sir George, probably, had for his successor, Sir Ludowic Lauder of Over-Gogar, who was, undoubtedly, the principal sheriff of Edinburghshire, in 1630 (*e*). William, the first Earl of Dalhousie, acted as sheriff of this shire, during the civil was of Charles I.'s reign. John, the Earl of Lauderdale, is said to have been appointed sheriff of Edinburghshire, at the Restoration (*f*). His younger brother, Charles Maitland, who succeeded to the earldom, was appointed, on the 12th of November 1672, sheriff of Edinburghshire, during his life, with power to appoint deputies, and other officers (*g*):

(*a*) Parl. Rec. 812.

(*b*) Crawford's Peer. 352, who quotes the charter, in Morton's Archives.

(*c*) Crawford, and Douglas Peerages. At that epoch, the suits of Edinburgh, and the suits of Hadington, were called separately, in parliament, though the two districts had but one sheriff. Wight on Parl. Appx. 431-2. This fact proves, clearly, that the districts, and offices, and jurisdictions, were different, in the contemplation of parliament.

(*d*) MS. Hist. of the Seton family. He continued sheriff of Edinburgh, in 1613. Taxt Roll Record.

(*e*) Sir Ludowic, as sheriff principal of Edinburgh, held a special court, on the 25th of May 1630, for serving William, the Earl of Monteith, heir to David, Earl of Strathern. Hay's Vindication, 136.

(*f*) Douglas Peer. 395, mentions this appointment, without adequate authority. He was certainly appointed constable of the castle of Edinburgh; as we know, from the inscription on his tomb-stone. Crawford's Peer. 255.

(*g*) Warrant Book, in the Paper Office. On the 14th of November 1682, the Earl of Dalhousie was appointed sheriff, during pleasure. Id. On the 12th of December 1682, George Gordon, the first Earl of Aberdeen, was appointed sheriff of Edinburgh, during pleasure. Id. He became President of the Session, in 1681, and Lord Chancellor, in 1682.

And, he died upon the 9th of June 1691 (*g*). On the 4th of July 1684, the Earl of Perth was appointed sheriff of Edinburgh, during pleasure (*h*), in the room of the Earl of Aberdeen (*i*). He was re-appointed on the accession of James VII. (*k*). He had been made justice general, in 1682; chancellor, in 1684, having also superseded the Earl of Aberdeen, as chancellor, as well as sheriff: At the Revolution, he was imprisoned; he was long confined: And, being discharged, at the end of four years, on condition of expatriation, he went first to Rome; thence to his old master, at St. Germains, where he was created Duke of Perth; and died, in 1716 (*l*). King William's government seems to have been in no haste, to appoint a new sheriff for Edinburgh, in the room of the imprisoned Perth (*m*). In February 1703, William, the fifth Earl of Dalhousie, was appointed sheriff of Edinburgh, for life (*n*). On the 12th of August 1718, Charles, Earl of Lauderdale, was nominated sheriff of Edinburgh, during pleasure: But, he continued to execute this trust, till his death, in 1744 (*o*). In August 1744, James, Earl of Lauderdale, was appointed his father's successor; and he was the last, under the ancient regimen (*p*). Yet, as he only enjoyed this office, during pleasure, he could not make a claim, when jurisdictions were to be abolished, by purchase. In 1748, Charles Maitland of Pitrichie was appointed the sheriff-depute, with a salary of £250 a-year (*q*), under the new system, the happiest change, in the progress of this trust, though it was not perfect.

But, the power of the sheriff of Mid-Lothian, and the extent of his authority, appear to have been limited, in every age, by various jurisdictions, within his shire. The castle of Edinburgh had always, probably, a constable, whatever

(*g*) He absented himself, from the meeting of the Estates of Scotland, which carried into effect the Revolution. Proceedings of the Convention, No. 5.

(*h*) Id. (*i*) Warrant Book of that date.

(*k*) Ib. of the 26th February 1685.

(*l*) He had the yet higher honour of assisting, by his influence, the laborious Innes, in making his curious Collections, for the Scotish history.

(*m*) On the 1st of October 1689, the magistrates of Lauder complained to the privy council, that in respect there is neither sheriff, nor sheriff-depute, in Berwickshire, their lordships would consider how the same might be remedied. Proceedings in Scotland, No. 61. June 17th, 1690, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth's commission, as sheriff of Berwick, was read in council, and recorded. Ib. 119. But, there seemed to be no sheriff appointed, for Edinburghshire, at that late period.

(*n*) Dougl. Peer. 174; But, the earl became colonel of the Scots regiment of guards, in Spain, and died, in 1710.

(*o*) MS. List. of sheriffs, in the Paper Office.

(*p*) Scots Mag. 1744, 395. (*q*) Ib. 1748, 155.

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his power may have been. As early as 1278, he appears to have exercised a civil jurisdiction (*r*). Thus, William de Kingorn continued constable of the castle of Edinburgh, administering a civil jurisdiction, at the sad epoch of Alexander III.'s demise. The office of constable of Edinburgh castle was continued, by Edward I., when he arrogated the superiority of Scotland (*s*). This mixed authority of the constable of Edinburgh castle probably continued, under Robert Bruce, and his feeble successor (*t*). The dignity of the constable must have suffered diminution, when the castle was demolished, by the policy of Bruce. Yet, had it, in prior times, perhaps, power enough to give the denomination of constabulary to the whole shire of Edinburgh, which became, under David II., divided into several *wards* (*u*).

From those obscure intimations, with regard to the constabulary of the castle, it is natural to advert to the jurisdictions of the town. It was James III., who, in November 1482, from grateful recollection of the effectual aid of the citizens, gave the corporation the offices of sheriff, and coroner, within its specified limits, with power of holding courts, and trying criminals, and of receiving the emoluments of such jurisdictions (*x*). Under all those authorities, the provost of

(*r*) In 1278, John de Strathechin resigned the lands of Bethwalduf, into the hands of Alexander III., "in camera domini regis, apud castrum puellarum de Edinburgh," before William Clerk, the constable of the castle. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 112. In the same year, William de Kingorn was constable of the castle of Edinburgh. Chart. Newbot. No. 23. On the 1st of July 1284, Thomas, the son of William de Lamberton, resigned the lands of Easter Crags of Gorgie into the hands of Alexander III, "apud Castrum Puellarum," before William de Kingorn, "tunc "Constabulario dicti Castri." Ib. 49.

(*s*) On the 8th of July 1292, Edward I. received the fealty of various persons, "in Capella "Castri Puellarum," in presence of Radulph Basset, the *Constabularius* of the same castle. Rym. ii. 569. In 1299, and 1300, John de Kingston was constable of the castle, and sheriff of Edinburghshire. Wardrobe Account, 114. On the 13th of May 1301, John de Kingston, the constable of Edinburgh castle, was empowered to receive the submission of various people to Edward I. Ib. 888. On the 26th of October 1305, John de Kingston was appointed one of the Custodes Scotiæ. Ib. 970.

(*t*) On the 16th of November 1367, David II. granted to Symon Reid, the constable of Edinburgh castle, the forest of Lochendorb, which had fallen to him, by the forfeiture of the late John Comyn, knight. Roberts. Index, 83.

(*u*) David II. granted to David of Liberton the office of serjeant, in the *overward* of the *constabulary* of Edinburgh, with the lands of Over-Liberton, to the same pertaining. Ib. 63. These were called the *serjeants lands*; and continued to bear this name, under James VI., and Charles I. Inquisitiones Speciales, in Edinburghshire.

(*x*) Maitland's Edin. 9, from the charter. This was confirmed by James IV., in March 1509-10. Ib. 242. And, those charters were confirmed, and enlarged, by the *golden* charter of James VI., who speaks of the town, and its territory, as a sheriffwick. Ib. 247.

Edinburgh is high sheriff, coroner, and admiral, within the city, its territories, and within its dependency of Leith (*y*).

The abbot of Holyrood, under the charter of David I., was entitled to *his court*, as fully, as the abbots of Dunfermlin, and of Kelso, enjoyed theirs (*z*). This jurisdiction seems to have been much extended, by Robert III., both in extent, and power; by giving the abbot a right of regality over all his lands, in whatever sheriffdom they might be situated, particularly over the barony of Broughton, in Edinburghshire (*a*). These jurisdictions seem to have been acquired, by the trustees, of Heriot's hospital. At the epoch of the abolition of hereditary jurisdiction, the trustees of Heriot's hospital claimed £5,000, for the regality of Broughton; but, were allowed only £486 : 19 : 8.

David I. granted to the monks of Dunfermlin the manor of Inveresk, the lands of Carbarrin, [Carberry], and Smithton, [Smeaton], in Mid-Lothian, with a baronial jurisdiction over those, and other lands (*b*). As the town, and port of Musselburgh, were comprehended, in the manor of Inveresk, the territories granted were called the lordship, and *regality* of Musselburgh (*c*). The monks of Dunfermlin enjoyed the lordship, and regality, of Musselburgh, till the Reformation: And falling to James VI., he granted this ancient property, and jurisdiction, to his chancellor, Sir John Maitland, who was created Lord Thirlestane, in 1590, and died, in 1595. Happy! had the sacrilegious spoils of the Scotican church been ever as well bestowed by James VI., as they now were on so honest, and useful a minister. In September 1649, John, the Earl of Lauderdale, was served heir to his father, in the lordship, and *regality* of Musselburgh, with other lands, and the superiority over the vassals of the lordship of Musselburgh, "et jure regalitatis ejusdem (*d*)." In 1709, the lordship, and regality of Musselburgh, were sold by the Earl of Lauderdale to

(*y*) Arnot's Hist. Edin. 497. (*z*) Mait. Hist. Edin. 148.

(*a*) Ib. 157. Archibald, the abbot of Holyrood, granted a charter to the monks of Newbotle of an acre of land, "in vico nostro nuncupato St. Leonard's gate, infra regalitatem nostrum de Broughton." Chart. Newbot. 7. And, they held regular courts of regality, like other barons. Inquisitiones Speciales, 1636, 1642.

(*b*) Chart. Dunfermlin.

(*c*) On the 23d of March 1503-4, a cause was moved, in parliament, against William Froge, and George Hill, the baillies of Musselburgh, for their misconduct, in serving certain writs of inquest, which had issued from the *chapel* [the chancery] *of the abbot of Dunfermlin*, on a tenement in that town: The Lords found, that the inquest had erred, in serving the writs, and set aside the retour. Parl. Rec. 501.

(*d*) Inquisit. Speciales from the Rec. The regality of Musselburgh paid of old into the Exchequer, yearly, £2. MS. Excheq. Reg.

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the Duchess of Buccleugh. In 1747, the Duke of Buccleugh claimed, for this regality, when all such jurisdictions were to be resumed, by purchase, £3,000: But, for all his claims, he was only allowed £3,400 Sterling.

The Douglases of Lothian obtained, in early times, a baronial jurisdiction over many lands, in several shires, which was called the *regality* of *Dalkeith* (*e*). In 1541, James, the third Earl of Morton, obtained a charter from James v., confirming this *regality*, and those lands (*f*). The notorious James, Earl of Morton, the chancellor of Scotland, obtained, in 1564, from Mary Stewart, a confirmation of all those lands, and jurisdictions (*g*). William, Earl of Morton, and the Lord of Dalkeith, was served heir, in November 1606, to his grandfather, in his earldom, in the lordship of Dalkeith, and in his various jurisdictions (*h*). In January 1682, George, Earl of Dalhousie, was appointed baillie of the regality of Dalkeith (*i*). After the death of Monmouth, James, his son, was created Earl of Dalkeith. His mother, the Duchess of Buccleugh, and Monmouth, died, in 1732, aged 81, when she was succeeded by Francis, her grandson (*k*). For the regality of Dalkeith, the duke claimed, in 1747, £4,000: But, for all his claims, he was allowed only £3,400.

The barony of Ratho came into the possession of *the Stewart* of Scotland, when he married Margery, the daughter of Robert Bruce, who gave it, with her, in marriage. When Robert II., the son of that marriage, ascended the throne, in 1371, Ratho, and the whole lands of the Stewart, being formed into a regality, were given as the appanage of his son, and heir, as *Stewart*. In December 1404, Robert III., granted to his son James, *the Stewart*, the barony of Ratho, and all the other estates of the Stewart of Scotland, which were now formed into a royal jurisdiction (*l*). When the sheriffdom of Renfrew was settled, by dismembering Lanerkshire, the barony of Ratho was disjoined from Lothian, and annexed to Renfrewshire.

The knights of St. John of Jerusalem enjoyed a regal jurisdiction over their barony of Ballentrodo, in Mid-Lothian; which was comprehended in their

(*e*) Roberts. Index, 40-65-86-88. (*f*) Dougl. Peer. 492. (*g*) Parl. Rec. 763.
(*h*) Inquisit. Special. from the Rec.

(*i*) Dougl. Peer. 174, quotes the charter, in Lord Dalhousie's Archives: But, the peerage writer forgot to mention, by whom the earl was appointed. He was probably nominated by the Duchess of Monmouth. On the 22d of November 1687, the Duchess of Monmouth, saith Fountainhall, Decisions, i. 484, sent a letter to the privy council, to put out one Anderson, who had set up a meeting-house, within *her burgh of regality of Dalkeith*; which the chancellor directed; threatening the preacher, with prison.

regality of Torphichen. When the knights of St. John had, by the Reformation, been converted into temporal lords, both the barony, and the regality, became invested in them, as lords of parliament (*m*). The Knights Templars had also a jurisdiction over their lands, within Edinburghshire. This jurisdiction seems to have been acquired, by the family of Primrose: And, in June 1651, James, the son of David Primrose, was served heir to his father, in the Templars' lands of Cramond Regis; and also in the hereditary office of baillie of the Templars lands, within this ample shire (*n*). The archbishop of St. Andrews had a regality over his extensive estates in this shire, which he executed, by a baillie, as we have already seen, who sold his office.

Before the Reformation, the abbots of Kelso had a jurisdiction over their barony of Dudingston; which they carried into effect, by a baillie of regality (*o*). Over the barony of Preston-hall, there was a regality, which the Duchess of Gordon claimed, in 1747; and for which she was paid £25 : 9 : 10. Sterling. For Primrose regality, over the lands of Carington, Lord Dalmeny was allowed £101 : 13 : 7. Sterling. In 1747, Sir Robert Dickson claimed a regality over the lands of Carberry; but, his pretensions were not sustained. In May 1542, James v. granted to Nicol de Ramsay of Dalwolsie a power of justiciary over his lands of Dalwolsie, and Carrington, in Edinburghshire, and Foulden, in Berwickshire: But, this power seems to have expired with himself, in 1554 (*p*). In November 1362, David II. granted to John de Edmonstoun, during his life, the office of *coroner*, in Edinburghshire (*q*). In the subsequent century, the provost of Edinburgh was both sheriff, and coroner, of the town, as we have already seen. In addition to all those privileged authorities, there existed, from the early reign of Malcolm IV., a *justiciary of Lothian*, who exercised a much greater power than the sheriff of Lothian; and who must have restrained his subordinate jurisdiction. Of old, the power of the diocesan bishop of St. Andrews, both ecclesiastical, and baronial, must have often embarrassed the sheriff. The authorities of the diocesan ceased, when the Reformation began. In February 1563, during the administration of Murray, was instituted the commissary court of Edinburgh, in place of the bishop's officials, with a double jurisdiction; ordinary, and universal: Its ordinary powers are exercised over its own limits;

(*m*) Inquisit. Spec. under 1618, from the Rec. Lord Torphican was paid for his jurisdiction, in 1747, £134 : 12 : 6.

(*n*) Inquisit. Speciales, from the Record.

(*o*) Chart. Kelso, 544.

(*p*) Dougl. Peer. 172.

(*q*) Roberts. Index, 73.

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but, it is also the *general consistorial* court of Scotland (*r*). It is under this universal power, perhaps, that Edinburgh is deemed the *communis patria* of Scotsmen when abroad; whence every prudent Scotsman, saith President Stair, ought to have a resident procurator (*s*): But, the College of Justice is the king's *consistorial* court of supreme jurisdiction. Such, then, were the peculiar authorities, which either limited the power, or obstructed the proceedings of the sheriff, within this shire (*t*). The final abolition of all those hereditary jurisdictions, was one of the happiest events, in the diversified annals of Mid-Lothian.

§ VI. *Of its Civil History.*] Next to the colonization of Mid-Lothian, by successive settlers, of different lineages, and dissimilar tongues, the objects most worthy of a rational curiosity are, the castle, and the city of Edinburgh (*u*). The castle, as we may learn, from its Celtic name of *Mai-dyn*, was a fortlet of the British Gadeni, during the earliest times. As a strength of the original people, it may have existed a thousand years, before the Northumbrian Edwin repaired its defences, and gave it his name (*x*). It was probably relinquished, during the reign of the Scotish Indulph (*y*). It was resigned to Malcolm II., by Earl Eadulph, in 1020 A. D. (*z*). In this castle, died the worthy Margaret, the widowed consort of Malcolm Canmore, in November 1093 (*a*). And, on the 8th of January 1106-7, in *Dun-Eden*, died Edgar, their son, after a short, and unimportant reign (*b*). Whether his successor, Alexander I., ever resided, in that castle, is

(*r*) Maitland's Hist. Edin. 377: And, for the commissariate jurisdiction, see Arnot's Edin. 491, who was a lawyer.

(*s*) Institute, 659.

(*t*) Regularly, saith Sir George Mackenzie, those, who dwell in *regalities*, are not subject to the sheriff. Observ. 42.

(*u*) Caledonia, i. b. i. c. 11; b. ii. c. 3; b. iii. c. 6.

(*x*) Edwin flourished, from 617 A. D. to 634, as we know, from Savill's *Fasti*, in his *Scriptores Post Bedam*.

(*y*) Chron. No. 3, in Innes's Crit. Essay, 787. Indulph reigned eight years, from 953 to 961 A. D. Caledonia, i. 375.

(*z*) Ib. 402.

(*a*) Ib. 420. There was a chapel dedicated to the pious Margaret, soon after her decease, within the castle, which she had dignified, by her residence, and edified, by her death. This chapel is mentioned by David I., in his charter of Holyrood. Robert II. granted to St. Margaret's chapel, within the castle of Edinburgh, an yearly rent of eight pounds Sterling, out of the customs of Edinburgh. This donation was confirmed by Robert III. Robert's Index, p. 151. In De Wits map of Edinburgh, *the chapel* of Edinburgh castle appears very prominent to the eye, though without any of the adjuncts of a chapel.

(*b*) Reg. of St. Andrews, in Innes's Essay; and Caledonia, 618.

quite

quite uncertain; though there cannot be any doubt, whether he held Edinburgh, as a town of the royal demesn (*c*).

It was, during the beneficent reign of David I., who succeeded his brother Alexander, in 1124, that we see the *Castellum Puellarum* possessed by David, in all the settled splendour of a royal residence, while the town was merely the demesn of the king (*d*). Edinburgh, under the administration of David I., appears to have been, as populous, and important, as Berwick-upon-Tweed, which was then the largest, and most commercial, in North-Britain. Edinburgh, under David, was one of the *quatuor burgorum*, which formed a commercial judicatory, for commercial matters. Under him, it probably acquired an augmentation of people; as we see him erect a new mill, as well as a new church, in its vicinage. Soon after his accession, he conferred his well-known charter on the canons of Holyrood (*e*). He empowered the canons of Holyrood to build a town, between their church, and *his burgh*. And hence, arose the *suburb*, which is so well known, as the *Canongate*; whose burgesses were enabled, by David I., to buy and sell, and traffic, as freely, and fully, as his own burgesses of Edinburgh. Yet, are we not to infer, that Edinburgh was a *royal burgh*, in the modern sense: It was then a town, *in demesn*; by another step, it became a town *in firm*. It obtained this step, probably, from William, the lion (*f*). David often resided in the

(*c*) Chart. Scone, No. 1; Chart. Inchcolm, 16.

(*d*) This castle continued to be the frequent residence of the Scotish kings, whatever Maitland may intimate, to the contrary, till subsequent times. The fact is established, by the many charters of all those kings, which were dated within its walls. See the chartularies, throughout. Maitland supposes Edinburgh town to have been made a royal burrough by David I. The fact is, that it was a demesn of the king, even before the accession of Alexander I.: For, Alexander conferred on the abbey of Dunfermlin one mansion in *Edensburgh*. Chart. Scone, No. 1. In the foundation charter of Holyrood by David I., we see it, from many notices, still more distinctly, as a town in demesn: He calls it *his burgh*. William, the lion, confirmed to the monastery of Dunfermlin an annual rent of a hundred shillings, "de firma burgi de Edinburg." Chart. Dunferm. This grant was confirmed by Alexander II. Id. The first charter, which was ever granted to Edinburgh was that of Robert I., dated the 28th of May 1329. Maitland, p. 7. There are a great variety of grants, by subsequent kings, out of the *customs* of Edinburgh. Robertson's Index. Yet, had it some sort of corporate body, when the alderman, *et tote la commune*, swore fealty to Edward, in 1296. Prynne. The first *provost*, who appears, in record, is John Quitness, who was a witness to Robert II.'s charter, in 1378. Hay's Vindic. 26, with Crawford's MS. Note.

(*e*) The charter is in Maitland's Edinburgh; and there is an Inspeximus Copy of it, by Robert II., in Hay's Vindication of Elizabeth More, p. 125; "A° 1128, coepit fundari ecclesia "sanctæ crucis de Edenesburch." Chron. Sanct. Crucis.

(*f*) K. William granted to the monks of Dunfermlim 100 shillings, yearly, "de firma burgi "de Edinburg," on the day of Malcolm's demise. Chart. Dunfermlin. This was confirmed by Alexander III. Id.

maiden

maiden castle; as we know from the dates of so many of his charters. Malcolm IV., his successor (*a*), frequently resided, in this castle; as we may learn from the same circumstance (*b*): Yet, he recognized Scone, to be the *metropolis* of his kingdom. William, the lion, though he generally dwelt, at Hadington, resided sometimes in the maiden castle (*c*). In 1174, in order to regain his liberty, he surrendered Edinburgh castle to Henry II., as we have seen. In 1177, a council of the Scotican church was assembled, at Edinburgh, by Vivian, the papal legate (*d*). Another council of the Scotican church was assembled, at Edinburgh, in 1180 (*e*). On the 3d of September 1186, William married Ermengard, at Woodstock, when Henry II. restored to him "*Castellum Puellarum*," which William, immediately, assigned to Emengard, in dower, with a hundred librates of rent, and forty knights fees (*f*). A convention of prelates, and barons, assembled at Edinburgh, in 1190, who gave to William an aid of 10,000 marks (*g*). By him, Edinburgh was converted into a place of mintage, as we know from Cardonel, and as we have already seen (*h*).

After the demise of William, in 1214, at the end of a lengthened reign, Alexander II., a youth of seventeen, came to Edinburgh, where he held a parliament, and confirmed the offices of his chancellor, his chamberlain, and of other dignities (*i*). Edinburgh seems not to have felt any of the wretchedness of the war, which immediately ensued, between Alexander, and King John: The English sovereign certainly burnt Dunbar, and Hadington; saying that, "he would smoke the little red fox out of his covert:" But, his rage does not appear to have reached Edinburgh. Peace was restored, in 1219, when Alexander engaged, on oath, that he would marry Joan, the daughter of the poisoned John, if he could obtain her consent. On the 25th of June 1221, Alexander, accordingly, married Joan, the princess of England: Yet, though she were provided in a jointure of £1,000, of land-rent, Edinburgh seems to have contributed nothing to her matrimonial provision (*k*). The king, and queen, soon after, came to Edinburgh, where they, for some time, resided (*l*).

(*a*) See the chartularies, throughout. (*b*) Id. (*c*) Id.

(*d*) Innes's Crit. Essay, 589; Lord Hailes's Councils, 5.

(*e*) Dalrymple's Col. 325; Lord Hailes's Councils, 17. (*f*) Hoveden, 632.

(*g*) Fordun, l. viii. c. 50: Yet, Maitland says, the first time, that the parliaments met, at Edinburgh, was in the year 1436. Hist. Edin. 6.

(*h*) Numismata, pl. 1. (*i*) Ford. l. ix. 27. (*k*) Rym. i. 252.

(*l*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 206: And Alexander II. often resided in Edinburgh castle, throughout his reign, whence, he gave many of his charters, which sometimes are dated at *Edinburgh*, often at the *Castrum Puellarum*, and not unfrequently at *Castellum Puellarum*: The charters of Alexander II. testify those facts.

In 1239, a general council of the Scotican church was assembled, by the papal legate, at Edinburgh (*m*). But, it must be acknowledged, that this castle, and town, did not partake much, either in the miseries, or the hilarities, of the reign of Alexander II., one of the ablest, and best of the Scotish kings.

Alexander III. also made Edinburgh castle not unfrequently the place of his residence (*n*). Alexander married Margaret, the daughter of Henry III., at York, on the 26th of December 1251. They seem to have made Edinburgh castle the chief place of their royal residence (*o*). The infant queen was not pleased with her situation. She complained, in 1255, of the castle of Edinburgh, as a solitary place, without verdure, and unwholesome, from its vicinity to the sea. A physician was sent, by the king, and queen, of England, to visit their daughter, in her dreary abode (*p*). He probably reported, that such a castle was not unwholesome, whatever grievances the youthful queen of a youthful husband might feel, or feign (*q*). At this epoch, the whole nation was divided into two potent factions; the Scotish, with Walter Cumyn, the Earl of Menteith, at its head; and the English, with Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, for its chief. While the Scotish faction were preparing to hold a parliament, at Stirling, the Earl of Dunbar, with his followers, entered the *Castellum Puellarum*; took charge of the king, and queen; and expelled the opposite party (*r*). This is the earliest instance of two factions meeting, in hostile collision, within the limits of Edinburgh. We have thus seen, that Alexander III. not only resided in this castle, but frequently held his courts in it, for transacting juridical affairs. On the 28th of June 1284, Thomas of Lamberton resigned into the king's power the lands of Easter Crags of Gorgie, in the

(*m*) Innes's Crit. Essay, 592; Lord Hailes's Councils, 14.

(*n*) There is a charter of Alexander III., dated on the 3d of June 1250, "apud Castrum Puellarum." MS. Col. of Charters. On the 26th of March 1279, Alexander wrote a letter to Edward I., dated "apud Castrum Puellarum." Rym. ii. 1064.

(*o*) M. Paris, 907. (*p*) Id. (*q*) Ib. 908.

(*r*) Chron. Mailros, 220, which speaks of the *Castellum Puellarum*, as the *castle of Edinburgh*, in 1255. Lord Hailes, with this veracious chronicle before him, did not sufficiently attend to this fact. An. i. 166-7. On the 9th of May 1278, in the king's chamber, "apud Castrum Puellarum de Edinburgh," in the chamber called "*the blessed Margaret's chamber*," John de Strathechin resigned into the king's hands, the lands of Bethwalduf, in the presence of William Clerk, the constable of the castle of Edinburgh. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 112; Chart. Dunferm, fo. 15; Dalzell's Monast. Antiq. 54. We may thus see, that the worthy Margaret was still remembered, in the traditions of the country, at the end of two centuries, after she had, in this chamber, resigned her last breath.

presence

presence of William de Kingorn, the constable of this castle (*s*). In a juridical proceeding of James, the Stewart of Scotland, on the 26th of January 1284-5, we may see still more distinctly, that an exchange of lands was effected, before the king himself, "in *aula* castelli de Edinburg, ad *colloquium* domini regis (*t*)," in the presence of William de Soulis, then justiciary of Lothian, and other *magnates Scotiæ*. Before the eventful demise of Alexander III., on the 19th of March 1285-6, the *maiden castle* had been converted into the safe depositary of the principal records, and of the appropriate regalia of the kingdom (*u*).

From that direful event, Edinburgh partook of the wasteful revolutions of many years. The proceedings of the *custodes regni*, with the *testament* of Alexander, were deposited, with many public papers, in the castle (*x*). In June 1291, the *Castrum Puellarum* was surrendered, with the town, to Edward I., as lord paramount of the whole kingdom. On the 8th of July 1292, Edward received the fealty of Adam, the abbot of Holyrood, "in capella Castri Puellarum (*y*)." On the 29th of the same month, after Edward's return, from the north, he received the fealty of the abbot of Newbotle, and other respectable persons, "apud Castrum Puellarum, in capella ejusdem castri (*z*)." After the battle of Dunbar had decided the gallant struggle, for the nation's independance, Edward I. advanced through Lothian to Edinburgh, in May 1296, when he compelled the obstinate castle to surrender to his overpowering force; and when he again received, within its chapel, the unwilling submission of many persons. On the 28th of August 1296, William de Dederyk, alderman of the burgh of Edinburgh, "e tote la commune de mesme burg," swore fealty to Edward I. (*a*). Edinburgh had now risen, from being a town in demesn, to be a corporation. In October 1296, the castle of Edinburgh, with the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Hadington, were committed, by Edward I., to the charge of Walter de Huntercombe (*b*). He appears to have been super-

(*s*) Chart. Newbot. 49. (*t*) Autograph Charter, in my library.

(*u*) Ayloff's Calend, 330: Herein, may be seen a schedule, dated, at Edinburgh, in the vigil of St. Bartholomew, 1291, of the *Ornamenta*, which were found, in thesauria Castri de Edinburgh. Among other *regalia*, there was found, "Unum Scrinium, in quo reponitur crux que vocatur "*la blake rode*:" And see other notices to the same effect, in the same Calendar, 335—8, wherein the castle is called *Castrum Puellarum*: We may now infer from all those notices, that the castle of Edinburgh, at that sad epoch, was, promiscuously, called *Castrum Puellarum*, *Castellum Puellarum*, and *Castrum Edinburgi*.

(*x*) Ib. 335.

(*y*) Rym. ii. 569. Among other persons, who were present, on that singular occasion, was Radulph Basset, constabulary of the same castle. Id.

(*z*) Ib. 571. (*a*) Prynne, iii. 653. (*b*) Ib. 731.

seded, before the year 1299, by John de Kingston, in those confidential trusts (*b*). He was, also, empowered, on the 13th of May 1301, to receive the submission of the neighbouring inhabitants (*c*). And, on the 26th of October 1305, he was appointed, by Edward, one of the *Custodes Scotiæ* (*d*).

In the meantime, Mid-Lothian, and its castle, furnished few events, for the topographical historian to record. Hostile armies may have traversed the plains of Lothian; and domestic feuds may have sometimes disturbed its quiet: But, throughout many a year, there was neither battle to engage the swords of the youth, nor siege to incite the anxieties of the old. During the succession war, the English armies had advanced, and retreated, through Mid-Lothian, during the struggles of a gallant people, without any uncommon event, till hostilities had almost ceased, in the usual languor of frequent truces. But, when the peace ended, at the beginning of the year 1303, Edward sent a fresh army into Scotland, under the command of John de Segrave. The English advanced towards Edinburgh, in three divisions. The first had scarcely approached to Roslin, on the 24th of February 1302-3, under the conduct of Segrave, when it was attacked, by some chosen bands, under Cumyn, the guardian, and Simon Fraser of Tweedale: Segrave was discomfited, and wounded. His second division, which advanced to support him, only shared his misfortune: And the third division also advancing, a sharp conflict ensued, with very doubtful success. The events of this day are blasoned, by the historians of the one nation, and thrown into shade, by the annalists of the other (*e*).

But, still more eventful scenes were now at hand. In 1306, Robert Bruce ascended the throne of his ancestors, which he left to his posterity, after many a gallant conflict: Edward I. died, in 1307; crying out for vengeance, and inciting perseverance, with his last breath. It was not, however, till the 14th of March 1312-13, that the castle of Edinburgh was taken, by assault, under the able conduct of Randolph, the king's nephew. In 1322, Edward II. advanced to Edinburgh; but, he was obliged to retire, for want of provisions; and his soldiers plundered the abbey of Holyrood. The *fourteenth* parliament of Robert Bruce assembled, in the abbey of Holyrood, on the 8th of March

(*b*) In the winter of 1299-1300, great quantities of various stores, for enabling him to perform those trusts, were placed in his hands; as we may see in the Wardrobe Account.

(*c*) Rym. ii. 888.

(*d*) Ib. 970. And when Edward issued his well-known ordinance, for the government of Scotland, in 1305, he continued John de Kingston in the command of Edinburgh castle. Ryley's Placita, 505.

(*e*) Fordun, l. xii. c. 2; Hemingford, i. 198.

1326-7 (*f*). The last parliament of this interesting reign met, at Edinburgh, on the 17th of March 1327-8; wherein the representatives of the burroughs were first admitted among the estates; and the treaty of Northampton was confirmed, which acknowledged the independance of Scotland. In the last year of his important life, Robert Bruce granted a charter to the people of Edinburgh, which recognized their ancient privileges, and added new (*g*). Edinburgh, at that epoch, was still an unwalled town, having few people, and little importance: yet, was it a place of mintage to Robert I. (*h*).

David II., the infant heir of Robert Bruce, and his kingdom, were left, with pretensions on them, by Edward Baliol, the pretender to the crown: He was supported by Edward III., who was equally ambitious, and as overbearing, as his grandfather. The Scotish king was little able to contend with such powerful pretenders. On the 10th and 12th of February 1333-4, Edward Baliol pretended to hold a parliament, within the chapel of the abbey of Holy-rood, at Edinburgh. The partizans, who were then assembled, agreed with him, to surrender the independance of the crown; and to grant to Edward III. a large share of Southern Scotland (*i*). On the 12th of June 1334, the pretender assigned to that ambitious king the town, the castle, and the county of Edinburgh, with the constabularies of Hadington, and Linlithgow (*k*). Three days afterward, Edward III. appointed John de Kingston, the keeper of the castle, and the sheriff of the shire of Edinburgh (*l*). While Edward Baliol marched into the west, from Edinburgh, during November 1334, Edward III. led his army into Lothian, where he domineered, a while, without controul: He at length marched forward to other objects. And, Count Guy of Namur, who landed, meantime, at Berwick, with a reinforcement of men at arms, in the pay of Edward, advanced to Edinburgh, thinking that, such a warrior, as Edward, had not left an enemy in his rear. But, the Earls of Murray, and March, and Sir William Ramsay, attacked him on the burrough moor. A desperate conflict long continued, even on the castle hill, and in the streets. The count at length capitulated (*m*). At this town, however, the king of

(*f*) Roberts. Index, 28.

(*g*) Mait. Hist. Edin. 7: Robert I.'s charter was dated the 28th of May 1329.

(*h*) Cardonel, p. 50, and pl. ii; The legend was *villa Edinbug*, for want of space, upon a very small coin.

(*i*) Rym. iv. 591—3. (*k*) Ib. 615. (*l*) Ib. 617.

(*m*) Fordun, l. xiii. c. 35; Rym. iv. 658; Lord Hailes's An. ii. 180-1.

England

England spent much of his time, in the autumn of 1335 (*n*). In 1336, Edward III. directed the castle of Edinburgh to be rebuilt, which Bruce is said to have razed (*o*). In the same year, he granted to John de Stryvelyn the custody of Edinburgh castle, and the sheriffship of Edinburghshire (*p*).

In 1337, Sir Andrew Moray, the guardian of Scotland, on his return from wasting Cumberland, laid siege to the castle of Edinburgh. The English hastened from the borders to relieve it. William Douglas encountered them, in a sharp conflict, at Crichton, in Mid-Lothian: He seems to have obliged the enemy to retire, though he was badly wounded: Yet, the guardian raised the siege, owing to whatever cause (*q*). In the meantime, Lothian submitted to him. And he made Lawrence Preston sheriff of a country, which was wasted, by the successive efforts both of the foe, and friend (*r*). A famine ensued in the land. And, during the same year, Edward III. asserted his claim to France; which, occupying much of his attention, brought great relief to Scotland. The English retained possession of Edinburgh castle, throughout the three subsequent years. But, William Ramsay of Dalwolsie, one of the most enterprizing officers of an active age, issuing frequently from the caves of Hawthornden, expelled the English, and even followed them into Northumberland. The castle of Edinburgh was at length taken, on the 17th of April 1341, by the stratagem of Bullock, and the enterprize of Douglas of Lidisdale (*s*). David II., returning from France, now invaded England, with a numerous army: But, he was defeated, and taken, in 1346, at the battle of Durham (*t*). After this sad disaster, Edward Baliol led the Gallowaymen into Lothian, which they wasted with fire, and sword (*u*). But, the war of Scotland declined into frequent cessations. Edward III., indeed, advanced with his army to Edinburgh, in 1356: But, the dispersion of his fleet, that supplied him with provisions, obliged that warlike prince to retire; who wasted the country through which he retreated, by Gala, and Teviotdale (*x*). In the subsequent year, David II. was restored to his people, under a treaty, dated the 3d of October 1357 (*y*). The tenth parliament of this wretched reign was convened, at Edinburgh, on

(*n*) He was, at Edinburgh, on the 16th, and 21st of September 1335. Rym. iv. 667-8. He was at Colbrandspethe, on the 23d of September. Ib. 669. He was, at Edinburgh, on the 24th and 28th. Id. And he was, at Berwick, on the 26th of October 1335. Id.

(*o*) Lord Hailes's An. ii. 191; and the English king's warrant, for that effect, is in Ayloffe's Cal. 166.

(*p*) Ib. 169. (*q*) Lord Hailes's An. ii. 195. (*r*) Fordun, l. xiii. c. 41-2.

(*s*) Lord Hailes's An. ii. 207. (*t*) Ib. 216. (*u*) Fordun, l. xiv. c. 6.

(*x*) Fordun, l. xiv. c. 13. (*y*) Rym. vi. 46-52.

the

the 26th of September 1357; in order to carry into effect the late treaty, which was soon after ratified, by the Estates; and by each of the orders, separately (*z*). The nineteenth parliament of David II. was assembled, in the abbey of Holyrood, on the 8th of May 1366 (*a*). Herein, were discussed several points of a recent treaty, which seemed intolerable to the Estates of a harassed people. On the 22d of February 1370-1, a day, happy for Scotland, died David II., in Edinburgh, after a very disastrous reign: And, he was buried before the great altar in the abbey church of Holyrood, where a monument was erected to his memory (*b*). During the reign of David II., Edinburgh was a frequent place of mintage (*c*). In the frequent parliaments of David II.'s reign, Edinburgh appeared, as the chief burrough, at the head of all the national burgesses (*d*). David II. granted various pensions, from the customs of Edinburgh (*e*). And, he gave to the burgesses, and community of Edinburgh, a piece of land, on the way, leading to the castle, whereon the *weigh-house* was built (*f*); which has always obstructed, and greatly disfigured the principal street of this metropolis.

This town had not the honour of witnessing the coronation of Robert Stewart, under the parliamentary entail of Bruce's crown. On the 3d of May 1371, however, he held a privy council, at Edinburgh (*g*). In 1381, the Duke of Lancaster found a welcome reception with the monks of Holyrood, till England

(*z*) Rym. vi. 41: The clergy, the barons, and the burgesses, gave separate commissions to certain members of its own body. Ib. 44. Those several commissioners ratified, by a separate deed of their own, at Berwick, the agreement of each Estate. Ib. 59. To the resolution of a general council, at Perth, on the 13th of January 1364-5, the seals of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Perth, and Dundee, were appended, in the name of all the burroughs. Parl. Rec. 102. Of the seventeen burroughs, who were represented, in parliament, Edinburgh then ranked, as the first.

(*a*) Roberts. Index, 110.

(*b*) On the 24th of May 1372, Edward III. granted a safe conduct to certain persons, who went from Scotland to Flanders, to provide a stone for the tomb of David II. Rym. vi. 721. On the 28th of May 1373, he granted another safe conduct to certain persons, on their way to Flanders, "pro diversis lapidibus nigris." Ib. vii. 10. This tomb has not, however, preserved the vivid memory of a king, who entailed on his people so many miseries.

(*c*) Cardonel, pl. ii. p 52-3: The legend was *villa Edinburg.*

(*d*) Parl. Rec. 108-17

(*e*) Roberts. Index, 49-50. During this reign, Edinburgh continued to be one of the *four burghs*, that formed a chamberlain's court, for commercial affairs.

(*f*) Roberts. Index, 78. This grant was on the 3d of December 1365.

(*g*) Parl. Rec. 119 In November 1384, there was a general council held, at Edinburgh. Ib. 133; and Lord Berner's Froissart, fo. 317. There was another general council, at Edinburgh, in April 1385, with various continuations. Parl. Rec. 133.

became

became so free from insurrection, as to admit of his safe return (*b*). Yet, in 1384, the same duke led an army to the gates of Edinburgh, which he is said to have spared, on account of his hospitable reception there, during some years before (*i*). The Scotish king summoned an army to the burrough moor, for the purpose of retaliation, or revenge (*k*). Meantime, Robert II. learned from some French envoys, that a truce was made, between England, and France; and a small French reinforcement also arrived. Some embarrassment immediately ensued: The king wished for peace: The barons panted for war: And they met, within Saint Giles's church, at Edinburgh; where they resolved on hostilities; and told the French knights, that they should be immediately called into action: The summer of 1384 saw, in the result, the conterminous borders, on either side, wasted by alternate inroads (*l*). In May 1384, the admiral of France, John de Vienne, arrived, at Leith, with a thousand men at arms, and much money. The wages of corruption were divided among the Scotish barons, in the proportions of their influence (*m*). Thirty thousand men, who were mounted on small horses, assembled on the moor of Edinburgh; whence they marched to the borders, under the Earls of Fife, and Douglas. Yet, besides an inroad, they effected nothing worthy of such a force; being checked, by an English army (*n*). Robert II. then resided, at Edinburgh, which scarcely contained 4,000 houses, which accommodated 20,000 people: Froissart called Edinburgh *the Paris* of Scotland; yet, could it not comfortably lodge the French knights, who did not conceal their disappointment, and disgust: The whole country, indeed, remained, as Froissart pretty plainly intimates, in the wretchedness, and penury, and nastiness, in which the warfare, and waste, of a century had left a harassed country (*o*). During August 1385, Richard II. retaliated, by leading an irresistible army through Lothian: On his route, he burnt the monastery of Newbotle; and, arriving at Edinburgh, he gave the town, with St. Giles's church, and the abbey of Holyrood, to his vengeful torch: After remaining, at Edinburgh, during five days of malignant triumph, he marched

(*b*) Ford. l. xiv. c. 46.

(*i*) Ib. c. 47. Walsingham blames the duke, for his forbearance, 398; and he adds, that the inhabitants removed their effects, and even unroofed their houses, which were covered with straw. Wyntown, and Fordun, concur, in saying, that the town was ransomed by the people.

(*k*) From that epoch, the array of Scotland was, generally, made on the burrough moor of Edinburgh.

(*l*) Lord Berner's Froissart, fo. 317: His lordship says those inroads were undertaken, without the knowledge of the Scotish king, who was disinclined to war.

(*m*) Rym. vii. 484. (*n*) Walsingham, 316. (*o*) Lord Berners, ii. 3.

to

to Stirling; leaving the whole metropolis in flames, except the castle, which was naturally strong, and was now well defended (*q*). The English king, though he was attended by a great fleet of victuallers, was at length obliged, by want, to retire from a country, which he had ruined, by every mode of hostile devastation. Meantime, in July 1385, John, the Stewart, who now acted, as the king's lieutenant, granted permission to the citizens of Edinburgh, to build houses within its castle; in order to enable them to sustain the storm, which, from the south, lowered upon their destiny (*r*). Robert II. convened the Three Estates, at Edinburgh, in April 1389; wherein his second son Robert, the Earl of Fife, was constituted governor of the kingdom; owing to the age, and infirmities of his father (*s*). And, he demised, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, on the 19th of April 1390. In the meantime, Robert II. made various grants out of his revenues of Edinburgh, which equally evince his own liberality, and the ability of the town (*t*).

His eldest son, John, immediately, succeeded him, by the name of Robert III., who had now passed his fiftieth year. He held a council, within the castle of Edinburgh, on the 1st of December 1390, when he renewed the league of his fathers, with France (*u*). Almost a dozen years elapsed, without any hostilities, from abroad, or any disturbance within the limits of Lothian, while the king's brothers domineered, within his kingdom. Incited, by antiquated claims, and irritated, by new provocations, Henry IV. marched through the Merse, and Lothian, to Leith, in August 1400. He repeatedly assaulted Edinburgh castle, which was, successfully, defended by the Duke of Rothsay, the apparent heir of Robert III.: But, the English monarch is said to have

(*q*) Bower, l. xiv. c. 50; Walsingham, 317; Lord Berners, ii. fo. 11.

(*r*) Mait. Hist. Edin. 7; There are various documents in Rym. vii. which exhibit John, the prince, and steward, acting then, as the king's lieutenant: And, in June 1385, as the king's lieutenant, he presided, in a general council, which was then held, at Edinburgh. Parl. Rec. 104. In July 1388, Robert II. granted to the same citizens a piece of ground, on the north side of the *market* street, for beautifying the town. Maitland, 7.

(*s*) Bower, l. xiv. c. 55.

(*t*) On the 26th of December 1385, he granted to Sir William Douglas, the son of Archibald, the Lord of Galloway, and to his spouse Egidia, the king's daughter, an yearly pension of 300l. Sterling, out of the great customs of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Dundee, and Aberdeen. Hay's Vindication, 55. He granted to Adam Forster, burges of Edinburgh, a pension of 20 marks Sterling, from the great customs of the metropolis. Roberts. Index, 123. He granted, on the 14th of February 1389-90, from the same fund, 8l. Sterling, to *St. Margaret's chapel*, within Edinburgh castle. Ib. 151.

(*u*) Parl. Rec. 136.

spared Edinburgh, from a recollection of the favourable reception, which his father had received, within this hospitable town (*x*). When he saw no advantage, and heard of disturbances at home, he retired upon his steps, without doing much other mischief, than assaulting Dalhousie castle.

The prince of Scotland, who thus defended Edinburgh castle, was soon after brought to his premature end. Rothsay was young, and profligate. He had already spoused the daughter of George, Earl of March; an imprudence, which, as we have seen, brought innumerable mischiefs on his country: He was, afterward, induced to marry Mary, the daughter of Archibald, Earl of Douglas (*y*). But, neglecting his wife, and his other duties, Rothsay was assassinated, by duress, in the dungeon of Faulkland castle, by Albany, the king's brother, and Earl Douglas, the king's son-in-law. The parliament, which assembled, at Edinburgh, in May 1402, in trying to exculpate those two overbearing nobles, who avowed the prince's imprisonment, for the public good, only recorded their terrible guilt (*z*). The aged king, feeling his inability to protect his subjects, or his family, resolved, in 1404, to send his only son, James, who was now eleven years old, to France, for his education, and safety. The prince was, by the king's order, secretly, removed from the bishop's palace, at St. Andrew's; he was safely carried, through the Lothians, under the faithful charge of Sir David Fleming, to North-Berwick: And, he was thence conveyed to the impregnable castle of the Bass, with the salutary purpose of waiting the arrival of the vessel, which was to transport him to his foreign destination. After remaining here almost a month, he raised his dubious sail, under the guidance of Henry Sinclair, the second Earl of Orkney: But, the prince was carried into England, during a truce; and detained, unjustly, through many a dreary year of peace, and war. The fate of the worthy Sir David Fleming was still more deplorable. Returning home, from the performance of the important trust, which was placed in him, by the unhappy king, he was slain, on the 14th February 1405, by James Douglas of Balveney, who sallied out of Edinburgh, with his followers, and assassinated him on Longherdmanston-moor, after a bloody conflict: The guilty Douglas took prisoners several nobles, and knights, who were soon enlarged. This odious event, which stained Currie parish, with so foul a

(*x*) Bower, l. xv. c. 2. He spared the abbey of Holyrood, owing to the same cause; saying, far from his policy be the practice of molesting any church, much less that, wherein his father had found refuge.

(*y*) There was a pension granted, by Robert III., to David, Duke of Rothsay, and Mary Douglas, from the customs of the burroughs, lying besouth the Forth. Roberts. Index, 146.

(*z*) Parl. Rec. 136; Roberts. Index, 104; Lord Hailes's Rem. Hist. Scot. 278.

dye,

dye, was passed over, by the corrupt government of Albany, as a commmon occurrence of wretched times (*a*). The venerable, and worthy king, did not long survive those "sour adversities;" dying on the 4th of April 1406, after an unfortunate reign of almost seventeen years (*b*). Meantime, Edinburgh, during the reigns of Robert II., and Robert III., was a place of coinage; as it had equally been under David II., and Robert I. (*c*).

At that epoch, James I. was a prisoner, in England, And, Edinburgh, and Lothian, partook of the waste, and woe, of the two regencies of Albany, and his son, Murdoch. In 1416, Archibald, the fourth Earl of Douglas, took the castle of Edinburgh, which he delivered to the charge of William Crawford, who restored it, in 1418 (*d*). The motives of such men, during such times, it is not easy to ascertain. In 1419, died the aged Albany, the domineering regent. In December 1423, a treaty was made, for the freedom, and restoration to his people of James I. (*e*). The town of Edinburgh, as we have just seen, had the honour to contribute greatly to the king's return. James I. passed the Tweed to Melros abbey, on the 5th of April 1424 (*f*). The king, in his turn, often honoured Edinburgh, with his residence. In August 1429, James I., his queen, and court, then residing here, Alexander, the lord of the isles, submitted himself to the king's mercy, before the high altar of the church of Holyrood, in the presence of the queen, and nobles (*g*). On the 16th of

(*a*) Wyntown's Chron. ii. 412-13; Bower, l. xv. c. 18: The blood-stained Douglas succeeded to the earldom, upon the death of Earl William, in 1440; and died on the 24th of March 1443-4: Godscroft's Hist. of the Douglases, 148-57-60, who covers the detestable murder of Sir David Fleming, "with some sweet oblivious antidote."

(*b*) Robert III. granted to his brother Walter, the Lord of Brechin, a pension, from the customs of Edinburgh. Roberts. Index, 138. He conferred on James Douglas, of Dalkeith, a pension from the same revenue. Ib. 150. He gave a pension from the customs of Edinburgh to James Stewart of Kilbride; and, failing his heirs-male, to John Stewart of Ardgowan. Ib. 145. These were the king's two natural sons. Crawford, 21; Stewart's Hist. of the Stewarts, 62. Robert III. also granted to William Stewart of Jedworth a pension of 40 marks, from the customs of Edinburgh, and Linlithgow. Roberts. Index, 154. He gave to William de Lindsay 40 marks Sterling from the customs of Edinburgh, and Hadington. Ib. 157. And he conferred on Thomas Moffat a pension of 10l. from the great customs of Edinburgh. Ib. 127.

(*c*) Cardonel, 6: Those coins have upon the obverse "Villa de Edinburgh." Ib. pl. iii.

(*d*) Bower, l. xv. c. 24.

(*e*) Rym. x. 303: That treaty required, that obligations, securing the payment of the ransom, should be granted, by the burghs of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen. Id. The town of Edinburgh, on the 16th of February 1423-4, gave its bond, for the payment of 50,000 marks English money. Ib. 325.

(*f*) Rym. x. 343.

(*g*) Bower, l. xvi. c. 16.

October 1430, the queen was delivered of twins, in the abbey of Holyrood (*h*). In the subsequent year, the festivities of Edinburgh were saddened, by a pestilence (*i*). The last parliament of James I. was held, at Edinburgh, on the 22d of October 1436 (*k*). James I. coined much of his money, at this metropolis of his ruined kingdom (*l*).

The sad catastrophe of James I., which happened at Perth, produced beneficial effects to Edinburgh. Perth, as it had no castle, which could shelter the royal family, from the most murderous attacks of ferocious nobles, ceased to be the seat of government. Though parliaments had frequently assembled, at Edinburgh; yet, at that epoch, it became the king's residence, and the parliament's place of meeting. From the reign of David II., Edinburgh appears the primary burrough, in all public transactions: And, the parliamentary commissioners, who were sent from Edinburgh, were treated with great distinction: They were generally chosen on the committees of articles, for the making of laws, and on the committees of causes, for the administration of justice (*m*).

James II., who was an infant of scarcely seven years of age, when his father was murdered, fled from Perth, the guilty scene, to the safer residence of Edinburgh castle: And, on the 20th of March 1436-7, a parliament was held in the church of Holyrood, where the youthful king was crowned (*n*); neither Scone, nor Stirling, being deemed places of sufficient security, for such a ceremony: And, here was the government settled; Crichton being confirmed, as chancellor, with the charge of Edinburgh castle; and Livingston being appointed the king's governor, with the keeping of Stirling castle. Some of the assassins of James I. were brought to Edinburgh, where they were legally tried, and examplarily punished. The years 1438, 1439, and 1440, were

(*h*) Id. The eldest twin was named Alexander, who died an infant; the youngest twin was baptized James, and succeeded his murdered father, in 1437.

(*i*) Id. (*k*) Parl. Rec. 72.

(*l*) Cardonel's Numis. 66; On the obverse of his coins, the place of mintage is inscribed, "Villa Edinburgh." Ib. pl. iv.

(*m*) The number of representatives from Edinburgh seems not to have been specified: But, it appears to have been generally *two*. In the parliament, at Stirling, on the 4th of September 1439, William of Cranston, a burgess of Edinburgh, was present, as the commissioner of that town; and affixed his seal, with two others, on the part of the burroughs, to the agreement between the queen, and the governor Livingston. Crawford's Peer. 276, wherein this curious fact is transcribed. The commissaries of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Linlithgow, witnessed, in a similar manner, a charter of James II., granted, in the parliament, at Edinburgh, on the 28th of June 1445, to James Lord Hamilton. Davidson's Chamberlain's Accounts, 27.

(*n*) Parl. Rec. 29-73.

idly

idly wasted, in disputes among the rulers, about the keeping of the king's person; and Edinburgh castle was made the frequent scene of contest, and circumvention, which were not settled even by the parliamentary agreement of September 1439. On the 24th of November 1440, William, the sixth Earl Douglas, David Douglas, his brother, and Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, their special counsellor, were adjudged in Edinburgh castle; the youthful king sitting, as justiciary (*o*).

William, Earl Douglas, who thus died on "treason's true bed," was succeeded, by James Douglas of Balveny, who had assassinated Sir David Fleming, without challenge, on Longherdmanston moor, as we have seen: And, dying on the 24th of March 1443-4, left a son, William, who, arrogating the practices of his fathers, met a similar fate (*p*). This personage, when he entered on the earldom, saith Godscroft, the appropriate historian of his family, entered also hereditarily, to their enmity against the two grand guides of the time; Crichton, the chancellor, and Livingston, the governor (*q*). This noble, with all his enmities, and his arrogance, James II., in an evil hour, for his people, and himself, assumed, as his favourite, in 1444. Crichton, the ablest man, in Scotland, was now dismissed, from his high office of chancellor. Feeling this event, as an avowal of hostility, he provisioned Edinburgh castle; and prepared, with his usual vigour, to defend himself, from the threatened violence (*r*). A parliament was called, at Edinburgh, in June 1445, for executing the vengeance of the ruling favourite. Crichton, and Livingston, were now forfeited, without a hearing (*s*). Douglas directed their estates to be seized.

(*o*) Chron. at the end of Wyntown; Lesley, 284; Godscroft, 155, who says, "they were all "three beheaded, in the back court of the castle, that lieth to the west." The historian of the Douglases declares them all to be innocent of any crime: Yet, he states, explicitly, that Earl Douglas would not acknowledge the authority of government, and set up a government, within a government; and acted with kingly, and more than kingly power. Ib. 148-9. It were to be wished, however, that we had the charge, and the proofs, which were exhibited against them. Young Douglas was allowed to sit in parliament, when he was scarcely sixteen: And, is it strange, that such a youth should arrogate royal power, and regal state! Godscroft, 155, has transmitted a traditionary malediction, which was long the popular exclamation, on the remembrance of those terrible scenes:

"Edinburgh castle, town, and tower,
"God grant ye sinke for sinne;
"And that even for the black dinner
"Earl Douglas got therein.

(*p*) Godscroft, 157-61. (*q*) Hist. Douglases, 162. (*r*) Pitscottie, 36.
(*s*) Pitscottie, 37-8.

And,

And, Sir John Forrester of Corstorphin, his instrument, was detached, by him, to besiege the castle of Crichton, in Edinburghshire, which was easily won, and soon demolished. But, Crichton was not a man to be dismayed, by adversity. He sallied from Edinburgh castle; and laid waste the lands of Corstorphin; and thence carried fire, and sword, into the territories, depending on Douglas, in Lothian (*t*). The king, and Douglas, now laid siege to Edinburgh castle: But, it was defended with so much skill, and resolution, by Crichton, that they were glad to give him his own terms of capitulation, after a long blockade, which ended, in February 1445-6 (*u*). So much were the resources, and fortitude of Crichton, respected, by the king, and his favourite, that he was even taken into the king's favour; and was actually restored to his old office of chancellor (*x*).

In the midst of those guilty scenes, during terrible times, arising from corrupt manners, James II. showed his attachment to Edinburgh, by the variety, and extent of his liberalities. There seems to be no end to his grants, with whatever policy they may have been conceived, and conceded (*y*). And we now

(*t*) Pitscottie, 38-9. (*u*) Ib. 42; Major, 322.

(*x*) He was besieged, in 1446; and was chancellor, in 1448. Chron. at the end of Fordun; Pitscottie, 42; Major, 322. "Upon the surrender of the castle," saith Pitscottie, "it was "reformed again of new, better than it was before." On the 12th of June 1450, the king granted to William, Lord Crichton, the chancellor, the lands of Castlelaw, in Lothian; *to recompence the sum of* 1800*l. expended on the king's house; and* 400*l. lent to the king.* Scotstarvit's Calendar. This grant may allude to the reparation of Edinburgh castle.

(*y*) On the 24th of November 1447, James II. granted to the community of Edinburgh a right of holding *the Trinity fair*, with the privileges to the same pertaining, as freely as they held *All hallows fair*: This grant was confirmed, by James VI. On the 30th of April 1449, James II. granted permission to the magistrates to fortify the town of Edinburgh, with power to impose a tax on the inhabitants, for defraying the expence. Maitland, 137-8; Arnot, 234-5. They describe the course, and distance of the wall, which shows the limits of the city, that was now fortified, for the first time. On the 16th of April 1451, James II. granted to the burgesses an exemption from all duties, except the petty custom, payable by unfreemen, and strangers. The charter is transcribed into Maitland, 241. On the 4th of November 1454, he granted to the magistrates a right to hold, yearly, within their jurisdiction, a court of parliament of the four principal burroughs of the kingdom, Edinburgh, Stirling, Linlithgow, and Lanerk: This grant was confirmed, by James VI. Maitland, 241; Wight on Parl. 332. Hadington, we may recollect, was anciently one of the *quatuor burgorum*, and also the place of their conventions; so that Hadington was now deprived of both those privileges, which seems to mark its decay. On the same day, he gave the magistrates of Edinburgh the *haven silver*, and customs on ships, entering the roadsted, and harbour of Leith. Maitland, 242. On the 13th of August 1456, he granted to the magistrates of Edinburgh all that vale, or low ground, lying between the rocks, called the Craigend gate, on the east, to the king's highway, leading to Leith, on the west. Id.

see,

see, that Edinburgh owes more to James II., than to any other of the Scotish kings.

At the early age of eighteen, James II. sent his chancellor, Crichton, with other envoys, to find him a proper wife, on the neighbouring continent. They found a suitable spouse, for him, in Mary of Guelder. Her, they spoused, at Brussels, for their sovereign, on the 1st of April 1449. And, in the subsequent June, she arrived at Leith; and proceeded on horseback, behind the Count of Vere, to her lodging, in the convent of the Grey Friars, in Edinburgh. The king visited the princess of Guelderland, at twelve o'clock, at night, of the following day. And, in the course of the following week, the queen's nuptials, and coronation, were celebrated, in the abbey of Holyrood, with all the pomp of a steril land, during a calamitous age. Yet, were the people of Edinburgh, and of other towns, even at that epoch, in such a progress of improvement, as to require the decisive obstruction of sumptuary laws (*y*). From this period, Edinburgh became the frequent place of parliamentary meetings, in preference to every other town (*z*). In the meantime, William, the Earl of Douglas, entering into the most treasonous practices, attempted to seize Crichton, the chancellor; who, in his turn, endeavoured to arrest Douglas, who was then, at Edinburgh, with a slender train (*a*). The insolence of William, the eighth Earl of Douglas, brought him to an unhappy catastrophe, on the 13th of February 1452, by a stroke of the king's indignation (*b*). James II. lost his own life, which was of so much importance to his people, by the bursting of a cannon, at the siege of Roxburgh castle, on the 3d of August 1460; leaving his heroic widow, Mary of Guelder, to protect his children, and support his crown (*c*).

(*y*) See the Stat. of James III.; Parl. Rec. 37; and the act, which was made at Edinburgh, on the 6th of March 1457-8; restraining the sumptuous clothing of men, and women, both of the town, and country. Ib. 42.

(*z*) Ib. 30-74-77: On the 19th of October 1456, and on the 6th of March 1457-8, the Estates again assembled, at Edinburgh, when William Cranston, the commissioner from this town, was appointed one of the committee, for the administration of justice. Ib. 89-40.

(*a*) Pitscottie, 67-8: Crichton, the Chancellor, died, in 1454, without leaving, in Scotland, so able a minister.

(*b*) Godscroft, 194. The parliament, which met, at Edinburgh, on the 26th of August 1452, considered the earl as a rebel; and adroitly justified the king's act.

(*c*) James II. was buried, in the monastery of Holyrood. His widow, who has not escaped the accustomed calumny of Scotish history, died on the 16th of November 1463; and was buried, in the Trinity College, which she had founded. Maitland's Edin. 212.

By

By the sad demise of the Scotish king, James III. immediately succeeded to his gory sceptre. During his turbulent reign, Edinburgh became the usual seat of his inefficient government. And his parliaments generally assembled, at Edinburgh; and often sat "in pretorio burgi" (*d*).

After the battle of Towton, Henry VI. crossed the Solway; and, with his queen, his son, and nobles, sought refuge, at Kirkcudbright; whence they came to Edinburgh; where they met the kindest reception, from the widowed queen. A treaty was here made, for marrying Edward, the prince of England, to Mary, the princess of Scotland. And Henry, from a sense of the attention of the magistrates of Edinburgh, granted the citizens liberty to trade, in every port of his kingdom, on paying the same duties, as the people of London (*e*).

James III. chose the princess Margaret of Denmark, for his queen. And, this princess, who had the fortune to please the historians of Scotland, arrived at Leith, in July 1469; and she was soon after married, and crowned, in the church of Holyrood, with unusual splendour (*f*). The *pestilence*, which prevailed, at Edinburgh, in September 1475, prevented the meeting of parliament, in its town-house, according to the summons (*g*). James III., who made Edinburgh the seat of his residence, in October 1477, granted a charter to the corporation, establishing the site of its various markets, which had been hitherto unsettled in their proper places (*h*).

In 1478, began those intrigues, at Edinburgh, which ended, at length, in the king's death. His two brothers, Albany, and Mar, who were the chiefs of the conspirators, were arrested. Albany was imprisoned, in Edinburgh castle, whence he made his escape to France: Mar was sent to Craigmiller castle, and soon after died. The same intrigues produced a war with England (*i*). Albany passed, in 1482, from Paris to London, where he entered into treaties with Edward IV., for dethroning his brother, and surrendering to Edward the

(*d*) Parl. Rec. 141; and throughout this reign of James III.

(*e*) Maitland, 8; Arnot, 11.

(*f*) "On the 13th of July 1469, Jame III. of Scotland was maryit, *in Holyroodhouse*, in gret "dignitie, with Margaret, the king's douchter of Norway, Dasie, Swasie, and Denmark." The old Chron. at the end of Wyntown.

(*g*) Black Acts, fo. lxi.

(*h*) Maitland, 8-9. A suit was moved, in parliament, on the 11th of June 1478, with respect to the retour of an inquest of "tua Buthis," lying in the "Buth Rawis," within the burrough of Edinburgh. Parl. Rec. 223.

(*i*) Parl. Rec. 252-3.

sovereignty

sovereignty of Scotland (*k*): And, in pursuance of those stipulations, an English army, commanded by the well-known Duke of Glocester, and accompanied by the Duke of Albany, marched into Northumberland. Meantime, James III. assembled, in July 1482, a great army, on the burrow-moor, for resisting those insidious invaders of his injured kingdom (*l*). While he marched, from Edinburgh to Soutra, and thence to Lauder, Glocester, and Albany, proceeded forward, from Alnwick to Berwick. The Scotish nobles, who were acting in concert with Albany, and Glocester, and who had the Earl of Angus, at their head, on the same night, that their king arrived at Lauder, hanged several of his menials over Lauder bridge. The Scotish army thereupon dispersed. And the king himself was carried to Edinburgh castle (*m*). Glocester took Berwick town; wasted the Merse; and marched forward, with Albany, through Lothian, to Edinburgh. Being unable to resist, it readily opened its gates. At the request of Albany, Glocester saved the town, and people, from fire, and pillage, "only taking such presents, saith Hall, as the merchants "*gentelly* offered him (*n*)." The garter king now went "to the high cross, "in the market place," to summon the king to perform all, that he had engaged to Edward IV.; and to pardon Albany (*o*). These events occurred, on the 1st of August 1482. But, Glocester did not remain long at Edinburgh, while the Scotish people were collecting around him. He marched back his army, through Mid-Lothian, to Lethington, beyond the Tyne. On the 2d of August 1482, Albany was pardoned, by a formal act, which was executed, at Edinburgh (*p*). But, a peace with Glocester was still to be made: And, the price, which he put upon so great a good, at that perilous moment, was the cession of Berwick for ever. The conduct of Edinburgh, on that occasion, does great honour to the real patriotism of her citizens. They agreed to repay to Edward IV. whatever money he had advanced to James III., in pursuance of their contract, for the marriage of the Lady Cicilie, Edward's daughter, to James's

(*k*) Rymer, xii. 154, has recorded the treachery of Albany, and the baseness of Edward; Habington's Hist. of Ed. IV., 201, recites some additional details.

(*l*) Pitscottie, 141, says, the king took with him certain artillery out of the castle of Edinburgh; and made Cochran conveyer of them.

(*m*) The king remained in Edinburgh castle from the 22d of July, to the 29th of September, 1482; as we have seen. Hall says, indeed, that James, while Glocester, and Albany, marched to Berwick, "did voluntarily incarcerate himself in the strong castle of *Maydens*, in Edinburgh." Chron. fol. lv.

(*n*) Id. (*o*) Id. (*p*) Rym. xii. 160.

son (*r*). After all those actions, which does Edinburgh such great credit, the provost, and citizens, assisted Albany, in releasing the king, from his confinement, whether real, or affected, in the *castle of the Maydens*. The gates flew open, as if by enchantment, at their approach. The king embraced his brother, as a mark of his thankful reconcilement. And they rode together, from the castle to Holyroodhouse, amidst the tumultuous joy of a deluded people. And the king was studious to bestow, on the inhabitants of Edinburgh, munificent tokens of his grateful recollection of their useful attachment to him, during his utmost need (*s*).

The parliament, which assembled, at Edinburgh, on the 2d of December 1482, by making Albany lieutenant general of the realm, virtually, delivered the king, and the nation, into his insidious hands. During Christmas holydays, 1482, that ambitious prince attempted to seize the king's person: But, James, who resided, at Edinburgh, as his safest shield, by rousing the citizens, and retiring into the castle, disappointed his brother's treasonous purpose. By the prompt performance of all its stipulations with England, during those terrible times, Edinburgh seems to have obtained great praise: It was called *ditissimum oppidum*, by the continuator of the Annals of Croyland, who censured Glocester, for not sacking this opulent town (*t*).

(*r*) On the 4th of August 1482, the provost, the merchants, and the citizens, entered into a bond, to repay to Edward what he had advanced, provided he signified, by the 10th of October then next, that he would rather have repayment, than the marriage of his daughter: He accordingly made such a signification; and the money was honestly paid, by Edinburgh. Rym. xii. 162-5-7; and see before p. 274. Walter Bartrahame was then provost of the *tone* of Edinburgh: We may remark, that the provost does not call Edinburgh a city, nor himself *lord* provost.

(*s*) On the 16th of November 1482, by a special charter, he constituted their provost hereditary sheriff within the town; and gave the corporation the fines, and escheats, arising from the office. He empowered the magistrates to make laws, for the better government of the people, within their jurisdiction. He exempted them, from the payment of certain duties: And, he empowered them, to exact customs on some merchandizes, which might be imported at Leith. Arnot, 13; Maitland, 9. And, as a perpetual remembrancer, saith Maitland, of the loyalty, and bravery of the Edinburghers, on the aforesaid occasion, the king granted them a banner, with power, to display the same, in defence of their king, their country, and their own rights. This flag, which is, at present, denominated the *Blue Blanket*; and which is kept, by the convener of the trades; at whose appearance therewith, it is said, that not only the artificers of Edinburgh are obliged to repair to it, but all the craftsmen, within Scotland, and fight under the convener of Edinburgh. Maitland, 10.

(*t*) For the revenue of the corporation, at that epoch, see Maitland, 10. The people of this wealthy town tried, in 1488, to be wealthier, by unworthy means; They supposed the ruin of Leith to be the enrichment of Edinburgh! Id.

The

The death of Edward IV., and the disappointment of Albany, did not prevent the cabals of the nobles, nor suspend the final fate of James III. The king found it necessary to retire from Edinburgh, in March 1488; the insurgents having possessed themselves of the southern shires. He passed the Forth; and endeavoured, with some success, to raise troops in the northern districts, where Angus, and Gray, had not shed their baneful influences. The rebels, after they had taken the castle of Dunbar, marched through Lothian to Leith, where they seized the king's property, which they applied to the uses of insurrection. Returning from the north, the king made the convention of Blackness with the insurgent nobles; disarming himself, and thereby, leaving his opponents, in power. James had no sooner disbanded his army, than the rebellious nobles came out, with augmented numbers; avowing their design of dethroning the king. The unhappy monarch now supplied the castle of Edinburgh, where his treasures, and valuables, were deposited; and he again collected his northern forces, which he marched to Stirling-field, where he lost his crown, and life, on the 11th of June 1488. The castle of Edinburgh soon surrendered to the rebellious force, that had conquered the king; and with it, the leaders obtained the king's treasure, and jewels; as, in this stronghold, his valuables had been deposited, as a place of safety (*t*). Edinburgh town was meantime the principal place of coinage of James III., as it had been of James II. (*u*). The citizens of Edinburgh had protected the late king; and the beneficent king, in return, had granted to the citizens many privileges.

The first parliament of James IV. assembled, at Edinburgh, on the 9th of October 1488, amid the guilty triumphs of rebellious faction (*x*). Two of the leaders, Patrick Lord Hailes, the Earl of Bothwell, and Alexander Home, were empowered to rule *the Lothians*, and Merse. Lord Hailes, who was the master of the household, and the constable of Edinburgh castle, was authorized to take charge of the artillery, and *stuff*, in the castle, with the king's brother, the Duke of Ross (*y*). In February 1488-9, that successful leader was empowered "to bring in the king's property, casualties, and revenues, in "the shires of Edinburgh, Hadington, Kirkcudbright, and Wigton (*z*)." In this manner, then, were the castle, the city, and the shire of Edinburgh, delivered to the domination of Patrick, Earl of Bothwell (*a*).

As

(*t*) Pitscottie, 172; Parl. Rec. 373. Edinburgh castle was also the ordnance depository of the same king: And his ordnance stores consisted of two great *curtaldis*, which had been sent from France, ten falcons, thirty iron cart guns, sixteen carts for powder, and stone bullets.

(*u*) Cardonel, pl. v. p. 79—81. (*x*) Parl. Rec. 331. (*y*) Ib. 339. (*z*) Ib. 364.

(*a*) At that epoch, Edinburgh enjoyed the peculiar privilege of recovering rents, by a summary

As James IV. grew up in years, and in stature, Edinburgh became a busy scene of magnificent entertainments, in which he greatly delighted. He frequently proclaimed tournaments to be held, at Edinburgh, to which were invited the knights of every country: The fame whereof, saith Pitcottie, caused many errant knights to come out of strange countries to Scotland; because they heard of the knightly games of the king, his nobles, and gentlemen (*b*). Meantime, the king, at the age of thirty, entered into spousals with the Lady Margaret, who was scarcely fourteen, the eldest daughter of Henry VII.: And, their marriage was celebrated, at Edinburgh, within the abbey, and palace of Holyrood, with uncommon splendour, in August 1503 (*c*). This abbey, the scene of

process: And the parliament of February 1468-9, by a special act, extended the same privilege to Perth, and to the other burroughs. Ib. 366. September 1497 is the epoch of the appearance, at Edinburgh, of *a contagious plague*, which was yclept the *grandgore*. The infected were ordered, by proclamation, to retire to *the inch*, an island, in the Forth. Maitland, 10. If this plague were the same venereal disease, which appeared, at the siege of Naples, in 1495, it must have made a rapid progress to Edinburgh.

(*b*) Pits. 186-7.

(*c*) The Lady Margaret, after spending some joyous days, at Dalkeith castle, on the 7th of August 1503, departed, for Edinburgh, "nobly accompanied, and in fayr array, in *her litere*, "very rychly enorned."—A myle from Dalkeith, the kynge sent to the quene a grett tame hart, for to have a corse: The kynge caused the said hart to be losed, and put a grayhond after hym, that maid a fayr course; but the said hart wanne the town, and went to his repayre.—Half of the way, the kyng came to mett her, monted apon a bay horse, renning as he wold renne after the hayre, accompanyed of many gentylmen.—At the commying towardes the quene, he made hyr very humble obeyssaunce, in lepynge downe of hys horse, and kyssed hyr in hyr litere. This doon, he monted ageyn, and ychon being put in ordre as before, a gentylman husscher bare the swerde before hym.—The Erle of Bothwell bare the swerde, at the entreng the towne of Edenbourgh, and had on a long gowne of blak velvett, fourred with marten.—The kyng monted upon a pallefroy; withe the said quene behinde hym; and so rode thorow the said towne of Edenburgh.—Halfe a mylle ny to that, within a medewe, was a pavillion, whereof cam owt a knyght on horsbak, armed at all peces, having his lady paramour, that barre his horne: And by a vantur, there cam another also armed, and robbed from hym his said lady, and blew the said horne; whereby the said knyght turned after hym: And they did well torney tyl the kynge cam hymselfe, the quene behynde hym, crying *Paix*, and caused them for to be departed.—Ther war many honest people of the town, and of the countre aboute, honestlye arrayed all on horsbak; and so by ordre, the kyng, and the quene, entred within the said towne: At the entryng that same, cam in processyon the Grey Freres, with the crosse and sum relicks, the wich was presented by the warden to the kynge, for to kysse, bot he wolde not before the quene; and he had hys hed bare during the ceremonies.—At the entryng of the said towne was maid a yatt of wood painted, with two towrells and a windowe in the midds: In the wich towrells was at the windowes revested angells syngyng joyously for the coming of so noble a lady; and at the said middyl wyndowe was in lyk wys an angell, presenting the kees to the said quene.—In the mydds of the towne was a cresse new paynted, and ny to that same

of so many events, was founded, as we have seen, under David I., the father of so many monkish establishments. The abbeys, from their accommodation, and their sanctity, during rude ages, became the lodgings of kings, and nobles. James I., with his queen, resided, in the abbey of Holyrood, when they attended public affairs, at Edinburgh. In the same commodious hostel, James III. resided, till he was driven from it, by treason. We may easily suppose, that the frequency of the royal residence, gradually improved the abbey to a palace, in which the royal nuptials were now celebrated, on the interesting Union of the *Thistle* and the *Rose* (*d*).

same a fontayne, castynge forth of wyn, and ychon drank that wold.—Ny to that crosse was a scarfaust maid, wher was represented Paris and the thre Deessys with Mercure, that gaffe hym the apyll of gold, for to gyffe to the most fayre of the thre, wiche he gave to Venus. More fourther was of new maid one other yatt, upon the wiche was in sieges the iiii vertus; theiss is to weytt, justice, force, temperance, and prudence: Under was a licorne, and a greyhound, that held a differençe of one chardon florystred and a red rose entrecassed, with thos war tabrets that played merrily whyll the noble company passed thorough. The towne of Edenbourgh was in many places haunged with tapissery; the howses and wyndowes war full of lordes, ladyes, gentylwomen, and gentylmen, and in the streyts war soe grett multitude of people without nombre, that it was a fayre thynge to se: The wiche people war verey glad of the commyng of the said quene: And in the churches of the sayd towne bells range for myrthe.—Then the noble company passed out of the said towne to the churche of the Holycrosse; out of which cam the archbishop of Saunt Andrew, brother to the said kynge, his crosse borne before hym, accompanyed with many bishops and abbots in their pontificals, with the religious richly revested. After this doon, ychon lept off his horse, and in fayr ordre went after the processyon to the church; and in the entryng of that sam, the kynge and the quene light downe, and after led her to the grett awter, wher was a place ordonned for them to knele apon two cuschyons of cloth of gold: Bot the kynge wolde never knell down furst, bot both togeder.

(*d*) On the 7th of August 1503, saith the herald, Young, "after all reverences doon at the "church, in order as before, the king transported himself to the *pallais*, thorough the *clostre*, "holdynge allwayes the quene by the body, and hys hed bare, tyll he had brought her, within her "chammer." Lel. Col. iv. 290. At that period, the palace had a chapel within it; and the chaplain was the keeper of the palace. Yet, the historians of Edinburgh suppose, that James V. built the first part of the palace. The same historians seem to have forgotten, that such a marriage was celebrated, splendidly, at Edinburgh. The herald, Young, has given the whole, in the most curious detail, in Leland: But, it was reserved for Dunbar, the greatest of the Scotish poets, to celebrate the nuptials of James, and Margaret, in a strain of versification, which emulates, if it do not surpass, the amatory effusions of James I., as well as the elegant tales of Chaucer:

"To se this court; bot all were went away;
"Then up I leinyt, halflings in affrey,
"Callt to my muse, and for my subject chois,
"To sing the ryel Thrissil and the Rose."

Important,

Important, as that Union was to the state, had prudence managed the sceptre, it was not more consequential, in policy, than the introduction to Edinburgh, in 1508, of printing, by Chepman, and Millar, under a charter of James IV., was to the literature of his rugged people (*d*). The king continued to reside, at Edinburgh. It was here, that he entertained the French ambassador, at great expence, with coarse profusion (*e*). Such entertainments were at length interrupted, by the plague, which harrassed Edinburgh, during the afflictive year 1513 (*f*). Meantime, as the king was now preparing, for unlucky warfare, he went daily to inspect the progress of his artillery, within Edinburgh castle, and the outfit of his navy at Newhaven (*g*). He summoned the whole array of his kingdom, to assemble on the burrough-moor of Edinburgh. The king was not to be frightened from his absurd warfare, either by the spectre at Linlithgow, or the demon at Edinburgh (*h*). Unawed by such spirits, the provost, the Earl of Angus, and the magistrates of Edinburgh, with many burgesses, joined the king's host. This great army marched, from the burrough-moor, in August 1513, to its destiny on Floddon-field. It was there dissipated, on the 9th of September 1513, with mighty loss, when the king was slain. The fortitude, with which the citizens of Edinburgh received, on the morrow, the disastrous news, will ever do them great honour (*i*). As the Earl of Surrey did not follow up his decisive blow, till he was urged, by his unfeeling master, time was given to a resolute people, to make the most vigorous resistance, of which Edinburgh had shown an encouraging example (*k*).

But, on that disastrous occasion, Edinburgh was deemed too unsafe for the sitting of the Great Council, which adjourned to Stirling, where James V. was crowned (*l*). As Surrey did not advance; as the spirits of the people became more settled; the Great Council returned to Edinburgh, wherein it sat, in

(*d*) There are several very curious specimens of the earliest printing press of Scotland, by Chepman and Millar, which are preserved, in the Advocate's Library, with curious care.

(*e*) See Arnot's Hist. Edin. 98—111.

(*f*) To stop its progress, the magistrates ordered the shops to be shut, during 15 days, and nothing to be sold, but the necessaries of life. Maitland, 11.

(*g*) Dacre's Letter to Henry VIII., dated the 24th of February. Calig. B. iii. 23.

(*h*) Pitscottie, 203-4. (*i*) Mait. 11-12; Lord Hailes's Remarks, 147.

(*k*) On that occasion, the town council of Edinburgh ordained, that a guard of four-and-twenty men should be raised, for the defence of the city; and that 500l. Scots should be collected for the purpose of fortifying the town, and purchasing artillery: And the council ordered an extension of the town wall; so as to include the new buildings, on the southward. Maitland, 12—139. The plague continued meanwhile to rage, in Edinburgh; and the town council adopted measures to check its ravages. Ib. 12; Arnot, 14.

(*l*) Parl. Rec. 525.

September,

September, and October 1513 (*m*). Yet, as Henry VIII. reproached Surrey for his lenity; as the unfeeling uncle of the Scotish king commanded the most wasteful inroads to be made on his country; southern Scotland was ravaged with fire, and sword, during the autumn of 1513 (*n*): The Great Council removed from Edinburgh to Perth, where it sat till the 5th of December, in more security (*o*).

All eyes were now fixed on the arrival of the putative Duke of Albany, who was to give stability to a disjointed government, and vigour to the Scotish arms. He arrived, at Edinburgh, on the 26th of May 1515, when he was received with unwonted magnificence. The barons went out to meet him (*p*); the burgesses set forth splendid exhibitions (*q*); and, the queen waited for him, at the gate of Holyrood palace (*r*). Albany soon after proclaimed, at the cross of Edinburgh, the peace with England, which France had negotiated, for Scotland. At Edinburgh, on the 12th of July 1515, assembled the parliament, which directed the inauguration of Albany, with unusual pomp, who was proclaimed protector, and governor of Scotland, till the infant king should arrive at the eighteenth year of his age (*s*). Albany now resided in the palace of Holyrood; and the queen found more safety for herself, and her two sons, in Edinburgh castle. But, Albany seems to have thought himself insecure, while the queen retained her children, and the castle. With the concurrence of parliament, he proceeded, with four appointed peers, to demand the royal children, as belonging to the nation, rather than to her. She spoke to them, at the castle gate; but, she declined to admit them into the fortalice, which her late husband had delivered to her special charge (*t*). She thus, however, eluded their demands; and sent her sons to Stirling castle, which Albany prepared to besiege. The queen followed them thither; as she supposed she had, at Stirling, more influence. Yet, she soon surrendered Stirling castle, and her children, to

(*m*) Parl. Rec. 526-7-8.

(*n*) Original Letter, Calig. B.; Which evinces the erroneous representations of the Scotish historians.

(*o*) Parl. Rec. 528—38. (*p*) Lesley, 375-6.

(*q*) Holinshed, 303, says the burgesses represented sundry conceits, pageants, and plays, to do him honour.

(*r*) Lesley, 376. (*s*) Dacre's Letter to the English Council, Calig. B. ii. 281.

(*t*) Id. Dacre makes the queen say to those lords; "This castle is part of *my enfeoffment*; "and of it, by my late husband, the king, was I made sole governess." Id. She may have been made governess; But, in Edinburgh castle, she had no right of dower, by her enfeoffment. Rym. xiii. 63.

Albany;

Albany; and immediately returned to Edinburgh castle, where she remained a while; distrusting, and distrusted.

Edinburgh castle, from being a scene of intrigue, soon became a prison of state (*u*). It was also chosen as a place of secure residence, for the infant king. In May 1517, when Albany meditated a visit to France, the king was placed, in Edinburgh castle, under the care of four nobles; Marshal, and Erskine, Borthwick, and Ruthven: But, the plague again appearing, in Edinburgh, the king was removed to Craigmiller castle, and sometimes to Dalkeith. In the meantime, the town became a frequent theatre of tumult, from the competition of the Hamiltons, and Douglases, for superiority in the magistracy: At the head of the Hamiltons, was Arran; in the front of the Douglases, was Angus; each pretending to be provost. In December 1519, tumults ensued, and lives were lost: Albany transmitted a prohibition, from France, in February 1519-20, against choosing, for supreme magistrate, either a Douglas, or a Hamilton (*x*). From this scene of tumult, Arran withdrew to Glasgow, to which he was followed, by the chancellor, and other lords: And, the king's governors, meanwhile, shut the gates of the castle against Angus (*y*). Such facts evince, with sufficient conviction, that neither law, nor manners, existed, in Scotland, under the regency of Albany. The parliament was about to meet, at Edinburgh, in April 1520; and a more violent tumult, between those irascible parties, took place, when many lives were lost (*z*). The borderers came to the aid of Angus, and domineered a while, with lawless violence. And, the plague

(*u*) In October 1515, to Edinburgh castle, of which the Earl of Arran had then the charge, the Lord Home was committed, by the regent Albany: But, the keeper, and the prisoner, emigrated together to the borders: So unprincipled were the nobles of that age. They were also so irascible, that they seldom met without an assault: The Earl of Murray having a quarrel with the Earl of Huntly; and meeting him in the streets of Edinburgh, in November 1515, a conflict ensued, between the nobles, and their followers, which was not appeased, till the regent, personally, interposed; and committed them to the castle. Lesley, 379. The Lords Rothes, and Lindsay, on the 17th of June 1518, also fought in the streets of Edinburgh, till they were both sent to separate castles. Holinshed, 306.

(*x*) Arnot, 14, who mistakes the date of that prohibitory interposition.

(*y*) Lesley, 392.

(*z*) In popular history, this bloody conflict, on the street of Edinburgh, was called, *cleanse the causey*. The Hamiltons were expelled, by the Douglases, with great loss. Arran, and his putative son, Sir James Hamilton, escaped by a ford, in the Nor-Loch. Archbishop Beaton, the chancellor, took refuge in the Dominican church; whence he was dragged, from behind the high altar; and would have been slain, but for the interposition of Douglas, the well-known bishop of Dunkeld. Lesley, 394-5; Pitscottie, 219—21; and the Parl. Rec. 555, which corrects the egregious mistakes of the Scotish historians.

continued,

continued, by its ravages, to add its horrors to the rapine of party. The town council, in vain, endeavoured to augment the respectability, and the power of the provost; in order to enable him to cope with criminals, who were too powerful, for the enfeebled state (*a*).

At length, arrived the regent, from France, in November 1521. The queen, who no longer found "sweet solace," in her husband Angus, went out, with several nobles, to meet the protector, who was expected to afford relief from lawless outrage. Angus fled, with his unprincipled followers, to the English borders. And Albany displaced the magistrates of Edinburgh, who owed their choice to the recommendation of that notorious anarch (*b*). Henry VIII. added the distresses of foreign, to the turmoils of civil, war, when the truce expired, in February 1522. He sent a small squadron into the Forth, where they seized some ships, and ravaged some towns, on either shore: But, being resolutely opposed, this hostile squadron retired, without doing much damage, or gaining any fame. The parliament, which assembled, at Edinburgh, on the 18th of July 1522, seems to have partaken of the general imbecility of the state: At the desire of the queen, and regent, the Estates authorized the removal of the king, who was advanced into his eleventh year, from Edinburgh castle, to Stirling, under the sole governance of Lord Erskine: But, they seem to have been unable to reform the profligacy of manners, or to strengthen the weakness of the laws.

In September 1523, arrived Albany, at Edinburgh, from his second visit to France. He brought with him arms, and warlike stores, for defending the borders from the unprincipled devastation of Henry VIII. He collected a vast army on the moor of Edinburgh, with which he marched, through the Lothians to Northumberland: But, he returned, without effecting any object, which was worthy of such a force, or of such expence. He met the parliament, at Edinburgh, in November 1523, for the last time: And, on the 20th of May 1524, he departed for ever from Holyroodhouse to France; leaving the Scotish government open to be seized, by whatever pretender to rule.

In July 1524, the queen brought her son, from Stirling, to Edinburgh, where they were received, with loud acclaims, and conducted, by a numerous procession, to Holyroodhouse: And a proclamation was now made, that the king, being in his thirteenth year, had assumed the government, though a different destination had been made, by the Three Estates. Several lords, spiritual, as well as temporal, and other persons, entered into an association to support

(*a*) Maitland, 17. (*b*) Holinshed, 307.

the king's administration, which he thus, under his mother's influence, prematurely, assumed (*c*). The queen made but an indifferent use of the power, which she thus assumed. At the instigation of Wolsey, she committe the chancellor James Beaton, the archbishop of St. Andrews, and Dunbar, the bishop of Aberdeen, to Edinburgh castle, on the frivolous pretence, that they were friends of Albany, and enemies of England (*d*). This capricious princess seems not to have known, that steadiness, and moderation, are the two pillars of legitimate government.

She called a parliament, at Edinburgh, in November 1524. James Preston, the provost, was one of the commissioners, who opened the meeting of the Estates (*e*). As a representative of burroughs, Preston was appointed one of the lords of the articles (*f*). While the parliament was thus sitting, the Earl of Angus, with other chiefs, and four hundred armed followers, broke into Edinburgh; at the cross, they proclaimed themselves to be good subjects; and as a proof of their avowal, they went to the council of state, and required, that the queen might be deprived of the guardianship of the infant king. The castle fired upon the town, in order to expel the insurgents; and killed some innocent persons. Several nobles assembled a body of hackbutters, in order to assault Angus, and his insurgents; but, upon receiving the king's order, that unscrupulous noble, with his followers, withdrew to Dalkeith (*g*). The queen continued, for some time, in Edinburgh castle, with her son; repenting, perhaps, her own imprudence, and fearing the violence of Angus (*h*).

From this safe retreat, the queen issued a proclamation, in January 1524-5, against her husband, Angus, Beaton, the chancellor, who had now coalesced, and

(*c*) The magistrates of Edinburgh entered into that association, which was signed, by Francis Bothwell, the provost; James Preston, baillie; Edward Litil, the dean of guild; and Alexander Nenthorn, the treasurer. The bond of the associators is in Calig. vi. 378. Bothwell, the provost, resigned his office, at the king's desire, under a protest, that this resignation should not be drawn into precedent: Lord Maxwell was chosen in his room. The king, and the queen mother, occupied the castle, for their residence. Lesley, 12-13.

(*d*) They were liberated, at the end of two months imprisonment. Several other persons of less note were also confined, in that state prison.

(*e*) Parl. Rec. 543. (*f*) Ib. 544.

(*g*) Magnus's Letter to Wolsey, of the 26th November. Calig. b. i. 121.

(*h*) Magnus's Letter to Ratcliffe. Calig. B. i. 121. In 1524, on the day of All Saints, there happened a tremendous storm, which overthrew several houses in the town, and damaged the castle; blowing down the pinnacle of *David's tower*, and firing the queen's lodging. Lesley, 414, intimates, that the bishop of Candida Casa's chamber was spared, while other buildings were overthrown.

other

other nobles, who had convened, at St. Andrews, in order to concert measures, for depriving her of her rule, and the custody of her son. In their turn, at the end of twenty days deliberation, and intrigue, they issued a declaration; setting forth, with factious exaggeration, that the king was kept, in Edinburgh castle, an unhealthy place, exposed to the moist air of the Nor-Loch, and threatened with the fury of storms: And, observing the danger of tumults, in the capital, which themselves had raised, they ordained a convention to meet, at Stirling, on the 6th of the subsequent February. About that time, the magistrates, and people of Edinburgh, invited Angus, and Lennox, into their town. The two nobles immediately repaired thither, attended by seven hundred men, and followed by their partizans, who had resolved to hold their convention, at Edinburgh, which adopted their designs, and offered protection to their sitting. Nor, did the castle fire upon them, as their fears had apprehended, and misrepresentation had led them to expect. The queen now found it necessary to conciliate. And she entered into an agreement, with Angus, and the chancellor, by which she shared with them her patronage, and relinquished to them some of her power. By this reconcilement, which was settled by corruption, the infant king was to be removed, from the castle to Holyrood-house; and to remain under the care of a council of nobles, which was to be appointed by parliament; and of which she was to be president. Two days after, on the 23d of February 1524-5, the parliament assembled, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, to which the king went in person; having the crown borne before him by Angus, the sceptre by Arran, and the sword by Argyle. When the lords of the articles were chosen, Lord Maxwell, the provost of Edinburgh, and its commissary to the estates, was appointed one of that committee of legislation. This is an example of the many anomalies, which degraded the Scotish parliament, that a noble, having a seat, by birth, could sit, as a commissioner, by choice. The Estates now ratified the late agreement, for the partition of patronage, and the division of power (*i*). And they ordained, that the captain of the castle should not presume to fire upon any occasion, without the authority of the council; and that no gunners should enter it, without the consent of the same council, which thus acquired the command of the citadel (*k*).

(*i*) Parl. Rec. 547.

(*k*) Ib. 548. We may judge of the value of houses, in the Scotish metropolis, at that epoch, by what Magnus, the English envoy, wrote to Wolsey, in April 1525: "He had offered 20 marks "Sterling of yearly rent, for his house, in Edinburgh." Calig. b. vii. 61.

Whatever may have been the influence of Edinburgh on the governments of James II., and James III, it became, during the minority of James V., a constant scene of bloody tumult. We have already seen the contests of the Hamiltons, with Arran at their head, and the Douglases, who were conducted, to violence, by Angus. In 1525, the ascendency of this ambitious person was such, as to dictate to the metropolis, and kingdom. At the election of that year, he caused his uncle, Archibald Douglas, to be chosen provost. Meantime, in July 1525, the artifice of Angus assembled a parliament, at Edinburgh, for the purpose chiefly of ratifying the treaty with England. To this parliament, the queen mother, who was president of the council of regency, declined to come; alleging her fear of her husband, Angus: But, he tried to satisfy her scruples, by offering security, that she might pass, and repass through Edinburgh, with her household, during the sitting of parliament, and three days, after its prorogation (*l*). From such traits of manners, we may perceive the barbarousness of the age, and the fury of faction. Under the same domination, the parliament again assembled, at Edinburgh, on the 13th of June 1526 (*m*). Herein appeared Archibald Douglas, the provost of this town, who, from this circumstance, was chosen one of the lords of the articles; and promoted the designs of his chief (*n*). Under this influence, the Estates abolished the regency, by declaring the king's minority at an end, when he became fourteen years of age (*o*): And, they incidentally delivered the king, and nation, to the arbitrary rule of Angus (*p*). Under that influence, Archibald Douglas was chosen provost of Edinburgh, and its representative in the Estates; and he was again, from that circumstance, chosen one of the committee of articles, which had so great an influence, in the proposing of laws. When the delegates of the burroughs brought the matter of *the staple* before the Estates, Archibald

(*l*) Parl. Rec. 551. (*m*) Ib. 557.

(*n*) Archibald Douglas was appointed principal searcher of the port of Leith, and in every other port, within the kingdom. Ib. 562. He was also treasurer of the *Customarie* of Edinburgh. Ib. 605. And, he was treasurer to the king.

(*o*) Ib. 558. There was a grant to John Chesholm of 40l. yearly pension, out of the great customs of Edinburgh, ratified by that parliament. Ib. 565.

(*p*) Soon after, Patrick Blackader, the archdeacon of Dunblane, who came to Edinburgh, under a safe conduct from Angus, was slain, at the gates of the metropolis, by the Homes, and Douglases. Thomas Maclellan of Bombie was assassinated, on the 11th July 1526, at the door of St. Giles's church, by Sir James Gordon of Lochenvar, and Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, and seven-and-thirty followers. The principal assassins walked the streets of Edinburgh, during the sitting of that parliament, under the protection of the Douglases. Christ. Dacre's Letter to Lord Dacre, dated 2d December. Calig. b. vi. 420; Crawf. Peer, 238.

Douglas,

Douglas, the provost of Edinburgh, was appointed to produce the contract thereupon, *in the bishop of Aberdeen's lodgings* (*q*). In November 1526, the queen, owing to her son's desire, returned to Edinburgh. The king, the nobles, and other persons, rode out to meet her, at Corstorphin; and the whole cavalcade proceeded, through the town, to the palace of Holyrood (*r*).

The queen greatly resembled her brother Henry VIII., in some of his most striking features; she was amorous; she was capricious: And, in March 1527, she retired in disgust from Edinburgh; because Lady Avondale, her husband's mother, was not received at Court (*s*). In the subsequent September, she seems to have returned, when she resumed her influence over her youthful, and affectionate son. They spent their Christmas together, in Holyroodhouse. But, she could not be long quiet. On some difference with Angus, she withdrew with her husband Henry Stewart, and his brother, to the refuge of Edinburgh castle. But, Angus was not a man to be dismayed, or disappointed. And, he besieged this strength, on the 27th of March 1528; and even brought the king, to sanction the attack upon his mother. She now opened the gates; and throwing herself upon her knees before the king, she begged his protection for her husband, and his brother: Yet, Angus committed them prisoners to the castle; whence, they were released, after a while, by the king's order, and his mother's solicitation (*t*).

James V. bore the domination of the Douglases, with extreme impatience. He freed himself, by his own enterprize, after the attempts of his friends had failed. Residing at Falkland, under a slight superintendance, he rode a fleet horse, accompanied only by a groom, to Stirling castle, where he found a secure retreat. The nobles crowded around him, a circumstance, which evinces their hatred of the Douglases. Angus was then, in Lothian; Archibald Douglas,

(*q*) Parl. Rec. 566. It was owing, perhaps, to the influence of the provost, that, on account of the great resort to Edinburgh, all persons were empowered to sell *bread*, and *flesh*, on the appointed market days of Edinburgh. Ib. 570.

(*r*) The queen, said Christopher Dacre to Lord Dacre, on the 2d December 1526, lyes in the chamber, where the duke lay [the deceased Duke of Ross, her youngest son.] The king lyes, in the chamber above her, all in a lodging. The king is amynded not to lye far from her; nor, will he never be far from her, except he be either hunting, or sporting. It is thought, and spoken, during all this parliament time, that if the king do remain with the queen, the court will have a turn; for the king has no affection to the Earl of Angus, or the Earl of Arran. Calig. b. vi. 420; Pink. Hist. ii. 478-9.

(*s*) Magnus to Wolsey, on the 26th of March 1527. Calig. b. iii. 301.

(*t*) Lesley, 427-8.

the

the provost of Edinburgh, was then at Dundee; the other Douglases, who had guarded the king, soon gave notice of his flight: And they all repaired to the metropolis, the seat of their influence. Angus was disappointed, but not dismayed. He summoned his retainers to repair to his standard, at Edinburgh, during the last week of June 1528; to confront the king, and his friends, at Stirling. But, he soon found, that the unfortunate have few friends: Yet, had he partizans, in the royal councils, who betrayed the king's designs to his enemies (*u*). In the beginning of July, Angus, and his followers, marched, from Edinburgh, towards Stirling; to regain possession of the king's person: Nor, must be forgotten the parliamentary declaration, on the 14th of June 1526, that the king's minority had terminated, and his own administration begun (*x*). On the road, Angus was met, by a herald, bearing the king's proclamation, which prohibited any of the Douglases, or their followers, from coming within six miles of the court. This denunciation, with the intelligence of the king's force, at Stirling, disheartened the insurgents, who retreated to Linlithgow (*y*). The king was thus induced to advance upon their steps. And, on the 6th of July 1528, attended by many bishops, nobles, and their armed followers, he marched forward to Edinburgh. The king, for some days, remained in *the lodging* of the archbishop of St. Andrews. On the 9th of July, he issued a proclamation; forbidding any of his subjects to hold any intercourse with Angus, his two brothers, or uncle; and that none of their followers should remain, within the capital, on pain of death (*z*). On the 11th and 13th of July, the king assembled his council, "in the *upper chamber of the Tolbooth*;" and determined to call the parliament, on the 2d of September 1528. Lord Maxwell was chosen the provost of Edinburgh, in the room of Archibald Douglas, who was summoned to appear, in parliament, on a charge of treason (*a*). The king now retired to Stirling, where he was more safe, from surprize, than at Edinburgh (*b*). Nor was this circumspection unfounded. Archibald Douglas, the uncle, and George Douglas, the brother of Angus, approached Edinburgh, with some force, and attempted to seize it: But, Lord Maxwell, the provost,

(*u*) Parl. Rec. 580-1, which represents those matters, very differently, from the common accounts, which suppose, that the Douglases followed the king from Falkland palace to Stirling castle.

(*x*) Parl. Rec. 558. (*y*) Pitscottie, 258.

(*z*) Dacre's Letter to Wolsey. Calig. b. i. 17. (*a*) Parl. Rec. 580.

(*b*) Dacre to Wolsey. Calig. B. i. 17. From that time, to the meeting of parliament, the Douglases wasted Mid-Lothian; carrying the torch, and sword, through the estates of Cousland, and Cranston, even to the walls of Edinburgh. Holinshed, 316; Drummond, 295.

surprised,

surprised, and defeated them (*c*). The object of this rebellious expedition was to prevent the meeting of parliament; a traitorous motive, which was very familiar to the Scotish factions.

The parliament assembled, however, at Edinburgh, in respectable numbers, on the 2d of September 1528, the appointed day. Lord Maxwell took his place, both as a lord of parliament, and as the commissioner of Edinburgh; when he was chosen one of the committee of articles, for concerting measures (*d*). The Earl of Angus, his brother George, his uncle Archibald, and some of their guilty followers, were forfeited, as traitors (*e*). Preparations were immediately made, to carry this forfeiture, into full effect. Under the authority of parliament, the king summoned the whole fighting men of the southern shires, to attend him in arms, at Edinburgh, on the 7th of September; to march to Hadington (*f*). Meantime, Angus sent some cavalry, who burnt two villages, in Lothian, on the king's route; saying, in the savage language of the times, that *they would light him on his way* (*g*).

When such a spirit prevailed, we ought not to wonder, that such traitors should aim their odious daggers at the king's life. On the 2d of February 1528-9, the Douglases held a meeting at St. Leonard's chapel, near Edinburgh, to concert the assassination of their sovereign. And, it was agreed, by them, to enter the king's bed-chamber; and close the scene, by a mortal blow (*h*). But, such secrets, which are entrusted to many, can never be kept: And, such a plot, when once discovered, could not be easily executed. They were all forfeited; but, could not be executed: And Archibald Douglas, he secretly returned to Edinburgh, and threw himself at the king's only exiled to France (*i*).

The discovery of that plot; and the vigorous measures, which against the men on the borders; seem to have given unusual

(*c*) Lassel's Letter to the Earl of Northumberland, 29th August mond, 294.

(*d*) Parl. Rec. 577-8. (*e*) Ib. 580-1.

(*g*) Lassel's Letter to the Earl of Northumberland, b. vii. 14.

(*h*) The assassins, who met, on that traitorous d Angus, James Douglas of Parkhead, Robert L Earl of Arran, and of late the king's favou at the bedhead, which was pointed out, b This plan was communicated to Angus when it was finally fixed. Parl. Rec

(*i*) Lesley, 226; Godscroft.

and freed the metropolis, from intrigue. Adam Otterburn, the king's advocate, was chosen provost of Edinburgh, in 1531; and one of the commissioners, who held a court of parliament in May, and June 1531 (*k*). May 1532 is the epoch of the greatest event, in the annals of the Scotish metropolis. After various establishments, for the administration of right, had been essayed, the College of Justice was, at that epoch, settled (*l*). The town became now a place of more resort. And, on the 18th of June 1532, the magistrates contracted with two French paviours, to make a causey (*m*). On the 19th of September, in the same year, the council of Edinburgh voluntarily offered to the king three hundred men, completely armed, for the royal array, when he should require them, to take the field against their ancient adversaries (*n*). But, such distracting warfare did not long continue, to vex the king, or to distress the people, on either side of the conterminous borders.

In addition to other causes of perturbation, the reformers now began to create disturbance, without much inconvenience to any one, but themselves: The 28th of February 1528-9, is the epoch of the first punishment, which was inflicted, for religious opinions: Patrick Hamilton thus suffered for heresy, after a trial, by ecclesiastical authority, in 1529, even before the reformers were as yet known, by the name of *Protestants*, at the diet of Spiers (*o*). In August 1534, Norman Gourlay, and David Stratan, were also tried, and condemned,

(*k*) Parl. Rec. 588. In the parliaments of 1533, and 1534, James Lawson, the provost, was one of the commissioners, who held a similar court. Ib. 592-3.

589; Black Acts, fo. cxiiii., cxv., cxvi., which were ratified by the king, at Stirling, June 1532. Ib. fo. cxvii.

2. In 1535, a grant was made to the abbot of Holyrood, of a duty of one penny and a halfpenny, for every *empty* cart, for repairing, and maintaining his Scotstarvit's Calendar.

t, 15. Hostilities were then about to break out; and mutual of those hostile invasions reached Edinburgh, or even the limits

ly, preserved the very first reforming treatise, which was, proples of Luther, before Calvin was known to fame. It is f hevine is techit heir in the x commandis of God quhilk al Christine men sal find al thing that is of the soul." It was written by Jhone Gau, lores: And it was printed, at Malmoe, by e stands in Sweden, opposite to Copens Chepman, and Myllar, had ceased ess, at that epoch, in Scotland.

for

for heresy, at Holyroodhouse, and were executed, at the Greenside (*p*). When we see Calvin condemn Servetus to the stake; when we perceive the reformed church of Scotland, adopting the persecuting principles of Calvin, and carrying his odious practices into full effect; when we see the Convention of 1689, ordain a coronation oath, which required the king "to be careful to root "out *all heretics*, that shall be convicted, by the true kirk of God, within "Scotland;" and which King William refused to swear; we may be forgiven, if we forbear to lament over the fate of men, who came out, to propagate their doctrines, in the face of the law, and were content, to fall for them under the axe of the law.

Very different scenes were soon exhibited, in the same neighbourhood. James v. arrived from France, with Magdalene, his first consort, at Leith, on the 19th of May 1537. She kissed the earth; thanked God, for her happy voyage; and prayed, for the prosperity of Scotland. She now passed to the palace of Holyrood, where she remained till preparations were made, for her triumphant entry into Edinburgh (*q*). She soon after was conducted through the capital, attended by magnificent processions, and joyous acclaims. But, such joys were of short duration. Forty days saw her carried, amid mournful lamentations, to Holyrood abbey (*r*). In July 1538, Mary of Guise, the second queen of James v., after solemnizing their marriage, at St. Andrews; and visiting several towns; entered Edinburgh, where she was welcomed, with rich presents, great triumphs, and "with farces and plays (*s*)."

Meantime, Edinburgh, in the midst of all those joyous entertainments, was a town, disgustful to the eye, and repulsive to the understanding (*t*). The

(*p*) Keith, 8-9. In the same year, Calvin fled from France to Bâle, where he wrote his *Institution*. In February 1538-9, there was a meeting of bishops, at Edinburgh, who condemned various persons to be burnt, for heresy, on the castle hill. Ib. 9. In that year, Calvin was driven away from Geneva; he was received back, in triumph; and caused Servetus to be burnt for heresy. (*q*) Pitscottie, 291; Lesley, 445.

(*r*) Sir David Lyndsay gives a poetical account of those events, in his Deploration, for the death of Queen Magdalene. (*s*) Pitscottie, 295.

(*t*) Dunbar, the greatest of the Scotish poets, who flourished under James IV., in his *Satire on Edinburgh*, cried out *schame* upon the magistracy:

"May nane pass throu your principall gaittis,
"For stink of haddockis, and of scattis,
"For cryis of carlingis, and debaittis,
"For fensive flyttingis of defame;
"Think ye not schame?
"Befoir strangeris of all Estaittis,
"That sic dishonour hurt your name."

parliament, which met, at Edinburgh, in March 1540-1, endeavoured, with honest diligence, "to mend those deformities," by passing an Act, "touching "the reparations, within the town of Edinburgh (*u*)." On the same day, another act was passed; requiring the meal-market to be removed, from the High-street to "some honest place," where the king's people may convene, for buying, and selling, thereafter, such victuals (*x*).

From domestic reforms, the king's attention was soon drawn to foreign treaty. But, as the negociation ended in hostilities, he was induced to summon an army, in October 1541, on the burrough-moor of Edinburgh. And, he thence marched, with thirty thousand men, under corrupt leaders, to repel the invaders of his kingdom, on the south (*y*). A similar event, but still more disastrous, at Solway moss, on the western border, where the Scotish army, either surrendered, or fled, converted the king's indignation into despair. From Caerlaverock he retired to Edinburgh, and thence to Falkland, where he died, on the 14th of December 1542 (*z*). And, he was buried, in the south-east vault of the abbey church of Holyrood, by the side of his first wife, Magdalene of France.

The unhappy king, James v., was succeeded, by his daughter, Mary Stewart, an infant of a week old. Henry viii. instantly resolved to obtain possession of the person of the Scotish queen, either by force, or artifice. And, for this end, he entered into various intrigues, and a formal treaty (*a*). But, he was

(*u*) Parl. Rec. 634. The ruinous houses, and wastes, on the west side of Leith Wynd, were now directed to be built, within a year and day, or the magistrates were required, to cause the tenements to be appraised, and sold; and if no one should be found to buy, and rebuild them, the magistrates were authorized to pull down the ruinous tenements, and with the materials to build a substantial wall, from the Nether-Bow port, to the Trinity College: As the east side of Leith Wynd belonged to the abbot and convent of Holyrood, the baillies of the Canongate were ordained, to cause the same reparations to be done upon it: And, on account of the filth, that arose, by slaughtering of beasts, on the east side, the magistrates of Edinburgh, and the Canongate, were required to forbid the same, in future, under pain of confiscation of the flesh slain.

(*x*) Parl. Rec. 635. There were enacted, at the same time, two laws, for enabling all persons to sell bread, and flesh, in Edinburgh, on three market days, in every week. Ib. 637-8.

(*y*) Lesley, 457: Pitscottie, 316, says, that the king marched, from the burrough-moor, through Lothian, to Falaw; and thence, to Barlawhaugh, near the kirk of Lauder, an ominous place, where the king held a council, when the peers refused to advance into England, intelligence having reached them, that the English army, under Norfolk, had retreated from the Scotish territory. The king indignantly retired, and dismissed his array. Lesley, 457.

(*z*) Keith, x.; Lesley, 459; Pitscottie, 276; and the monumental inscription, in Monteith's Theatre of Mortality, ii. 5.

(*a*) Sir Ralph Sadler's Negociations, throughout.

too

too impatient, to wait the slow fulfilment of his own stipulations, for effecting his favourite object. Of his impatience, more able men took their advantage: Owing to his breach of faith, the governor, and council, at Edinburgh, on the 23d of September 1543, declared the treaty itself to be void (*b*): Henry was not a prince to bear such a disappointment, without revenge. And, on the 3d of May 1544, the Earl of Hertford arrived in the Forth, with a numerous fleet, and a large army. He landed at Royston; and took Leith (*c*): Edinburgh, the abbey of Holyrood, and the palace adjoining, were burnt. After destroying the pier of Leith, and carrying off the ships, the English army set out, on their return, by land; leaving "neither pyle, village, town, nor house, in "their way homewards, unburnt (*d*)." As there seems to have been no resistance, it was easy to deliver to devastation the country, and the towns. In May 1545, a reinforcement arrived, at Leith, from France, under the command of Lorge Montgomery. A general council assembled, at Edinburgh, on the 28th of June, when an army of fifteen thousand men were ordered to assemble on Roslin moor; and soon after marched to the borders, with their French auxiliaries (*e*); but, without performing any exploit, worthy of their ancient fame. In May, and July, 1547, there were two several arrays of the fighting men

(*b*) Keith, 32. Meantime, a civil war rose within the Scotish metropolis. The election of the magistrates had long been confined to the merchants, an exclusion, which roused the jealousy of the tradesmen. Violent contests naturally ensued. On the 11th of August 1543, the magistrates having passed an ordinance, which seemed to infringe the privileges of the craftsmen, were opposed, in the town-house, by their deacons, who drew their swords, with an avowed purpose to defend their liberties. An armed force rescued the magistrates, and the deacons were imprisoned. The craftsmen arrayed themselves, in defence of their deacons. The regent Arran was obliged to interpose. And, after various commitments, this troublesome collision of urban irascibility seems to have ended, by some compromise.

(*c*) Keith, 46; Arnot's Edin. 18-19.

(*d*) The cotemporary account, in Dalzel's Fragments, 9. That ancient author has left a very useful detail of the prodigious mischief, which was done, in Edinburghshire, during the Earl of Hertford's campaign of 1544: The town of Edinburgh, with the abbey of Holyrood, and the king's palace adjoining, were burnt. The town of Leith was burnt, and the haven destroyed. The castle, and village of Craigmiller, were burnt. The abbey of Newbotel was burnt. Part of Musselburgh, with the chapel of Loret, were burnt. Roslin castle was burnt. Laureston, with the grange, near Edinburgh, were burnt. Inverleith, with the pile, and town, were burnt. Broughton, near Edinburgh, was destroyed. Cramond, Dudiston, The Ficket, Stonhouse, Chesterhall, Drylaw, and Wester-Crag, were all destroyed. Ib. 11-12.

(*e*) Keith, 47-8. Cardinal Beaton called a provincial council of the clergy to meet, at Edinburgh, in the Blackfriars church, on the 13th of January 1545-6; to reform the principles, and practice, of the clergy. Ib. 41.

of the southern shires assembled, at Edinburgh (*f*). Yet, the protector Somerset entered Scotland, in September 1547. And, he soon after defeated, the Scotish powers, with such superiority of advantage, as seemed to deliver the country into his hands, without further resistance (*g*). The invading foe now attempted Edinburgh, destroyed Leith, took Dalkeith, and retired homeward; carrying fire, and sword, through a wretched land.

In May 1548, Desse brought, from France, a reinforcement of six thousand men to a feeble government, and a distracted people. After a while he marched from Edinburgh, with the allied troops, to fight their old enemies, on Pinkie-field: But, the English army retired before superior numbers to Hadington, where they were unsuccessfully besieged, in Autumn 1548. Yet, the English, by driving the young queen to France, lost the great object of the war, which was as absurd, in its principle, as it was wasteful, in its practice. Meantime, Desse threw up some works, at Inveresk, as an advanced post for Leith, and Edinburgh (*h*). But, he withdrew his army, into the metropolis, during the winter, when such bloody tumults ensued, between his soldiers, and the townsmen, as obliged him to withdraw towards Hadington, which he in vain attempted to surprize. The French general now fortified Leith; in order to keep up a necessary communication with France. This fortification, however, did not prevent the English fleet from approaching Leith, in June 1549; from seizing some ships; and from fortifying Inch-Keith, which was garrisoned by the English; and soon after taken, by the French (*i*). Those inefficient, yet wasteful struggles, during a war of revenge, rather than of policy, were closed by a peace, which was concluded, between the belligerent parties, on the 24th of

(*f*) Keith, 52. (*g*) Patten's Account, 54—70.

(*h*) On the 10th of January 1548-9, the privy council ordered *a fort* to be built, at *Inveresk*: The town of Edinburgh was directed to furnish 300 workmen, with proper tools, for six days. The same council ordained, that every plough of eight oxen, between Linlithgow and Hadington, should furnish a man, properly provided with entrenching tools, during the same time of six days; and every *potch plough* [a plough laboured in common by several people] to furnish two men, under pain of forty shillings, for every such plough. MS. Extracts from the Privy Council Rec. Keith's Appx. 57. In the governor, and council's answer, on the 22d of April 1550, to the French Memorial, they intimated that, to save charges, the fort of Inveresk would be kept by the abbot of Dunfermlin, upon caution; and that the king of France would put garrisons into Dunbar, Blackness, Broughty castle, and Inch-Keith; for commanding the entrance into the principal rivers. Keith's Hist. 63.

(*i*) On the 29th of June 1549, the Inch [island] between Leith, and Kingorne, was wonne from the Englishmen, by the Frenchmen. Birrel's Diary.

March

March 1549-50; and which was soon after proclaimed, at Edinburgh (*k*). The French troops immediately returned to France, except the garrisons of Inch-Keith, and Dunbarton. And, in September 1550, the queen dowager, with many of the Scotish nobles, followed them, in the fleet, which Strozzi conducted to Leith, for that purpose (*l*). In December 1551, the dowager queen returned, through England, to Edinburgh, where she was received, by the governor, and nobles, with distinguished honours (*m*).

At Edinburgh, on the 26th of January 1551-2, was assembled a provincial council of the clergy, which ordained, that a *catechism* should be published, in the English tongue, for explaining the great duties of christianity, as they are contained in the *commandments*, the belief, and the common prayer (*n*).

The object of the queen dowager's voyage to France soon began to appear, by the effects of her intrigues. The Duke of Chatelherauld agreed to resign to her ambition the regency of her daughter's kingdom. To effectuate this consequential object, the parliament was assembled, at Edinburgh, on the 10th of April 1554 (*o*). Two days thereafter, the Estates ratified the previous agreement of the regent, and queen, when the insignia of power were delivered into her fairer, and feebler hands (*p*). And, the castle of Edinburgh was now committed to the doubtful charge of Lord Erskine (*q*). Under this female administration, plays were acted, at Edinburgh; much of the expence being paid, by the magistrates (*r*). And, the streets were ordered, by the town council, to be lighted; in order to prevent robberies (*s*).

Very different scenes were acted, soon after, at Edinburgh, where John Knox arrived, in October 1555. He preached, and taught, secretly. Among

(*k*) Rym. xv. 255; Lesley, 507. (*l*) Keith, 56; Lesley, 508.

(*m*) Keith, 57; Lesley, 521.

(*n*) Spottiswoode, 92; Keith, 63: Such a catechism was printed at St. Andrews, by the command, and at the expence of Archbishop Hamilton, on the 29th of August 1552. As this elegant, and useful book, was thus printed, by the advice of the bishops, and other prelates of the Scotican church, at the expence of the archbishop, it was sold, at the low price of *two pence*, for the purpose of general circulation; and it was, sarcastically, called, by vulgar malignity, *the two penny faith*.

(*o*) Keith, 59; Lesley, 521.

(*p*) Queen Mary, says Birrel, received the government from the Duke of Hamilton: Diary, 12th April 1554.

(*q*) Lesley, 518; Keith, 59.

(*r*) Council Reg. 12th October 1554. The play, which was made by William Lawder, was acted before the queen regent, in December 1554. Id.

(*s*) Maitland's Edin. 14.

other

other persons, who resorted to his private preachings, was Maitland, the younger of Lethington, who, endeavouring to argue with Knox, on the lawfulness of the mass, was converted by him (*t*). Knox's success was at length noticed by the government. And, in May 1556, he was summoned, to appear before an ecclesiastical judicatory, in the Blackfriars church, at Edinburgh. A concourse of people assembled, at the same time, and place, to protect the preacher. Owing to some informality, the summons was quashed. His preachings were now much more frequented. And, in July 1556, accepting an invitation, from the English congregation, at Geneva, he departed, from Edinburgh. He was again summoned; and, failing to appear, he was condemned, as a heretic, and was adjudged to be burnt in effigy, at the cross of Edinburgh (*u*). The people were rather irritated, than frightened: And, they entered St. Giles's church, and demolished the statues. The regent queen, hearing of this outrage, wrote to the magistrates, complaining of certain *balades*, and *rhymes*, that *had been set forth*, by some persons, within their town, who had, also, contemptuously broken the images: And, she ordered them to discover the offenders, and communicate their names to the archbishop (*x*). But, such mandates were issued in vain. Meantime, the queen regent assembled a parliament, at Edinburgh, in May 1556 (*y*); in order to establish the feeble measures of a female sovereign. She proposed, to have the whole lands within the kingdom registered, with the odious purpose of raising money, for maintaining a standing force, to defend the realm against the common enemy. This proposal was rejected with indignation. And three hundred of the lesser barons assembled, at Edinburgh, and sent two delegates, with a remonstrance against measures so new, and destructive of their interests. The queen relinquished measures, that were thus opposed, and could not be effected (*z*). While the queen regent was, in this manner, disappointed, the town council augmented the provost's allowance to £100 Scots, for *clothing, and spicery*, with two hogsheads of wine; and ordered the servants of the inhabitants to attend him, with torches, from vespers to his residence (*a*).

The year 1557 opened, with the arrival of other reformers, Harlow, and Willock, who preached their doctrine, with great zeal, and some success, at Edinburgh, and in Leith (*b*). The 3d of December 1557 is the epoch of the first covenant, which was signed by a few nobles, at Edinburgh; and which formed

(*t*) Knox, 99-100; Spottiswoode, 93.
(*u*) Spottiswoode, 93-4; Keith, 64.
(*x*) Maitland, 14; Keith, Appx. 84.
(*y*) Parl. Rec. 744—6.
(*z*) Lesley, 525-6; Keith, 70.
(*a*) Maitland, 14, on the 4th of December 1556.
(*b*) Keith, 64.

the

the origin of *the congregation* (*c*). On the 14th of the same month, a parliament was held, at Edinburgh, which appointed commissioners, for repairing to Paris, to affiance their queen with the dauphin of France (*d*). And, Mary was, accordingly, married to Francis, at Paris, on the 24th of April 1558 (*e*). On that agreeable occasion, the Magistrates of Edinburgh made adequate triumphs, by giving the people *a play*, for their amusement (*f*).

Very different scenes soon ensued. To other causes of discontent, the querelous court of England now added the marriage of Mary with Francis. An invasion from England, being apprehended, in June 1558, the burgesses of Edinburgh voluntarily agreed, to maintain upwards of seven hundred men, with complete appointments: The craftsmen equally resolved to raise nearly the same number, for the defence of their town (*g*). In the midst of those threats, and preparations, a *synod* met, at Edinburgh, in July 1558 (*h*). Several persons were now summoned, for heresy: And, as they did not readily meet this polemical summons, they were ordained, to make a public recantation, at the market-cross of Edinburgh, on the 1st of September, the day of St. Giles, the patron of the metropolis. But, the populace no longer worshiped the saint of their idolatry of old: And, when the statue of St. Giles was brought out, on his usual festival, amid the recantations of heresy, which provoked them, a great tumult ensued (*i*). The clergy now called a *convocation* to Edinburgh, in November then next (*k*). But, the chiefs of the reformers, under the name of *the congregation*, in the meantime assembled; and directed Sir James Sandilands, to present a petition to the queen regent; craving a reform, as well in the church, as in the state (*l*). The regent queen, who was thus called upon, to answer one of the most difficult questions, appears to have enjoyed the confidence of the town council of Edinburgh, in a high degree (*m*).

(*c*) Keith, 66—9.

(*d*) Their commission was signed, by the provosts of Stirling, Dundee, and Linlithgow, and by Guthrie, *the scribe* of Edinburgh, and by Elder, *the scribe* of Perth. Parl. Rec. 738-9.

(*e*) On the 28th of November 1558, a parliament assembled, at Edinburgh, who ratified the queen's marriage articles; who agreed to give her husband the crown matrimonial, and who appointed commissioners to carry that ratification, and agreement, into France. Parl. Rec. 729—43.

(*f*) Dalzell's Cursory Remarks, from the Town Records.

(*g*) Maitland's Hist. Edin. 15. (*h*) Keith, 68.

(*i*) Maitland, 15; Arnot, 20-1; Keith, 68; Spottiswoode, 118. (*k*) Id.

(*l*) Keith, 78—10.

(*m*) The magistrates, on the 15th of December 1558, presented the queen, with whatever purpose, with three tons of the best wine, and twenty pounds of wax. Maitland, 15, from the Council Register.

While

While thus pressed, by difficulties, the regent queen convened, at Edinburgh, the most learned, and judicious of the clergy, in March 1559, to devise means, for allaying the ferments of reform. This synod sat upwards of a month, while the parliaments, generally, sat less than a week. The reformers presented to the queen their articles of amendment, which they desired to be adopted (*n*). But, she naturally determined to support the synod, whose advice she had required (*o*). John Knox soon after arrived, from Geneva, at Edinburgh; and immediately began to preach, seditiously, in various towns. Violent perturbations thereupon ensued; particularly, in Perth, where the populace either pulled down, or plundered, the churches, and monasteries. The regent thanked the magistrates of Edinburgh, for preserving quiet, and supporting the provost, with an allusion to the tumults of Perth. The town council of Edinburgh, dreading the entrance of the reformed congregation, for destroying their churches, ordered their gates to be shut, except two, to which they appointed guards (*p*). The reformers had now appealed to violence, for effecting their amendment of church, and state, in defiance of law. They proceeded from Perth to Stirling, where they demolished the churches; the regent retiring before them. From Stirling the reformers advanced to Linlithgow, where they destroyed the churches; and thence threatened the metropolis, whence the regent retired to Dunbar; being informed, by the provost, that the town was somewhat infected, with the rage of reform. Yet, the town council sent commissioners, to meet the reformers, at Linlithgow, with earnest entreaties, to spare the religious houses: And, in the meantime, the magistrates placed a guard of sixty men, for protecting St. Giles's church (*q*). As soon as the reformers entered Edinburgh, they seized the mint, with the instruments, and materials, for coining. The regent queen now thought it necessary to issue a requisition, that they

(*n*) Lesley, 545-6-7; Keith, 81-2.

(*o*) Id. Meantime, a sort of civil war existed, in Edinburgh, between the magistrates and the provost, Lord Seton, who seems to have acted arbitrarily. Maitland, 15.

(*p*) Maitland, 16.

(*q*) Knox, 196; Keith, 94; Maitland, 16. Lord Seton, the provost, placed guards in the monasteries of the Black, and Gray Friars, in one of which he lay every night: But, on the approach of the reformers, from Linlithgow, he retired; when the populace destroyed those magnificent monuments of ancient piety: So that when the reformers entered the capital, on the 29th of June 1559, they found only bare walls; whereby, said Knox, with his usual perversion of matter, and manner, "we were the less troubled, in putting order to such "places." Knox's Hist. 156. They spoiled the abbey, and palace, of Holyrood; and even demolished the prebendal houses of Trinity College. Lesley, 551.

should

should evacuate Edinburgh, and the palace of Holyrood (*r*). Nothing is so vain, as such requisitions, when the laws themselves are set at nought. The reformers, who had virtually assumed the government, made answer to the charge, of robbing the mint, that the people being hurt, by bad money, the nobles, as counsellors, by birth, had a right to stop the coining of money; and that they had delivered what coins they had found to the master of the mint (*s*). We thus perceive, in those recriminations, the claims, and assumptions, of the reformers, in arms.

They now tried, by a deputation, to gain the town council of Edinburgh, and the legal government of the state (*t*). Their commissioners met the regent queen, at Preston, in East-Lothian: And, here specious terms were offered, on both sides; but, there was not any agreement (*u*). The regent now learning, that the lower orders of the reformers began to return to their several dwellings, while their chiefs meant to remain at Edinburgh, advanced from Dunbar, with such force, as she could muster, on Sunday evening, the 23d of July; and arrived near Edinburgh at sunrise. The insurgent chiefs, learning her intention, summoned their adherents, from Lothian, and Fife. They promptly marched from Edinburgh to Leith, to circumvent the regent: But, she had already obtained, by her vigour, possession of this important post. They now endeavoured to regain Edinburgh: But, when the governor of the castle threatened to fire upon them, they were glad to obtain their safety, by a treaty (*x*). The regent queen now repossessed the palace of Holyrood; while the insurgents retired to Stirling, where they made a *third covenant*, which evinced their purpose of perseverance (*y*).

Neither party seems to have perceived, that such treaties are seldom performed. When the regent applied to the town council of Edinburgh, for the

(*r*) Knox, 158; Keith, 95.

(*s*) Knox, 158; Keith, 95; Spottiswoode, 127.

(*t*) Keith's Appx. 85; Maitland, 16.

(*u*) Keith, 97. That meeting was on the 12th of July 1559.

(*x*) On the 25th of July 1559, it was agreed, that the insurgents should evacuate Edinburgh, and resign the mint, with the instruments of coinage, to the master; to quit the palace of Holyrood; to allow the people of Edinburgh to practise any religion they might think proper, till the 10th of the subsequent January; and the insurgent reformers engaged to be obedient subjects, respecting the laws, and neither to molest the clergy, nor pull down the churches, and religious houses: And, it was mutually stipulated, that no soldiers, either French, or Scots, should garrison Edinburgh. Lesley, 553; Spottiswoode, 128-9; Keith, 98-9; wherein there are some differences of representation. Keith, Appx. 86-7; Maitland, 17: And, Arnot, 22, corrects some misrepresentations of Robertson.

(*y*) Keith, 100.

use of St. Giles's church, that the religion of the State might be continued; and that the reformed clergy might preach, in some other place; the magistrates refused to allow the mass to be in any manner performed, within their church: And, the French officers, and soldiers, now treated the reformed preachers, and congregations, with contumely, even during their worship (z). In the abbey of Holyrood, and in Leith, the French soldiers cut down the reformed pulpits, and restored the mass (a). The queen issued a proclamation, for quieting the minds of the reformed people (b).

At length, arrived at Leith, a reinforcement of a thousand French soldiers, with promises of additional numbers (c). There were sent, soon after, the bishop of Amiens, as legate *a latere*, attended with some doctors of divinity, to execute the hard task of supporting absurdity against reason (d). It seems not to have been distinctly perceived, that an appeal having been made to violence, from argument, force could only be opposed by force.

A sort of civil conflict existed, at the same time, within Edinburgh. The magistrates were so decidedly for the reformers, that Lord Seton, the provost, could not preserve their attachment to the regent. The queen now supported the pretensions of the deacons of the craftsmen to a vote in the town councils, which had long been denied them, by the guild brethren. She had already restored the deacons to a vote in the annual election of magistracy: She, in the end, by a special ordinance, directed, that the deacons of the crafts, in future, should be allowed to vote, in the choosing of the council, and officers. But, the town council refused obedience to this ordinance; as inconsistent with the act of James I., in 1426 (e). Against this refusal the deacons protested; and even avowed their future disobedience (f). The regent endeavoured, in vain, to support her party, at the ensuing elections: Her strenuous friend, Lord Seton, was ejected; and Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie was, in his place, chosen provost (g).

(z) Spottiswoode, 129: The magistrates saying, we will practise a religion, which was yesterday, introduced, by violence, but we will not allow a religion to be used, which had been practised five centuries, under the law, naturally provoked the ridicule of soldiers.

(a) Spottiswoode, 129; Knox, 70.

(b) Knox, 172-3: It was dated on the 28th of August 1559. (c) Keith, 101-2.

(d) Leslie, 559: The legate, and doctors, arrived at Edinburgh, on the 19th of September 1559.

(e) That order was presented, on the 22d of September 1559. The act of parliament, which was quoted by the town council, is in the Black Acts, ch. 87; and the Parl. Rec. 18: But, it does not bear out the magistrates, in their pretensions.

(f) Maitland, 18. (g) Id.

The

The insurgent congregation assembled, at Hamilton, on the 29th of September 1559; when the late regent, the second person in the kingdom, and presumptive heir of the crown, for the first time, joined them (*b*). By the union of such a personage, the insurgents acquired much addition to their confidence. They wrote to the regent, complaining, that she had fortified Leith, and garrisoned it with French (*i*). They tried to gain Lord Erskine, the governor of Edinburgh castle, by threatening vengeance, if he should continue to oppose them (*k*). The regent, in her turn, endeavoured to draw away the duke from his associates, but without success. The insurgents now summoned their adherents to Stirling; in order, that they might march to Edinburgh, and prevent the fortifying of Leith (*l*). When the regent heard of those designs, she charged the insurgents, by her proclamation, with violating their treaty of the 25th of July, by which they had promised not to seek the support of England against their own government; and with taking Broughty castle, in order to admit foreign aid into the Tay: She avowed the fortification of Leith, as a measure of necessity, for her own refuge, and the protection of her friends: And, she charged the Scotish people to preserve their allegiance to their sovereign, and to refuse their support to the duke, and his associates (*m*). The insurgents issued a counter proclamation, which is remarkable, for gross misrepresentation, and coarse invective (*n*).

The

(*b*) Knox, 180-1; Spottiswoode, 131. The Duke of Hamilton had been converted, by his son, the Earl of Arran, whose wrongheadedness ended in confirmed insanity. The weakness of the duke did not allow him to perceive, that he hazarded his greatness, and his pretensions to the crown itself, by lending his support to insurgents, who acted in avowed opposition to the laws, whence he derived his rights

(*i*) Knox, 180-1; Spottiswoode, 131. The complaint of introducing *French* soldiers may have been popular; but, it was groundless in law: For, by the marriage of the queen with the dauphin, and the statutes, which followed thereon, Scotland, and France, were identified; Scotsmen having, in France, the rights of Frenchmen, and Frenchmen having, in Scotland, the rights of Scotsmen: And, the two nations, had a right to make such a marriage, and such laws. England may have thereby sustained some inconvenience: But, being an *inconvenience*, without an *injury*, Queen Elizabeth had scarcely any right of reclamation, on account of the introduction of the French troops: And, the insurgents had no right to complain of such a measure; particularly, as their actions were against law.

(*k*) Ib. (*l*) Ib. 182. (*m*) Ib. 185.

(*n*) Ib. 186—90: They ask, in answer to the regent's representations, if Leith had been fortified of old, without the consent of the nobility, and Estates. Ib. 187. The established law, on this head, was clearly this: The king might fortify any place, without the consent of the nobles; but, a noble could not fortify his castle, without the licence of the king: And, this doctrine was recognized often by the Estates, on prosecutions for treason, as we know from the

The insurgents marched, on the 18th of October 1559, from Stirling to Edinburgh. On their approach, the regent removed from Holyroodhouse to Leith, attended by the archbishops of St. Andrews, and Glasgow, the bishop of Dunkeld, Lord Seton, and others (*o*). On the morrow, they sent a written requisition to the regent, demanding the strangers, and soldiers, to be removed, and the fortifications to be demolished (*p*). In answer to such a demand, from such men, the regent sent Foreman, the lion herald, to intimate to them, that they had no right to their assumptions; and commanded them to evacuate Edinburgh (*q*). They detained the herald. And, on the morrow, the insurgent chiefs, with the provosts of Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Dundee, and Aberdeen, held a convention, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, over which Lord Ruthven presided (*r*). He opened the business of this convention, by a speech, which he concluded, by moving, whether the regent, having refused their request, ought to be suffered to domineer over such freemen. Some there were, who thought this motion, without moderation, and without precedent. The judgment of the preachers was now required upon Ruthven's motion. And, Willock, and Knox, both proved, from scripture, that rebels may remove their rulers, when-

Parliamentary Record. The magistrates could not fortify a town, without the assent of the king; and Edinburgh received a licence, from James II., when it was fortified, long after it had become a corporate body. Leith, which was not a corporation, had been fortified, in 1549, by Desse, under the authority of the same duke, when regent. Knox, indeed, acknowledges, "that the "queen's papers gained most credit with the common people." The regent's papers contained law, and sense: The insurgent papers were composed of assumption, and impertinence.

(*o*) Spottiswoode, 135.

(*p*) Id; Knox, 193. A rumour being spread, that the duke meant to usurp the government, "he made his purgation, with sound of trumpet, at the cross of Edinburgh." His proclamation is in Knox, 193-4. He did not, however, make his purgation of not being a rebel against law: He did not make his purgation of being a simpleton, for risking so great an inheritance, without any adequate interest. This *purgation* did not satisfy the people: For, as we know from Knox, 192-3, many of the brethren began to murmur, and fly off; as the chiefs seemed to seek some other thing, than religion.

(*q*) Knox, 194-5; Keith, 103.

(*r*) This was Patrick, Lord Ruthven, who was very active, for the Reformation, which, according to Crawford, was very praise-worthy; "but, what lies heaviest on this lord's memory, "says he, is the hand he had in the murder of David Rizzio, a deed so odious, that none will "take upon them to justify it." Peerage, 165. He died in exile, on the 13th of June 1566. His son, William, was executed, for *his* treasons, on the 28th of April 1584. And, his son, John, was slain, during his treasonous attempt on King James, in August 1600: And he, and his brother, Alexander, being attainted, by parliament, their heads were adjudged to be placed on the common gaol, "till the wind should blow them off." Ib. 166.

ever

ever profligate preachers may think proper (*s*). This insurgent convention, thus sanctioned, by such authority, proceeded to deprive the regent of the authority, which she had received from the Estates. This deprivation was declared, by sound of trumpet, at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and, also, at the common cross of every burrough. And, they now sent back the lion herald, with this suspension, and a demand, for the evacuation of Leith (*t*). The insurgents were so ridiculous, as to demand the evacuation of Leith, in the name of their sovereign lord, and lady, and of the council, then at Edinburgh. But, as it was not surrendered to such a summons, the insurgents resolved to take it by force. The town council of Edinburgh supplied them with two thousand marks, for this enterprize (*u*). Some skirmishes ensued. But, when they attempted to take the town, by escalade, they failed (*x*). Disorder, and distrust, among the insurgents, now ensued. Several leaders went over to the regent. Their designs were at length disclosed. The duke hesitated. Their hired soldiers being, for the most part, as Knox informs us, "men, without "God, or honesty," mutinied, for want of pay. They attempted to raise a fund, by voluntary contribution; but, when they carried their silver to the mint, they found that the officers had deserted. In this extremity of want, their chiefs applied to Queen Elizabeth's officers, at Berwick, Sadler, and Crofts, who delivered 4,000 crowns to Cockburn of Ormiston, for their use: But, he was intercepted, by James, Earl of Bothwell, the sheriff of Lothian, who acted under the regent's orders. The leaders now turned their hostility against Bothwell. They beset his castle of Crichton: But, hearing of their design, he retired, with his prey: And, as the castle was not defended, it soon surrendered (*y*).

On the same day, the provost of Dundee, with his townsmen, and some mutinous soldiers, and cannon, marched from Edinburgh, with the resolute purpose, of assaulting Leith. But, they were instantly repulsed; they hastily fled towards Edinburgh; they were even slaughtered in the Canongate: And,

(*s*) Knox, 195-6; Spottiswoode, 136, who, gravely, censures that opinion, as unsound.

(*t*) Knox, 199; Spottiswoode, 137-8; and Keith, 105, has given a copy of the act of suspension, from the Cotton Library, dated the 23d of October 1559.

(*u*) Maitland, 19.

(*x*) We are told by Knox, 200, that they could not succeed; as the scaling ladders had been constructed in St. Giles's church.

(*y*) Knox, 201—3, informs us, "his castle was spoiled; but, in it, there was nothing of any "great importance, except *his evidences*, and certain clothing."

the

the pursuers retreated, in their turn, when they perceived, by a shot from the castle, that the governor was not their friend (*z*).

From that disastrous day, the insurgent forces could scarcely be retained in Edinburgh; some of the leaders determined to abandon the enterprize; many stole away; and those, who still remained, were distracted in their councils, and irregular in their conduct (*a*).

In the midst of this despondency, on the 6th of November 1559, the regent's troops early sallied from Leith; to intercept a convoy of provisions, which was coming to the insurgents. The Earl of Arran, and James Stewart, the prior of St. Andrews, led out the insurgent forces, to meet them: But, so backward were the soldiers, that, according to Knox, "they could scarcely be driven "forth of the town." The two leaders shewed more courage, than conduct; so that their retreat would have been cut off, had not Kirkaldie, with a body of horse, by a furious charge, checked the advance of the regent's troops. The insurgents were driven back into Edinburgh with some loss, and great disorder (*b*). This second defeat, arising from the superiority of regular troops over any militia, quite depressed the insurgent spirit. Several persons, secretly, left Edinburgh, on the same day; some of the chief leaders declared, that they would not remain; Arran, and the prior said, they would continue, if any reasonable number would remain with them: And Lord Erskine, the governor of the castle, refused to favour them; avowing his design, to side with the prevailing party. In despair, the insurgent reformers resolved to depart from Edinburgh, at midnight. On their retreat, says Knox, "the despiteful "tongues of the wicked railed upon us, calling us traitors, and heretics; every "one provoked others, to throw stones at us (*c*)." This avowal of Knox seems to prove, that whatever the magistrates may have been, the populace of Edinburgh were not sincerely attached to the reformers. They marched to Stirling, where they held a council, wherein it was resolved, by sending Secretary

(*z*) Lesley, 165-7; Knox, 202-3: Lord Erskine, the governor, is said, by Knox, "to have "soon repented of well-doing." Those events happened, on the 31st of October 1559.

(*a*) There is a letter from Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir James Crofts, at Berwick, to Secretary Cecil, dated the 5th of November 1559, which says: "Touching your desire to know, what "*Scots* be with the queen dowager, and how many *Frenchmen*; as far as we can learn, there be "no Scots of any name, with her, in Leith, but the Lord Seton, and Lord Borthwick, with the "inhabitants of the town: For the rest, as the Earl of Bothwell, who is on her side, and such "others, as seem to favour her party, do remain at home, by her consent, untill she require their "aid: It is said, that there be in Leith, about 3,000 *Scots*, and Frenchmen, in *wage*." Keith's Appx. 32.

(*b*) Knox, 204-5; Spottiswoode, 139. (*c*) Ib. 205.

Lethington

Lethington to London, to crave Elizabeth's aid. On the morrow, the regent entered Edinburgh; and tried, without success, to obtain the castle from the doubtful charge of Lord Erskine (*d*). The Roman Catholick services were now restored, in the Edinburgh churches: And, the pope's legate, with the pragmaticalness of his office, purged St. Giles's church, by a reconsecration (*e*). The Earl of Bothwell, perhaps as sheriff of Lothian, proclaimed the Earl of Arran a traitor; recollecting, probably, the late attack of this zealot on Crichton castle. The regent sent for reinforcements to France: The insurgents learned, on the 20th of December 1559, that Elizabeth had agreed to afford them effectual assistance: And, both parties prepared, at the end of this busy year, to renew the civil war, in the next, with more vigour, and inveteracy.

The regent, who probably knew Elizabeth's intentions, resolved to suppress the insurgents in Fife, before the English succours should arrive. Early in January 1560, she detached a body of men, from Leith, by Stirling, to Fife: But, before they could effect her purpose, the English fleet arrived in the frith, and took two ships, carrying provisions to the regent's army, in Fifeshire. The Scotish army immediately returned to Leith; and busied themselves, in strengthening the fortifications of this town, and of the Isle of Inch-Keith. Winter, the English admiral, no sooner cast anchor, in Leith roads, than the regent demanded the cause of his coming into the frith. He readily said, that he came in quest of pirates; but, he seems not to have discharged the two ships, that he had detained (*f*). The whole evince the unneighbourly insidiousness of Elizabeth's government. The regent instructed the French ambassador to require of Elizabeth the cause of Winter's conduct, and that no English aid should be given to the Scotish insurgents. Her evasive answer, and subsequent practice, merely evince what is sufficiently known, that trick, and disingenuousness, were, in that age, the common artifices of Elizabeth's ministers (*g*). She went some steps further. She reinforced her fleet in the Forth: And, she sent the Duke of Norfolk to make a treaty with the Duke of Chatelherault, the second person in Scotland, who was then in rebellion against his

(*d*) Knox, 213. (*e*) Lesley, 516; Spottiswoode, 139.

(*f*) Lesley, 521. From the representation of Strype, in his Annals of Elizabeth, he seems to have seen Admiral Winter's instructions, which empowered him, to avow any purpose, except the real one. Keith, 116, Appx. 45. I have seen the draught of his instructions, in the Paper Office, which correspond with the account of Strype.

(*g*) Lesley, 521: Keith, 116: The Scotish government had not given her any cause of offence; and, therefore, her attack on the Scotish government was indefensible, on any known principle of law, existing between nations.

sovereign.

sovereign (*b*). Francis, and Mary, equally sent reinforcements to Leith, though not in sufficient numbers. The insurgents now summoned all their adherents, to co-operate with the English army, which entered Scotland, on the 2d of April 1560: Two days, afterward, the insurgents met their English colleagues, at Preston, in East-Lothian. At the same time, the regent, with her attendants, retired from Leith into Edinburgh castle, under the protection of Lord Erskine, the governor. Various applications were now made to the regent, both by the chiefs of the insurgents, and the English general; desiring that the French troops might be sent to France. She evaded a request, the granting of which, she knew, would deliver her into the hands of the insurgents. Various skirmishes now ensued, which were only preparatory to the siege of Leith. During two months, this town resisted every attack, that could be made upon it, with great skill, and bravery (*i*). Negociations were meantime carried on: But, they ended in no result; as no treaty, on such an occasion, could be made, with the regent queen, which would not have delivered the existing government to the insurgents, and the sovereignty of the kingdom to a foreign power. At length, the regent died, within Edinburgh castle, on the 10th of June 1560, of a dropsical complaint (*k*). She was, at the end of some months, sent, for burial, in the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter, at Rheims, of which René, her sister, was then abbess (*l*).

The associated Scots, and English, were disappointed, by the length, and difficulty of the siege of Leith, owing to the skill, and discipline of the besieged. Elizabeth, and Cecil, became impatient, from the uncertainty, and expence of the enterprize. And the queen, and her minister, began to think of obtaining, by treaty, what appeared so difficult by force. She resolved, as early as the middle of May 1560, to send Cecil, and Wotton, two of her ablest negociators, into the north, to meet the bishop of Valence, and Randan, the envoys of Francis, and Mary. The rumour of a treaty disquieted the chiefs of the insurrection. After some preliminary negociations at Newcastle, and Berwick, the

(*b*) Rym. xv. 569; Keith, 117—19; 120. The preamble of this treaty is a wretched recital of falshood, and misrepresentation.

(*i*) The English generals gave it as their deliberate opinion, on the 28th of May 1560, of the siege of Leith, "that batteri prevaileth not; but, that the only way to winn it, is either by "the sapp, or famine." Haynes, 347. Leith, however, was much battered, and it was set on fire.

(*k*) Lesley, 525; Keith, 128: Knox insulted the deceased queen, with the scurrilous language, which seems to be peculiar to his natural savageness.

(*l*) Keith, 130.

envoys

envoys arrived, at Edinburgh, on the 17th of June. The English envoys found their business full of difficulties; owing to the crooked points of the matter, the dealing, between a prince and his subjects, the ability of their opponents; though the Scotish council could be easily managed (*m*). The only point of difficulty, between the English, and Scotish sovereigns, was the late treaty of Berwick, between Elizabeth, and the insurgent lords (*n*): And, Cecil, and Wotton, doubted, whether they could obtain any clause, in the treaty, wherein the Scotish nobles should be mentioned (*o*). Yet, by great efforts of perseverance, and address, two treaties were agreed to; the one for the demolition of the fortifications of Leith, and the removal of the French troops, dated the 5th of July; and the other, for the settlement of peace between England and France, dated the 6th of July 1560; which did mention some concessions to the prayers of the Scotish nobles (*p*). Those treaties proceeded, avowedly, on the regular powers of Francis and Mary, dated the 2d of May, and of Elizabeth, executed on the 25th of May 1560 (*q*). On such powers, was the peace of Scotland restored; was Leith demolished; were the English, and French troops, sent out of Scotland; and above all, were some stipulations obtained, for the disavowing of the use of the title, and arms, of England, by Francis, and Mary. Elizabeth was so weak, as to expect, that her envoys could obtain five hundred thousand crowns, and the cession of Calais, as positive compensations, for the assumption of such title and arms, though the same Elizabeth continued to call herself queen of France (*r*): And, it required all the address of Cecil, and Wotton, who could not obtain a single line of treaty, from Monluc, and Randan, without a violent struggle, to divert their queen, from such idle expectations (*s*).

Secretary

(*m*) Haynes, 327. (*n*) Ib. 329. (*o*) Ib. 330.

(*p*) The first treaty is printed in Rymer, xv. 591; the second, or principal treaty, is published, by Rymer, xv. 593.

(*q*) Ib. 581. The full power of Francis and Mary, dated as above, at Chenonceau, merely, takes notice of "the *rebellion* of their subjects in Scotland, which had brought together troops "upon the frontiers:" And, it goes on to empower the specified envoys to treat with Elizabeth's envoys, for the re-establishment of peace; But, there is no power given to grant so much as a pardon to any one of the *said rebels*, nor to notice, in any way, the Scotish insurgents, more than the recital of their rebellion, as above. This was printed from the Autograph. Elizabeth's full power to Cecil, and Wotton, is printed, in Rymer, xv. 596, from the Autograph; but, says not a word, about *the rebels* of Scotland. Such were the powers!

(*r*) Haynes, 342.

(*s*) Haynes, throughout: This treaty is fully, and fairly printed, in Rymer, xv. 593, from the Autograph: Yet, is there a manifest defect in it: For, it contains a clause, stating that, on the

Secretary Cecil, however, afterward obtained a detail of those concessions, with the power under which they are said to have been made. We have just seen, that neither this power, nor those concessions, which ought to have formed a separate article of the treaty of Edinburgh, were deposited with it, in the Public Archives. They were placed, by whatever hands, in the Cotton Library. And, they have been thence copied, translated, and published, by Keith, and other writers, without any suspicion of spuriousness; as criticism, and history, are seldom allied. Cecil seems not to have brought a copy of those concessions, and that power, from Scotland with him. A copy appears to have been, afterward, sent him, by the insurgent chiefs. And this copy still remains, in the Cotton Library, marked by Cecil's hand, certified to be a true copy from *the original*, by James Stewart, the prior of St. Andrews, Lord Ruthven, and William Maitland, the late secretary of the regent queen. But the original, which was thus referred to, has been never seen, by the most curious eyes. The supposed original appears to have been signed only by the French ambassadors: But, to have made a complete original, it ought to have been countersigned, by the English envoys: And, such an original ought to have been annexed to the treaty of Edinburgh, as a separate article of that important pacification. And, forming thus an essential part of the treaty of Edinburgh, the supposed original belonged more to England, than to Scotland:

prayer of the nobles, and people of Scotland, certain concessions had been granted to them, at the request of Elizabeth; and there was an agreement, between the contracting parties, that Francis and Mary should fulfil those concessions; the nobles, and people of Scotland, fulfilling their agreements. We have seen above, that the envoys of Francis and Mary had no power to make such concessions. But, as they were made, the several negociators of this treaty ought to have signed, and sealed them, as *a separate article* of this treaty; and ought, thus authenticated, to have been filed, as an essential part thereof, in the archives of England: For, Elizabeth was a party, and was, in fact, the guarantee of those concessions; and of course, had a right of reclamation, if Francis, and Mary, should depart from them: But, without the record of the agreement, authenticated, by the envoys, Elizabeth had no evidence of her right of reclamation: And Francis, and Mary, might, without such authentication, have denied, that they had ever made such concessions. We now see the imperfection of the treaty of Edinburgh, as it was filed, by Cecil, in the Archives of England. It will be found, perhaps, that to vindicate the envoy's *head*, it will be necessary, to impeach his *heart*. There is a copy of this treaty, in Leonard's *Recueil*, 1693, Tome ii. 567, without the full power: But, there is, in this collection, no copy of those supposed concessions. In the Brit. Mus. Bibl. Harl. No. 1244, there is a very full, curious, and useful collection of Treaties, and other instruments, between Scotland and France, from early, till late times; yet, does it not contain those supposed concessions, though it comprehends the treaty of Edinburgh of the 6th July 1560. The silence of this collector, and of Leonard, gives rise to some suspicion!

And,

And, of course, Cecil ought to have granted a certified copy to the Scotish chiefs, rather than the Scotish chiefs transmit a copy to Cecil. The whole transaction, then, if it were real, was quite informal: And, again, to save the celebrated secretary of Elizabeth, from the imputation of unskilfulness, he must be supposed to have acted knavishly (*t*).

The copy of the Scotish concessions, which remains in the Cotton Library, is entitled, by the hand of Cecil, "The acord betwixt the French king, and "queen of Scots, and the nobility of Scotland, 3d July 1560;" and consists of *the power* of the *sovereigns of Scotland*, with the concessions, that were supposed to be founded thereon, by their envoys (*u*).

The first writer, probably, who questioned the genuineness of those concessions, and that full power, was Whitaker (*x*). They certainly appear in a very questionable shape, as we have already seen (*y*). The powers, under which the treaty of Edinburgh was made, were produced, and verified, in due form: And, by the authority of those, a clause was inserted, in that treaty, in favour of the insurgents, at the request of Elizabeth (*z*). After all, did Francis, and

(*t*) Elizabeth, on the 2d of September 1560, ratified the treaty of Edinburgh, and *every thing contained in it.* Rym. xv. 602. From these last expressions, we may perceive, that there was not any separate article annexed; and that Elizabeth did not recognize the Scotish part of that treaty, whatever it was: And, of course, relinquished her right of reclamation.

(*u*) Calig. b. ix. 129; Keith, 137. That copy is, probably, in the hand of Lethington; the indorsements are in the hand of Cecil; and the signatures of James Stewart, Lord Ruthven, and William Maitland, are genuine. Such, then, is the fact, as it appeared, when the document, in the Cotton Library, was inspected, by antiquarian eyes, for the useful purpose of ascertaining the real truth. It is clear, from a dispatch, by Cecil, and Wotton, dated the 5th of July 1560, that *the acord* between the French, and Scots, was not then settled. Haynes, 349. The date, then, of the 3d of July, as above, was wrong: It contained another anachronism of great importance, as to the queen's reign.

(*x*) Vindication of Mary queen of Scots, iii. 41; Appx. No. xiv.

(*y*) The envoys of Francis, and Mary, would surely carry a copy of their concessions to Paris; and the power, under which they acted, must have remained in the chancery of France; And yet, the collectors of French *Diplomas* seem not to have found them, where they ought to have been seen. Castelnau talks, indeed, of what was *given out*, by agreement; what was rumoured, at Paris. Mem. Eng. Edit. 74.

(*z*) When the French envoys, who were nominated, in the power of Francis, and Mary, came to London, they said to Elizabeth, "that they were sent to her, *and not unto the subjects of* "*Scotland*; for it was not meet, that the king should send to his own subjects, (as they were by "the marriage of their queen), to require peace, or to condition with them for agreement." Holinshed, 374: Camden concurs, in this fact. "The king, and queen, of France, thought it no "mean a condescension for princes, says he, to debate things on a level with their subjects; and

and Mary, grant a full power to the same envoys, dated on the 2d of June 1560, a month later, to treat with the Scotish insurgents? The insurgents themselves say they did, however improbable, in itself, and inconsistent with the acknowledged authority of the 2d of May. The power of the 2d of June was not necessary to the end; as every thing could be done under the power of the 2d of May, which could be performed under that of the 2d of June. To send such a document, from France, after the envoys to Scotland, was not a reasonable act: Being unreasonable, and therefore absurd, it is not to be believed, that such a full power was ever granted, by Francis, and Mary, or received by their envoys. And, there thus appears to be abundant reason to believe, that the supposed full power of the 2d of June 1560 had never any existence, except in the obvious fabrication of the insurgent chiefs (*a*).

When

" Murray made such proposals, as, in Cecil's opinion, were neither fit for princes to grant, nor " subjects to ask " Camden, in Kennet, 282. This was copied, by Camden, from Cecil's letter of the 21st of June. Caligula, as above. And, in the full power of Francis, and Mary, to treat with Elizabeth, the insurgents of Scotland are expressly called *rebels*.

(*a*) There is a translated copy of that paper, in Keith, 143, from the Cotton Library. It appears to be, chiefly, a repetition of the real full power of the previous 2d of May; empowering the envoys of Francis, and Mary, to treat only with the envoys of Elizabeth, for the restoration of tranquillity: And, in addition, to the real full power, goes on thus: " And in like manner, " to give assurance to our subjects of the kingdom of Scotland, that notwithstanding they have of " late committed so grievous a crime, as to forget their duty towards us, if nevertheless they shall " repent, and return to the obedience, which they owe to us, we are willing to receive them into " favour; because we are desirous of nothing more, than to see them living under obedience to " us, and in peace, union, and tranquillity, together." And then follows a clause of deputation, for which the whole paper seems to have been fabricated: " And, generally, to do in the premises, " the *circumstances*, and *dependencies* thereof, all and sundry things, which we ourselves would, or " could do, if we were personally present, even although something should fall out, which might " appear to require a more special instruction, than is contained, in these presents." This last clause was merely copied, from the power of the 2d of May preceding. Rym. xv. 581. But, in diplomacy, such *general* expressions must be limited by the previous *premises*; otherwise an envoy might carry out his authority, without bounds: And, in this supposed commission, the premises were *the restoring of tranquillity to Scotland*: And, the means were, of course, universal pardon, and particular favour. The very conception of this second power, dated the 2d of June, seems to have arisen, in the minds of Murray, [James Stewart], Lethington, and Cecil, *after* the 21st of June 1560, the date of Cecil's very remarkable letter to Elizabeth, from Edinburgh; suggesting the impossibility of obtaining certain points for the insurgents. This letter is in the Cotton Library. Calig. b. 10; and Keith, Appx. 49. This power appears to have been now hastily fabricated; for, there is a gross anachorism, in the date of the commission, being the 16th year of Mary's reign, instead of the 18th. Keith, 144. The whole matter might be thus put to Cecil: The English envoys negotiated the whole treaty of Edinburgh, as they were empowered; in this case, the whole stipulations

When the heart, and hand of forgery is busy, in any age, it is not easy to ascertain falsehood, from truth. We may see in Haynes the successive intimations of Cecil, while his artful mind was busily employed, at Edinburgh, in carrying on a *double negociation*, with whatever view, of gratifying his passion for intrigue, or benefiting his fastidious mistress, without her knowledge. Owing to the artifices of this able minister, it thus becomes very difficult to distinguish what was the true result of the treaty of Edinburgh, with regard to Scotland. From Castelnau, we may learn, indeed, what were *given out, by agreement*, as its stipulations, for putting an end to the war of Scotland (*b*). The writers of the same age, as they all differ, in their notices, are not much more instructive, than Castelnau. What was given, by the insurgent chiefs to Cecil; and by him, after a while, or by his direction, was deposited, in the Cotton Library; and has long been published (*c*). And, whether what has thus been obtruded on the world, as genuine, and has been reprobated, as spurious, needs not be elaborately investigated; as the envoys had no power to negociate with the insurgents; as they had no power to make such a treaty, by agreeing to such concessions; and as Francis, and Mary, never ratified a treaty, which subverted the constitution of the state; which transferred their

stipulations ought to have been executed, by the signatures, and seals, of the envoys of the contracting powers; and thus ought to have been deposited in the Archives of England: Or, as the fact seems to be, that the envoys of Francis, and Mary, negociated a distinct treaty with the insurgent chiefs: But, in this case, there was no power given to hold such a treaty; as the fabricated power required the treaty to be with the envoys of Elizabeth: And these intimations lead to the conclusion, that Cecil basely colleagued with the insurgent chiefs, to impose a fabrication, and falsehood, upon Scotland, and England; and upon the sovereigns of both; upon Elizabeth, as well as upon Mary. The memory of Cecil is chargeable, also, with an additional offence of aggravated baseness: By filling the Archives of England with forgeries, he has contaminated the fountain-head of history.

(*b*) Castelnau, p. 91, of the English edition: This intelligent memoir-writer, though he had not the treaty before him, perceived clearly, "from the event, that France had lost, and the "English had got Scotland, by the war."

(*c*) See those *concessions*, in Keith's Hist. 137: And there would be little doubt about their general tenor, if Murray, Ruthven, and Lethington, who at the same time certified the truth of the annexed full power, which is a palpable forgery, could be believed They set out, in the preamble, with a falsehood: And the articles of this treaty are so extraordinary, in themselves, that we might presume, the envoys of Francis, and Mary, who are praised by Cecil, for their acuteness, and energy did not understand the extent of their sovereign's powers, nor the meaning of their own stipulations. I have seen, in the Paper Office, P. 20, T. No. 20, a memorial, in Cecil's hand, dated, at Newcastle, on the 10th June 1560, of "things to be demanded, by the Scots, *only*." Here, then, is the conception of Cecil, what ought to have been asked, by the Scots: And what was granted was so different, that we are thus furnished with an additional proof of the forgery.

undoubted

undoubted sovereignty to their insurgent subjects; and which laid the independency of Scotland, which had cost so many struggles, at the feet of Elizabeth (*d*).

With regard to this treaty, which had so little authority for its basis, the opinions of men were various. When we hear so judicious a writer as Camden, saying, that it established *the liberty*, and such an author as Burnet, that it removed *the tyranny*, of Scotland, we are left to lament, that history so often sacrifices sense to sound. This truth will appear, by a slight examination of the first article of the Edinburgh treaty. It proceeds upon the complaint of the insurgents of the number of soldiers, which had been kept up, in times of peace: And it goes on to stipulate, that neither French, nor any foreign troops, shall thereafter be introduced, by the king and queen, without the advice of *the Estates*. This article was beneficial to England, but not to Scotland, which might be over-run before such advice could be obtained: It gave superiority to insurgency over law: And, by limiting the legal authority of the sovereign, the just power of the state was enfeebled. The marriage of Francis, and Mary, identified them, as one person. In confirmation of that union, *the Estates* of Scotland, only two years before, had identified the two kingdoms of Mary, and Francis. And, under the authority of *the Estates*, Francis and Mary had a better right to send troops, from Paris to Edinburgh, than Elizabeth's title to send troops, from London to Dublin. The necessary result, then, of this clause of the treaty of Edinburgh, was, to repeal what *the Estates* had enacted, and to weaken the existing system of law; to exalt insurrection over authority; and to leave the whole people enthralled, by triumphant faction; to subdue the mind to intollerance; and to elevate fanaticism over reason. We now perceive, in the practice of Camden, and Burnet, how history can write, without meaning, and even venture to substitute mistatement for truth. It were equally easy to show, that this whole treaty was a continued sacrifice of the constitution of the state to the innovations of insurgency, and a surrender of legal rights to the usurpations of the most daring violences.

The treaty of Edinburgh, which thus gave temporary quiet to Scotland, was proclaimed, on the 6th of July 1560 (*e*). On the 15th of the same month, Leith was dismantled; on the morrow, the troops embarked; and, on the

(*d*) Haynes, 354—57.

(*e*) Haynes, 353. The Lord James Stewart, and Lethington, seem to have been the appropriate negociators, on the part of the insurgent chiefs, under the management of Cecil. Ib. 333. Two commissioners, from Edinburgh town, appear to have also been appointed; but they were not much attended to.

subsequent

subsequent day, the English envoys departed, for their own country (*f*). By the assumed authority of the reformed preachers, a thanksgiving was held, on the 19th of July, in St. Giles's church, the ancient kirk of Edinburgh, for such a treaty, as left them free to domineer over every mind, throughout an enthralled kingdom. Under an authority equally assumed, by some of the nobles, barons, and burroughs, a sort of ecclesiastical establishment was made, which gave to Lothian John Spottiswoode, for its superintendant, and to Edinburgh, John Knox, for its minister (*g*).

By the demise of the regent queen; and by the treaty of Edinburgh; Scotland was left, in July 1560, without any legitimate government. And, the Lord James Stewart, Lethington, and other insurgent chiefs, naturally, continued the authority, which they possessed, from assumption, under Cecil's influence, as *the council.*

As early as the 28th of the preceding month of May, the insurgents had resolved to call a parliament, after they had displaced the regent queen (*h*). They now fixed the day of meeting, on the 10th of July, when every one, having any right to sit, was summoned to attend. A very numerous convention actually met, at Edinburgh, on the 1st of August 1560. As there was no representative of the king, and queen, present, the accustomed formalities of carrying the crown, sceptre, and sword, the emblems of authority, were dispensed with (*i*). As the object was to collect a numerous, rather than a legal assembly, there seems to have been no verification of the title of any one, to sit, in such a convention. Eight days were, however, spent, in active debate, about *the legality of the parliament:* Many insisting, that no parliament could convene, without the presence of the sovereign, either personally, or by representation: But, others alleged, what seemed to be the prevailing sentiment, that the treaty of Edinburgh allowed a parliament to sit, without the authority

(*f*) There is a curious paragraph, in the dispatch of Cecil, and Wotton, of the 6th of July, from the camp before Leith: "We mean, this afternoon, to proclaim it, after a little ceremony "done, to understand the contentation of the town; as though the peace were not concluded, "for respect of their two commissioners, lest the counsellors of the town should, upon bravery, "(not mete for their estate), alledge, that they had no need of this peace, as, if they should perceive the peace concluded without them, they would do." Ib. 353. On the 22d of July 1566, the insurgent council issued a command to the magistrates of Edinburgh, to demolish the south part of the town of Leith. Maitland, 10.

(*g*) Keith, 145.

(*h*) Pitscottie, 386, has recorded that important fact.

(*i*) Spottiswoode, 149.

of

of the king and queen (*k*). This treaty, which was made, as we have seen, without authority, was now acted upon, without *ratification*. The persons convened at length proceeded, to legislate, as if their sitting had been sanctioned, by the practice of a thousand years. They set aside the whole church establishment, which had been confirmed, by so many laws: They settled a confession of faith, which anathematized every one, who presumed to entertain a different faith; thereby introducing the same persecution, in principle, and in practice, under which so many reformers had been sent to the stake. The convention, after legalizing their sitting, by a reference to a stipulation of the Edinburgh treaty, thus proceeded to reprobate the old, and to settle a new church establishment, though the same treaty had expressly stipulated, that nothing should be done under it, in matters of religion, till they were represented to the king, and queen; and by them approved (*l*). It is unnecessary to follow such legislators much further in their proceedings, which were as illegal, in their principle, as they were absurd in their detail (*m*). They sent Sir James Sandilands, with *their acts*, to France, in order to obtain the confirmation of the king, and queen: And, by him, they transmitted a list of counsellors, for the government of Scotland, such as the Edinburgh treaty had required, for the royal assent (*n*). But, both the treaty, and the proceedings, which were transacted under its shadow, were received, by the king, and queen, with disdain, rather than approbation; as they were aware of the imposition, that had been practised, both in the making of the treaty, and in the proceeding of the pretended parliament.

From that epoch, Scotland became a dependency of England, in fact, though not in law. And, the leading men of that convention, Murray, and Morton, Lethington, and Lindsay, and other reformed nobles, became the infamous instruments of the corrupt ministers, and violent measures, of Elizabeth.

But, domestic quiet was not restored to Edinburgh, where rigour, more than moderation, bore sway. Puritanism was the dictator of its legislation (*o*). The market

(*k*) Spottiswoode, 149: That notion, says he, was carried by voices: The treaty required, that the parliament should be called, *according to custom*: But, this was not called, *according to custom*, by *the king's writ*; nor legalized, by the king's authority.

(*l*) Keith, 142-3.

(*m*) Keith, 151-2, has recorded, from a copy in the Scots college, at Paris, "the heads of the "acts, made in the pretended parliament, in August 1560."

(*n*) Id.

(*o*) On the 12th of June 1560, the council of Edinburgh ordered all idolaters, (papists), whoremongers, and harlots, to be banished the town; on pain of exposure, at the cross; of cart-

ing

market days were changed, from Sunday, on which the markets were wont to be kept, to Saturdays, and Mondays; and women were prohibited, in future, from keeping taverns. Such laws, though made by assumption, rather than authority, were rigorously enforced. Sanderson, the deacon of the butchers, was carted through the town, for adultery (*p*). A tumult ensued. The tradesmen rose; broke the cart; and set the deacon at large. The magistrates now applied to the ruling powers, for support. The craftsmen were at length committed to the castle. And the magistrates were, in the end, obliged to apply for their discharge; declaring them innocent of the riot (*q*). Such will always be the insurgent state of a community, which is governed, by dictation, contrary to the principles of the people. In the midst of that anarchy, an event occurred, which was followed, by important consequences: Francis II. of France, died, on the 5th of December 1560 (*r*); leaving Mary Stewart, his widowed queen.

The first assembly of the reformed kirk, consisting of ministers, and laymen, under the name of elders, met, at Edinburgh, on the 20th of December 1560 (*s*). This assembly, which was convened, without any authority, at once assumed all power, legislative, and executive (*t*): And, the magistrates of Edinburgh appear, by their actions, to have then acted, as willing instruments of their unauthorized assumption (*u*).

As soon as the demise of Francis was known, in Scotland, the insurgent chiefs called a meeting of their partizans, at Edinburgh, on the 15th of January 1560-1: And the members of this convention appointed James Stewart, the prior of St. Andrews, to repair to his sister, the queen; to request her

ing through the streets; of burning in the check; and of death. Maitland, 19, from the Council Register. Such was the odious legislation of Edinburgh, reformed, as it was, into fanaticism, and folly!

(*p*) Knox acknowledges, that Sanderson had been divorced, according to the papistical form. Hist. 289. What anarchy of thought, and of action! His divorce was legal.

(*q*) Maitland, 20.

(*r*) Historians have differed, as to the real date of that event: But, the accurate author of the *Antiquités Nationales*, i. 70, places the date, on the 5th of December 1560, and the sepulchral pillar, with the urn, which contains the mild heart of Francis II., facing p. 65.

(*s*) Keith, 498.

(*t*) The meeting of that assembly was directly contrary to one of the articles of the Edinburgh treaty: But, laws, as well as treaties, were regarded, only, as they promoted the selfish purposes of the ruling faction.

(*u*) Maitland, 20-1.

immediate return to her native kingdom. A book of church discipline, which Knox had formed, was presented to this convention; but, it was refused, by the majority: Yet, did he prevail, by his usual vehemence, to obtain subscriptions to his compilation, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh (*x*). This convention, as if its right had been confirmed, by the usage of a thousand years, now directed, that the Estates should assemble, at Edinburgh, on the 20th of May, then next (*y*).

Meantime, the magistrates of Edinburgh commanded the papists, both people, and priests, to attend the protestant church: The papists complied: But, being suspected, from their facility, of endeavouring to seduce the disciples of the reformed ministers, the magistrates, who now exercised the tyranny of Procrustes, ordered all papists, fornicators, and adulterers, to quit the city (*z*). They enforced this command, by a more rigorous order (*a*); being willing to show their subservience to the minister's prejudice, more than to the people's feelings.

In the beginning of May, saith Knox, "the rascal multitude were stirred up to "make a *Robin Hood*, which enormity was long left off, and condemned by par-"liament (*b*)." We may easily suppose, that a legislative prohibition of such popular sports was not rigorously executed. But, as *sports*, and *enormities*, were now deemed the same, the magistrates of Edinburgh tried to enforce the rigours of Knox. When the people proceeded, with their *May games*, the town baillies seized their swords, and ensigns: A mutiny broke out, on the same night: The people took possession of the city gates; and, being a little pacified, by the restoration of their sportive ensigns, they proceeded with their *May games*. But, the magistrates were not to be so easily pacified: Having arrested, on the 11th of May, one Balon, a shoemaker, they condemned him to death, for his participation in such tumults; erected a gibbet under the cross, with design to execute him. A more outrageous tumult now ensued: The prisoner was set free; the gibbet was destroyed; and, the magistrates were besieged in the town-house; the craftsmen refusing to relieve them, they were constrained to capitulate, by giving obligations, not to prosecute any one, for being implicated in such tumults: And, quiet was restored. But, the absurdity of the magistrates was now assumed, by the folly of the clergy: The preachers excommunicated the

(*x*) Knox, 276; Spottiswoode, 152-174; Keith, 491—6. (*y*) Keith, 157.

(*z*) Maitland, 20, from the town council register of the 24th of March 1560-1.

(*a*) Ib. 21.

(*b*) In June 1555, an act passed, forbidding the choice of Robert Hude, or Little John, or Abbot of Unreason, or Queen of May. Black Acts, fo. 168.

whole

whole multitude, till they should submit to the magistrates (*c*). And, we may thus perceive the domination of anarchy, in the absence of government.

As the intended meeting of a convention, at Edinburgh, was now at hand, all parties prepared to attend, with adequate force, in the absence of legal protection. The magistrates of Edinburgh, with the pretence of keeping the peace, on the 21st of May 1561, directed the raising of sixty hackbutters; they commanded the citizens, to be prepared with arms, in case of a tumult; and they employed the duke's horse guard, at the rate of five shillings Scots a day (*d*). In this state of perturbation, the second assembly of the reformed kirk, convened at Edinburgh, on the 26th of May. The members seem to have entertained no notion of the illegality of their meeting, or of the unreasonableness of their conduct. They resolved to supplicate the *secret* council of the insurgent chiefs, for various measures, that were intended to eradicate the old religion, and to support the new (*e*). The first measure, which they proposed for that end, to the *secret council*, was the suppression of *idolatry*, throughout the realm (*f*). In pursuance of this application, the secret council passed an act, for demolishing all the abbeys, and churches, of the monks, and friars; and for suppressing all other monuments of idolatry: The execution of this violent, and illegal act, was committed to the Earls of Arran, Argyle, and Glencairn, in the west; and to the Lord James Stewart, the prior of St. Andrews, and other zealots, in the middle, and northern districts (*g*). It seems not easy to trace the proceedings of the convention of May 1561. And, the

(*c*) Knox, 289—91: He accuses the crafts of fomenting those tumults; giving as a reason, that several of the deacons had applied to him, for his interposition with the magistrates, in favour of Belon, as otherwise a tumult would ensue: But, Knox was not of a temper to yield to such considerations. Maitland relates, confusedly, the above tumults on the 11th of April. Hist. Edin. 21.

(*d*) Maitland, 21, from the town council register. Knox boasts, in his history, 291, that "*the brethren* assembled, in such companies, that the bishops, with their bands, forsook the "street."

(*e*) Keith, 501.

(*f*) Keith, 501: The idolaters were the papists; and they were to be punished, for their worship, as idolatrous; though their religious practice was legal, while the proceedings of their persecutors were against law.

(*g*) Keith, 503; Spottiswoode, 174-5: Archbishop Spottiswoode was thus induced to cry out; what devastation of churches, and church buildings; every ornament was defaced, or plundered; the materials of the churches were sold, and appropriated; the sepulchres of the dead were violated; and the books, and registers of every kind, were committed to the flames: He goes on to charge Knox, and the reformed preachers, with inciting, by their sermons, the zealous nobles to execute that unchristian act, with persevering violence. Id.

kirk assembly, and the secret council, are alone entitled to the glory, or the shame, of those unhallowed measures.

All this while, the queen was daily expected, in her native kingdom, according to the desire of her people, and to the dictates of her own interest. At Leith she arrived, on the 19th of August 1561, at nine o'clock in the morning, with a great retinue of kinsmen, and nobles (*b*). She was joyfully received. The nobles crowded to the shore, to offer their gratulations on her safe arrival, from the violence of the sea, and the vigilance of Elizabeth's fleet (*i*). The craftsmen of Edinburgh, headed by their deacons, met her, with honest acclaims, on her way from Leith to Holyroodhouse, where she arrived, in the evening of the same joyous day. Musicians gave their salutations, at her chamber window: This melody she liked well; and willed, that it might be continued, some nights after (*k*). Good humour, and sincere joy, continued till the Sunday, after her arrival, when rejoicing was changed to tumult. While preparations were making, for the queen's prayers, in her private chapel, a crowd, who were brought together, by whatever means, threatened violence to those, who were to officiate. The son of Lord Lindsay, with other inhabitants of Fife, entered the court of the palace of Holyrood; crying out, "that the "idolatrous priests should die the death, according to God's law." The Lord James Stewart, the most influential man, in Scotland, who was intended for the queen's minister, undertook to keep the chapel door; on pretence of preventing any Scotishmen from witnessing the mass: Yet, this disguise did not prevent Knox from seeing, that the object was to protect the queen's worship, and the safety of her priests: And, this sentiment seems to have been communicated to the multitude, who the same evening surrounded the palace; avowing their purpose, not to suffer the queen's religion, even in her private chapel: Now, all this time, the religion of the sovereign was the religion of the state, while the religion of Knox, and his disciples, was hitherto unwarranted by any

(*b*) The contrariety among the Scotish historians, as to the day of her arrival, is settled, by the Privy Seal Record, as quoted in Keith's Preface: And Brantome, who was present, says, that she arrived on *Tuesday* morning, which was the 19th of August.

(*i*) "Happy were he, or she, saith Knox, who could first have presence of the queen; the "protestants were not the slowest." This violent ecclesiastic, we may remember, reprobated the *regiment of women*, as unlawful: In deference to Elizabeth, however, he acknowledged, that she might be lawfully obeyed, as she was specially chosen, by God, as his instrument. He treated Mary, on most occasions, as coming within the limit of his reprobation.

(*k*) Knox, 306; Keith, 180.

law,

law (*l*). On the morrow, the privy council issued a proclamation, stating the queen's intention to assemble the Estates, to deliberate on religious differences; and requiring her subjects to preserve tranquillity, without offending others, of whatever religion, or country (*m*). On the following Sunday, Knox, by a violent sermon, endeavoured to inflame the people against idolatry; saying, "that one "mass was more fearful to him, than if ten thousand enemies were landed, for "suppressing his religion." The protestant leaders became ashamed, as well they might, of the preachers, who inculcated such intollerance, who incited the people to attack the palace, wherein the queen performed her devotions; and who inveighed against her protestant counsellors, for their insidious moderation (*n*). Even Randolph, the corrupt envoy of Elizabeth, at Edinburgh, who did not sufficiently advert, that Knox was an instrument of Cecil, complained to this statesman of the ignorance, obstinacy, and turbulence of Knox (*o*).

In

(*l*) In saying that Knox's religion was unwarranted, I disregard altogether the proceedings of the convention of 1560, which was illegal in its meeting, and conclusion, and was yet unconfirmed, by any constitutional authority.

(*m*) Keith, 504-5; Knox, 307-8, admits, that the above proclamation "was framed, by such "as before professed Christ Jesus; for, in the council, then had papists neither power, nor voice:" In words of less cant, the fact is, that the leaders of the protestants framed, and issued that proclamation. There was a proclamation of Elizabeth, dated the 17th of December 1558, "to "forbid preaching, and allowing only the reading of the Epistles, and Gospels, in English, in "churches,——"until consultation might be had by parliament, by her majesty, and her three "Estates." Strype's An. i. Appx. No. iii. The measure of Scotland seems to have been adopted, from the measure of England. When the Scotish proclamation was made at *the cross* of Edinburgh, by the lion herald, the Earl of Arran protested against it; avowing that the proclamation should not protect any of the queen's domestics, from the punishment due to idolaters. Knox, 308-9; Keith, 505. If the Earl of Arran had done this, at Paul's cross, against Elizabeth's proclamation, his head would have been in danger. Against this frantic noble no steps were taken, for his outrageous conduct. Knox, 309.

(*n*) Knox, 309.

(*o*) Honest Strype has dedicated ch. ix. of his Annals, vol. i. to the investigation of Knox's principles, from his practices: "The Reformation, saith Strype, was now carrying on [1559] in "the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland, as well as here: And, May 2d, John Knox, the "Scotsman, being fifty-four years of age, arrived, at Edinburgh, from France. From whence, "anno 1557, he had earnestly wrote to the Scotish nobility, who had taken upon them the public "*reformation*; telling them, that he had the judgment of the most godly, and learned, in Europe, "(meaning, no doubt, the ministers of Geneva, where he sojourned), to *warrant his, and their* "*consciences, for their present enterprize.* The position maintained by them was this, that if kings "refuse to reform religion, the inferior magistrates and people, being directed, and instructed, "in the truth, before by their preachers, might lawfully reform, within their own bounds, them-

"selves:

In the meantime, great preparations were made, by the magistrates, for the queen's public entry into Edinburgh: And, they resolved, at the same time, to entertain her relations, the French princes, on Sunday, the 31st of August 1561 (*p*). Splendid dresses were prepared; and the public streets were ornamented (*q*). At length, she made her entry: She dined in the castle: And, as she left it, a boy came from a cloud, as if from heaven, who delivered her a bible, a psalter, and the keys of the castle gates; and presented her with some verses, and "with terrible significations of the vengeance of God upon idolaters:" They intended to have had a priest burnt at the altar, if the Earl of Huntley, who that day bore the sword, had not stayed that pageant (*r*). One might infer, from the fact, that Knox had reformed the magistrates of Edinburgh out of their common sense: They invited their queen to a public entertainment; and they offered her a deliberate insult.

The queen seems to have arranged her government, at Holyroodhouse, on the 6th of September 1561; as she then appointed her privy council, and placed Lord James Stewart, her bastard brother, at the head of her administration (*s*). She had been courted, before her departure from France, by the two parties, which then divided Scotland; the protestant; and the papist: And, she had, privately, determined to put her affairs into protestant hands; knowing that she could not have ruled, by means of the Roman Catholics, without an insurrection, with Elizabeth, for its patron. The Lord James Stewart had returned to Scotland, with assurances of being her minister: And we see him attempting to protect her palace, from insult, during her private devotions, on the first Sunday, after her arrival (*t*). Under this minister, the chiefs of the insurgents were now

"selves: And if all, or the far greater part, be enlightened, they might make a public reforma-"tion." Strype goes on to an investigation of Knox's publications, to show *his principles*, which we know to be, what are now called *jacobinical*; being hostile to every thing established, by law.

(*p*) Keith, 189. (*q*) Maitland, 21.

(*r*) So Randolph wrote to Cecil, on the 7th of September 1561. Knox says, 316, that, "on "the day appointed, the queen was received in the castle; whereat preparations were made, for "her entry into the town, in farces, in masking, and other prodigalities: Fain would our fools "have counterfeited France." (*s*) Keith, 187.

(*t*) The Lord James, as he was born in 1530, the putative son of James v., was now in his two-and-thirtieth year; and was of course twelve years older than the queen, who was born, in 1542. In 1552, he received several sums of money, from the English government, as the wages of treason. [Privy Council Register of the 4th of July, and the 9th of December, 1552.] We have seen him acting, under Secretary Cecil, at the treaty of Edinburgh. "We find a "great commodity, saith Cecil to Petre, on the 23d of June 1560, in the *Lord James*, and the "Lord Ledyngton, who be well content *to follow our opinions, in any thing*; Surely the Lord "James

now appointed the officers of state, under Mary, while they were more dependant on the English queen, than attached to their native sovereign. And, Knox, the dictator of the kirk, was also the instrument of Cecil, the English secretary (*u*). We thus see the Scotish queen, who was sincerely attached to the religion of Rome, obliged to place her affairs, in the corrupt hands of a protestant faction, who were without morals, or moderation, or attachment to her, in preference of her rival (*x*).

The queen, a few days after she had thus settled her government, set out from Edinburgh, to visit her principal towns. On the 2d of October 1561, the magistrates of Edinburgh thought fit, to renew their proclamation, commanding all monks, friars, priests, nuns, adulterers, fornicators, and other such filthy persons, to remove from this town, under the pains of carting, of burning on the cheek, and banishment (*y*). The queen, now, commanded the magistrates to meet in their town-house; to remove the provost, and baillies, from their offices; and to choose other qualified persons, in their room. The magistrates receiving this command, by a mace-bearer, in writing, the council, and *deacons*, assembled, on the 8th of October; and, in obedience to the queen's command, dismissed their provost, and baillies, and chose other officers, who were more worthy of trust (*z*). A protest was, however, entered on their record, that this deprivation, and election, should not prejudice the city's rights.

The

"James is a gentleman of great worthiness." Haynes, 333. When the Lord James went to France, after the demise of Francis II., he acted full as much, for Elizabeth, as for Mary. And, on his return, he is supposed to have given suggestions to Elizabeth, which brought into hazard Mary's person. That the Lord James was a miscreant, we may learn from his management, at the treaty of Edinburgh, when he went the full length of forgery, to gain his nefarious purpose.

(*u*) Haynes, 372; and the Privy Council Register of the 2d of February 1552-3.

(*x*) The state papers of England are crowded with the secret correspondence between the Scotish statesmen, and Elizabeth's ministers.

(*y*) Keith, 192, from the Town Council Register. The queen, hearing of this insult on her person, and her government, wrote to the town council; complaining of this measure, which was equally without her knowledge, and against her command. It appears, from the Town Register, that the queen had formerly written to the magistrates, on this subject, and had forbidden what was so offensive to her. Maitland, 202; Arnot, 25-6, who gives a very inaccurate account of this essential affair.

(*z*) *The deacons* of the crafts had been now admitted, as constituent members of the town council. They seem to have first voted, on the 26th of August preceding, after a long struggle, for a participation in the city counsels. After the election, a ticket, from Secretary Lethington, was produced; offering some different persons to their approbation. Keith, 192-3, who has given, from the Town Register, the minutes of this whole transaction; in order to confute Buchanan, and

Knox's,

The privileges of the town, and the powers of the government, were not, in that age, probably well defined. The town-house, having become ruinous, was, by the queen, and her council, ordered, in February 1561-2, to be taken down; and apartments for the Lords of Session to be provided: A new edifice was, accordingly, erected, at the west end of St Giles's church; and was called the *high council house* (*a*). But, the requisite accommodation not being provided time enough, the Lords of Session intimated to the town council their purpose of removing the court to the city of St. Andrews, if a convenient house were not soon made ready for their present use. This remonstrance seems to have had the wished effect: And the Court of Session sat, in the meantime, in the Halyblood aile of St. Giles's church (*b*).

The zeal against what was called idolatry, was now as extreme, as was the zeal against popery. The town council ordained, in June 1562, the figure of St. Giles, in the banner of the city, to be cut out, and a *thistle* to be inserted in its stead. The constituted authorities went a step further, which, probably, was attended with greater consequences: They ordained, that no one should be elegible to any office, in the city, but such as were of the reformed faith (*c*). In the meantime, the city, with all its reforms, was not quiet. On the 27th of June 1562, an affray happened in the street, between Lord Ogilvie, and Sir John Gordon, a son of the Earl of Huntly, on a private quarrel, about family rights, which was followed, by consequences, though it was of little importance, in itself. As Lord Ogilvie was sore wounded, Gordon was committed to prison. The magistrates applied to the queen, who signified, that nothing should protect the guilty from justice. This matter of police was adopted, by the queen's ministers, as an affair of state, with design to implicate Huntly, in a breach of the peace, and even in a conspiracy against the queen. Sir John Gordon, at the end of a month, made his escape from prison (*d*). The Lord James, the queen's minister, had now obtained from his sister a grant of the earldom of Murray, which of right belonged to Huntly. And this hasty quarrel of the guilty son was converted, by studious artifice, into matter of crimination against the innocent father; in order to cover the minister's design of effectuating his

Knox's, misrepresentations. Knox misreported, that the queen committed the magistrates to the castle, and issued a counter proclamation; allowing all criminals to resort to Edinburgh. Buchanan only insists, with equal falsehood, that the queen committed the magistrates to Edinburgh castle. But, to rectify the falsehoods of Buchanan, and to explain the misreports of Knox, is a task, of which there is no end, and of little use.

(*a*) Maitland, 21. (*b*) Id.
(*c*) Maitland, 23. (*d*) Ib. 22.

corrupt

corrupt purpose. The queen was induced, by her brother, to travel, with her court, into the rugged north, during the autumn of 1562, in order to promote her minister's measures. The Lord James was, by those means, put into possession of the earldom of Murray; and Huntly was pushed into rebellion, which ended in the loss of his life, and the ruin of his family (*a*). Such were the fatal consequences, which were thus drawn, by consummate villainy, from a personal rencounter, on Edinburgh streets, owing to private considerations!

The queen returned, from her northern tour, to Edinburgh, in November 1562. The preachers, saith Knox, inveighed vehemently against the vices of the court; the immoderate dancing, and the vast whoredom, that thereof ensued: The reformed leaders, Murray, and Morton, Lethington, and Macgill, who now guided the queen's affairs, were highly offended, he adds, with the vehemence of the preachers, which was stigmatized by them, as calumnious railing (*b*): And, he acknowledges, "that this vehemency of the preachers "provoked not only the hatred of the protestant courtiers, but also of others (*c*)." The *protestant preachers*, and the *protestant courtiers*, now stood opposed to each other. It reflects great disgrace on Murray's administration, that he had raised a spirit, which he could not allay; wanting either inclination, or address, to turn the *vehemence* of the preachers to topics, more congenial with the gospel, and more consistent with society (*d*).

The parliament, at length, assembled, at Edinburgh, on the 26th of May 1563 (*e*). The queen came to the Estates, dressed in her robes, and wearing her crown: The emblems of royalty were carried by the Duke of Chatelherald, the Earl of Argyle, and the Earl of Murray. The queen made them a speech, which Knox, in his usual spirit of calumnious railing, calls a *painted oration*: And

(*a*) The Earl of Huntly was slain, at the battle of Corrachie; his son, Sir John Gordon, was taken prisoner, tried for treason, and executed, at Aberdeen.

(*b*) Knox. Hist. 348.

(*c*) Ib. 348-9. Randolph, in his dispatch to Cecil of the 16th of December 1562, in the Paper Office, gives a similar account of Knox, and *his vehemency*. Randolph, in his letter to Cecil, of 28th of February 1562-3, tells him: "Our preachers pray daylie, that God will keep us from "bondage of strangers; and for the queen, as much in effect, as *that God will either turn her heart,* "or *send her a short life*: Of what charity, he adds, this proceedeth, I leave to be discussed, unto "the great divines."

(*d*) The same ministers, who, according to Randolph, wanted charity, were guilty of the impurities, which they railed at in others. Randolph's dispatch of the 22d of January 1562-3; and Knox, 350. Paul Methven, one of those preachers, was convicted of adultery, by the general assembly of December 1562. Ib. 349—51; Keith, 522.

(*e*) Parl. Rec. 772-77.

she was present, as supreme justiciary, at the condemnation of the dead Earl of Huntly, and the living Earl of Sutherland, for their late rebellion against Murray's fraudulence (*f*). But, the great measure of the parliament of 1563 was the *act of oblivion*, which was to cover the lords of the late congregation, who were the chiefs of the present government, with the mantle of law (*g*); and which expunged a thousand treasons, that had been committed, by the insurgent chiefs, from the 6th of March 1558, to the 1st of September 1561, when the queen settled a legal government, with those chiefs, for her ministers (*h*): But, in return for oblivion, the queen's ministers did not offer to parliament any law, for protecting her person, and opinions, from the daily outrage of audacious preachers, who thought themselves above legal restraint. Among some laws of domestic economy, there were several acts passed, for giving protection to glebes, and manses, for punishing witchcrafts, and adultery, and for upholding parish kirks: But, as the parliament did not persecute, the preachers became outrageous: Knox gave vent to his vehemence against the queen, and parliament, against the queen's ministers, his late companions in reform; and against the most respectable persons, because they would not act, as outrageously, as his own practice (*i*).

Scotland, owing to her own folly, now felt all the misery, which arises, when the law is unknown, or uncertain. In May 1563, the archbishop of St. Andrews, and the prior of Whithern, were tried before the justiciary court, at Edinburgh, wherein sat the Earl of Argyle, as justice general, for saying mass, at Easter. It appears not, that any lawyer was brought into court, to show, that this practice was lawful, under the ancient system, which had never been repealed. And, the archbishop, and prior, were imprisoned, in Edinburgh

(*f*) Lady Huntly was not discouraged, by the misfortunes of her family, from entering a protest against the trial of her deceased husband, and desired the aid of a man of law. Knox, 357. The forfeitures, on that occasion, of the Earls of Huntly, and Sutherland, and seven gentlemen of the name of Gordon, were reversed, in the parliament of April 1567. Parl. Rec. 772-84.

(*g*) Black Acts of that Session, ch. i.

(*h*) The pretended parliament of August 1560, passed an act of oblivion, in pursuance of the suppositious treaty of Edinburgh: But, as the queen refused her confirmation, both of the act, and the treaty, those lords felt their conduct to be undefended, by any law. They now introduced another act of oblivion, founded on that reprobated treaty: But, the queen had the firmness to refuse her assent to such an act, so founded on a treaty, that she would not recognize: "Wherefore, it was "advised, saith Spottiswoode, that the lords, in the parliament, should, upon their knees, entreat "the passing of such an act, which was accordingly done; but without any respect to the said "treaty." Hist. 188.

(*i*) Knox Hist. 357-8-9.

castle.

castle (*i*). The justice general either did not know the law, or sacrificed his duty to his prejudices. One Carvet, a priest, in the subsequent year, was prosecuted before the magistrates of Edinburgh, for saying mass, contrary to a supposed act of parliament (*k*): And for this pretended offence he was twice set upon the pillory. The queen, considering this illegal conduct, as an insult to her religion, and an assumption of her power, summoned a great force to Edinburgh, to punish the guilty magistrates (*l*): But, though Spens, the queen's advocate, was sent to make remonstrances; he appears not to have explained to them, that they acted against law, and without authority (*m*). Knox, and his disciples, proceeded one step further, in the assumption of all power, in their function of preachers. By a circular letter, in October 1563, they summoned the queen's subjects, to give their attendance, at Edinburgh, in support of their brethren, who were prosecuted, for an act of treason, by invading the queen's palace. The queen's ministers endeavoured to convince Knox, that he acted unlawfully, in convoking the queen's subjects, though the doing of this belonged alone to the queen's authority. But, he could easily quote perverted scripture, to warrant his assumption; to justify the violence of overawing a court of justice, by armed multitudes; and to empower the preachers to execute supposed law upon a whole people for fancied crimes: The assembly of the kirk, which merely acted on assumed authority, justified Knox, in convoking the people, against law; and in punishing any one, without

(*i*) Knox, 355; Keith, 521; Spottiswoode, 187.

(*k*) The supposed act, on which Carvet was prosecuted, was No. 3. of the acts, made in the pretended parliament of August 1560. Keith, 151. The saying of mass was then made punishable, for the first offence, by the loss of goods; for the second, by an arbitrary punishment, at the will of the magistrate; and for the third, by the loss of life. But, the proceedings of this convention had never been recognized as legal: And they had been passed over by the parliament of 1563, when an act of oblivion was passed, without the least notice: Nor, were the acts of that unwarrantable convention ever admitted into the Statute Book. Yet, under such disputable authority, were the greatest persons in the state, as well as the least, now punished, in a manner, which left no rights in the subject, and no power in the sovereign: This is the very definition of tyranny, in the odious form of reformed anarchy.

(*l*) Maitland, 25.

(*m*) Spens was a reformed lawyer; and, of course, could not see, with prejudiced eyes, any thing unlawful, in punishing the subject against law. With Knox, he probably thought, that a text of misconceived scripture, though applicable to a different people, and to a dissimilar occasion, was quite sufficient, to over-rule the most ancient establishments. Again; we have here tyranny, in the despicable shape of perverted scripture!

warrant (*n*). And, in this assumption of Knox, which was avowed, by the church judicatories, we again see tyranny stalking through the land, in the horrible guise of reformed practices. Knox, as he had now baffled the queen's ministers, seemed to be the dictator of the people. And, it is easy to perceive, how much the whole power of the state was assumed, under such principles, and practices, by conventions, and persons, which were unrecognized by law. Edinburgh, with Knox, for its minister, at length, became the principle seat of reformed illegality, and of reformed violence: And, here sat the parliament, as its appropriate place; and here met the assembly of the kirk, which arrogated still greater power (*o*).

The time was now come, when the marriage of the queen of Scots, with Lord Darnley, was to give a different current to affairs, as they related to the kingdom, and its metropolis (*p*). Murray, as the instrument of Elizabeth, more than the minister of Mary; and the Duke of Chatelherald, the heir-apparent of the crown, and the slave of his own follies; opposed the queen's marriage with Darnley, which was approved by the nobles, and the people. The assembly of the kirk, from a desire of intermeddling, and the town of Edinburgh, from an ambition of factiousness, opposed the spousals of their sovereign (*q*). Yet, was Darnley proclaimed king, at the market-cross of Edinburgh, on the 28th of July 1565: And, on the morrow, was he married to the queen, within the chapel of Holyroodhouse, at five o'clock, in the morning (*r*).

(*n*) The convocation of the king's lieges had been specially prohibited, by act of parliament, Ja. II. Parl. 14, No. 78; and indeed by other laws. Balfour's Pract. 533-4.

(*o*) Knox, 377-96.

(*p*) As early as the 7th of March 1560-1, it was foreseen by Elizabeth, and Cecil, that *the marriage* of such a queen was an affair, that might be so managed, as to mortify Mary, and gratify Elizabeth: So, Randolph, the corrupt envoy to Scotland, was instructed to make the people of Scotland understand, how inconvenient it would be, if their queen should again marry, with a stranger. Haynes, 367. And, the ministers of Mary, from the epoch of her return, were gained, by Elizabeth; as we know from the same State Papers: We may easily perceive what a source of perplexity would be found, in such a measure. In February 1565, Darnley arrived from England; and immediately waited on the queen, at Wemys castle, in Fife. In the first week of July 1565, the queen, while at Perth, hearing of a plot by Murray, and Argyle, to seize her, and Darnley, hastened to Callender. In the meantime, the town of Edinburgh, incited by Knox, and Murray, broke out into insurrection against the queen's marriage: The insurgents armed themselves, and disarmed others: And, St. Leonard's craig was the guilty scene of this insurrection. Spottiswoode, 199; Knox, 410; Randolph's Letter to Cecil of the 4th July 1565.

(*q*) Holinshed, 381. (*r*) Id.; Birrel's Diary, 5.

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This ceremony was the signal, for the rebellion of Murray, Chatelherald, Argyle, and of others, with the towns of St. Andrews, Dundee, and Perth, which acted under Murray's influence. The king, and queen, thereupon assembled their power (*s*). The insurgents, coming to Edinburgh, were repulsed, by the fire of the castle; and they now retreated upon Dunfries; in order to be near the confines of Elizabeth's kingdom, which, they knew, would protect them, from pursuit (*t*). Yet, were they coldly received, according to Elizabeth's usual artifice. Chatelherald, and others, were pardoned, and banished to France (*u*). Murray, and his adherents, remained in England, openly discountenanced, but secretly protected.

A parliament was now called, to meet at Edinburgh, in March 1566: And, to it were summoned Murray, and his adherents, to answer accusations of treason, for obvious rebellion. To prevent the meeting of *the Estates*, which was to forfeit Murray, for his treason, and also to punish him, for the baseness of his motive, and the scandal of his ingratitude, was the great object of his many partizans: At the head of all these, were Morton, the chancellor, and Maitland, the secretary. By various intrigues, which all operated on the weakness, the jealousy, the folly of Darnley, they induced this puerile prince, to put himself at the head of Murray's faction, who were to commit a deliberate assassination on Rizzio, the queen's private secretary, for distracting her court (*x*). The Estates, accordingly, assembled, in Edinburgh, on the 7th of March 1566; when the queen met them, in form; and the lords of the committee of articles were about to pass the act of forfeiture against Murray, and his partizans; when the concerted murder was executed, with every aggravating circumstance (*y*): On Saturday, the 9th of March 1565-6, in the evening, the king, Morton, the chancellor, Maitland, the secretary, the Lords Ruthven, and Lindsay, entered the queen's supper apartment, in Holyrood-

(*s*) Maitland's Edin. 26: The town council of Edinburgh voted two hundred men to be raised, which levy was commuted for money. The queen, wanting supplies, to oppose that rebellion, borrowed of Edinburgh 10,000 marks Scots, for which the superiority of Leith was received, as a security. Ib. 27. The peace of the town, and the care of the queen's palace, were committed to the town council, while unprovoked insurgency was thus busy.

(*t*) Holinshed, 381-2. (*u*) Id.

(*x*) Holinshed, 382; Camden, in Kennet, ii. 404.

(*y*) The indictment of Henry Yair, for being one of Rizzio's assassins, charges the fact to have been committed, on the 9th of March, under silence of night, at eight o'clock, "it being the "time of parliament current." Arnot's Crim. Trials, 380. This fact supports Holinshed. See Keith, 331, for the proceedings of parliament.

house,

house, and, in her presence, gave Rizzio a thousand mortal stabs (*z*). The queen remained a prisoner, in the hands of the assassins (*a*). On the morrow, the Estates were discharged from their attendance, by Darnley's direction (*b*). And, in the meantime, Murray, and his treasonous adherents, returned, from the insidious border, to Edinburgh, where they offered themselves to trial, after the court had been dismissed (*c*). The queen, soon after, induced the deluded Darnley to retire with her, from this guilty scene, to Dunbar. Here, she immediately found herself strong enough to return to Edinburgh; whence she expelled the late assassins; and where she pardoned the former traitors: Morton, and his associates in villainy, now found the same protection, from Elizabeth's insidiousness, that Murray, and his partizans, had recently relinquished (*d*). This odious transaction proves, with full conviction, to what baseness the protestant chiefs could stoop, for obtaining their unwarrantable ends. Darnley disavowed, by proclamation, at the cross of Edinburgh, any connection with those chiefs, in the murder of Rizzio; whereby, he incurred the derision of the populace, and the detestation of the conspirators.

After a short sojourn in the bishop of Dunkeld's house, at Edinburgh, the queen retired into the castle, to wait the time of her delivery. And, on the 19th of June 1566, was she accordingly delivered of her son, James, who was doomed to be the instrument of party, in soon depriving his mother of her crown (*e*). The nobles gave thanks to God, in St. Giles's church, for the birth of such a son; and the townsmen displayed their joy, by their illuminations (*f*). The queen remained in Edinburgh castle, till the subsequent July,

(*z*) Holinshed, 382; Birrel's Diary, 5.

(*a*) During eight-and-forty hours, saith Yair's indictment, guarded by the citizens of Edinburgh.

(*b*) Keith, Appx. 126 (*c*) Holinshed, 383.

(*d*) Yair's indictment states, that there were five hundred persons who were assisting, in the seizure of the queen's palace, when that murder was committed: There were only four persons tried, for that aggravated crime: And two of them were burgesses of Edinburgh. Arnot's Crim. Trials, 377. Yet, were there four score persons of the community of Edinburgh, who assisted the conspirators, in that terrible crime. Keith, 352. The queen applied to the provost in vain, for help, during her utmost need. Melvil's Mem. 8°. 130. There were only two mean persons, Yair, and Scot, executed, for Rizzio's murder. Keith, 334. The noble assassins, by the influence of Elizabeth, and the power of their faction, were all pardoned, by the injured queen.

(*e*) Holinshed, 383; Birrel, 5.

(*f*) Holinshed, 383. The queen, not long after, conferred on the town, which she wished to please, and to govern, the whole estates, that had belonged to the Black, and Grey friars of Edinburgh. Maitland's Edin. 29.

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when she went along the Forth to Alloa-house, for the benefit of air, and the advantage of amusement.

The queen, meanwhile, tried to reconcile the nobles to each other, and Darnley to himself. But, among chiefs, who were as turbulent, as they were corrupt, amity could not long continue. The faction of Murray had set Darnley against the queen, when he headed the conspiracy, that ended in the murder of Rizzio (*g*). The same faction endeavoured to incite the queen against Darnley, by laying before her an insidious proposal, for divorcing her, from her unworthy husband. This transaction occurred, while the queen lay, at Craigmiller, in December 1566, before the baptism of her son. The queen refused her assent to that proposal: But, from this transaction, the same faction, artful, and unscrupulous, as it was, conceived a plot against the life of Darnley, who had given the chiefs mortal offence; and they now incited Bothwell's ambition, to look up to the marriage of the queen, when her hated spouse should be removed, by Bothwell's guilty means (*h*). Every event was now converted, by the same faction, as a mean, for effecting that odious end. At Christmas 1566, the court then being at Stirling, the assassins of Rizzio were pardoned; and Morton, their chief, immediately returned, from England, to his usual pursuits of interest, and ambition. At that epoch, Darnley went to visit his father, at Glasgow, where he was taken ill, with the small pox. And, the queen, after making, meantime, some excursions of amusement, returned, with her son, to Edinburgh. She soon after followed her physician to Glasgow, to visit her husband, whom she brought to Edinburgh, on the 31st of January 1566-7 (*i*). And, ten days after, Darnley, then lying in a convalescent state, in the retired house of *Kirkafield*, was murdered, by Bothwell, and his associates; the same faction, who consisted of privy counsellors, and ought to have revealed this plot, assenting. Their odious objects were now obtained: The husband of Mary was thus taken off, without her knowledge, and against her interest; Murray was revenged by his fall, and her injury; and Bothwell, whom the same faction hated, was thus involved in terrible guilt. Amidst such disgraceful scenes, were Edinburgh, and Scotland, equally contaminated, by the crimes of its ignominious chiefs.

(*g*) Camden, in Kennet, ii. 404.

(*h*) Ib. 403-4. Ormiston, who was executed, for the murder of Darnley, confessed, that Bothwell, in order to induce him to give his assistance, assured him, "that the whole lords, who "were with the queen, at Craigmiller, had concluded the same, [had agreed upon the matter]; "and none durst find fault with it, when it shall be done." Arnot's Crim. Trials, 384.

(*i*) Birrel's Diary, 6.

Yet,

Yet, Bothwell, who was soon suspected, as his guilt was whispered, by those, who knew the secret, was still to be acquitted, by his country (*k*). The same faction, who had pushed him on his crime, now contrived to acquit him, by a collusive trial, before Argyle, the justice general, at Edinburgh (*l*). He was arraigned, and acquitted, under Morton's management, saith Camden (*m*). But, in this collusion, the unhappy queen had no concern; as she had a very different interest; and the whole offices of government were in the hands of that guilty faction (*n*).

The parliament, which assembled, at Edinburgh, on the 14th of April 1567, rose, on the 19th of the same month. The transactions of the Estates, during their six days sitting, are very memorable, though they appear not, in the statute book (*o*). The act, concerning *religion*, would alone have conferred celebrity, on any legislature (*p*). It recites, that the queen, since her arrival, from France, had attempted nothing contrary to the state of religion, which she found publickly, and universally *standing*, that is, in fact, existing; and being willing to continue this forbearance, for the happiness of her people, the queen, with the

(*k*) The great concern of the conspirators now was, saith Camden, to get Bothwell cleared of the guilt of the king's murder; as their whole object was not accomplished, till Bothwell had defiled, dishonoured, and married the queen. Kennet, ii. 404. We now perceive, what a strong interest the queen had, in the life of her husband; as she could not have been thus dishonoured, and married, while Darnley lived.

(*l*) The Earl of Argyle, who, with Murray, had attempted to seize Mary Stewart, and Darnley; and with him afterward went into rebellion, for which they were both pardoned.

(*m*) Id. The mode of constituting the court, and the whole circumstances, clearly evince collusion. The Earl of Rothes, who was a leading person of the jury, was an associate of Murray, in his late rebellion, and a partaker of his various crimes. The whole jury was of a similar complexion. The mode of conducting this trial, which was held, on the 12th of April 1567, was altogether collusive. And, by the faction, which acquitted him, Bothwell was a while reserved, as an useful instrument of future mischief.

(*n*) Elizabeth seems to have written Mary, requesting longer time for the trial of Bothwell; but, this too was collusive, if she made such an application; as she must have known the real purpose of Murray's faction, who conducted the whole business. Anderson's Col. i. lx.; Tytler, ii. 96.

(*o*) The very *Statute Book* of Scotland was vitiated by the same faction. The *Black Acts* of November 1566 were castrated, by that faction. The acts of the parliament of April 1567, were, by the artifices of the same faction, completely left unprinted, in the Statute Book. And, owing to the influences of the same faction, the proceedings of that parliament have been egregiously misrepresented, even during our own times. Some of the proceedings of the parliament of April 1567, remain, however, in the Parliamentary Record, mutilated as it is. The *presence* remains; comprehending the provost of Edinburgh, and the names of the lords of the committee of articles; a circumstance, which is important.

(*p*) Ib. 752.

advice

advice of the three Estates, repealed all former acts, which imposed any penalty on the religion, thus existing, within her realm: And, with the advice of the three Estates, the queen declared herself the head, and protector of the church, in opposition *to all foreign authority*, power, and jurisdiction, whether ecclesiastical, or temporal (*q*). In this manner, then, do the Roman Catholic Mary Stewart, and the parliament of April 1567, enjoy the unrivalled honour, of being the earliest legislators, within the British islands, who passed *an act of toleration*, upon the purest principles of indulgence to conscience, and regard to freedom (*r*). When compared with this act of toleration, other proceedings of that parliament appear to be uninteresting; though private rights were legally secured.

On the morrow, after the rising of parliament, being Sunday, the 20th of April, another transaction occurred, at Edinburgh, which has stained the metropolis, and the kingdom, with ignominy. The leading characters of the state, with Argyle, the justiciary, and Morton, the chancellor, at their head, entered into a bond of association, *to defend Bothwell, from future challenge, for Darnley's murder*; and *to recommend Bothwell*, as the *fittest husband, for Mary Stewart* (*s*).

(*q*) Parl. Rec. 752: Keith, 379, declared this act to be full, and explicit, for the settlement of the new religion; and Robertson, i. 352, concurred with Keith: But, the late Lord Hailes wrote a whole chapter [ix] of his Remarks, to controvert both; and to declare his persuasion, that Buchanan had given a just representation of what was then done, for religion, by the queen, and parliament, when he said, with his usual falsehood, that the queen had refused to let any law be passed, in favour of religion. Lord Hailes runs out into the most egregious misrepresentation, when he is in quest of his accustomed sneers, to vilify Mary Stewart. The two historians, Keith, and Robertson, were not quite right; but, Lord Hailes was quite wrong: The truth is, the reformed religion had stood opposed to the laws of the land, from its commencement, in 1558, to April 1567: The act above mentioned first legalized the reformed religion; and, by repealing the penalties of opposing statutes, it gave security to the reformers: By withdrawing the whole Scotican church, from any *foreign jurisdiction*, the pope's authority was renounced. But, *toleration* was no part of the creed of the reformers: And, they were dissatisfied with the act of April 1567; as it did not establish them, in predominance, that they might persecute; and as it established *the queen's supremacy*. Lord Hailes was so absurd, as to suppose the act of the insurgent convention of 1560 to be an act of parliament, and to say, that the act of the *three Estates*, in April 1567, was *an ordinance, issued by the queen*. Remarks on the Hist. Scot. 164.

(*r*) The list of the lords of the committee of articles, which were chosen, by the parliament of April 1567, is happily preserved, in the Record; and it shows, incidentally, who were the persons, that had the merit of drawing that early act of wise toleration: On the committee of articles, among others, were, the archbishop of St. Andrews, four bishops, four abbots, six earls, the chiefs of the reformers, two barons, the provosts of Edinburgh, and of other burroughs, with the officers of State. Anderson's Col. i. 114; Parl. Rec. 750.

(*s*) Anderson's Col. i. 107—12: In the same Collection, 111, there is a paper, which contains the queen's assent to that bond, the night before her marriage, on the 14th of May: But, it is plainly a forgery, for the purpose of crimination.

This was, obviously, an additional step, in the progress of the plot, which was designed to ruin Bothwell, and dethrone the queen (*t*). Thus strengthened, by a subdolous association, the ambition of that odious noble was carried up to "audacious wickedness:" And, on the 24th of April, he seized the queen, on her return, from visiting her son, at Stirling; carried her forcibly to Dunbar castle; and there enjoyed her person against her will (*u*). He now obtained a divorce from his wife; and she, from him, by a double process. The queen could not now but marry him, saith Melvil; seeing he had ravished her. And, on the 15th of May 1567, this ill-omened marriage was solemnized, in Holyroodhouse, by Adam Bothwell, the abbot of Holyrood, and bishop of Orkney (*x*). Craig, one of the reformed ministers of Edinburgh, has obtained celebrity, by refusing to publish, in his church, the banns of marriage, between the queen, and Bothwell. Little did he know, that he only endeavoured to prevent the consummation of a marriage, which had been projected, by the most unscrupulous faction of the sate, for the queen's disgrace, and the ruin of Bothwell.

A few days of feverish disquiet disclosed the most hidden purposes of that subtle faction. As early as the 1st of June 1567, the same faction, who had entered into a bond to support Bothwell, and to recommend him to the queen, as the fittest husband, began to levy forces against both, and their own bond. Such a grosss contradiction of motives only evinces the insidiousness of their conduct. The zeal, which was now avowed, and propagated, for bringing to justice Bothwell, as the murderer of Darnley, by the very statesmen, who procured his acquittal, when before the justiciary court, and who had associated to defend him, is a moral demonstration of their profligate purposes. The assasination of Darnley, the nominal king, detestable as it was, undoubtedly, was not so heinous a crime, as the murder of Rizzio, by the ministers of state, in the palace, in the queen's closet, in the presence of the pregnant queen; with the obvious design of destroying her issue, and herself, by abortion: And yet,

(*t*) The signature of such a bond, by Argyle, and Morton, is alone sufficient evidence of the insidiousness of that vile transaction; without taking into the account the subsequent conduct of both, in pursuing Bothwell, for the murder, after he had accomplished the traiterous purpose of ruining the queen.

(*u*) Birrel's Diary, 8-9; Melvil's Memoirs, fol. ed. 80.

(*x*) Birrel says, p. 9, that they were married in *the chapel royal* of Holyrood: Melvil, 80, states, on the contrary, that the marriage was made in the palace of Holyrood, after sermon, by Adam Bothwell, the bishop of Orkney, in the great hall, where the council used to sit, according to the order of the reformed religion, and not in the chapel at the mass, as was the king's marriage. They were both contemporary with the event, and ought to have known the fact.

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the chief murderers of Rizzio were pardoned, with general concurrence, by the queen, whose life was aimed at: And, the same murderers associated in arms, to pursue the assassins of Darnley, whom they had themselves determined to destroy; because they hated the prince, who had publicly disavowed them, after the murder of Rizzio: The same murderers pushed on Bothwell to commit the assassination of Darnley; and after they had procured his acquittal, by a public trial; and when they had associated, by a joint bond, to protect him; they equally associate, by another writing, to obtain his death; he having effected their whole design, by Darnley's death; and by the queen's marriage. The unhappy queen was now taken in the toils, which had been laid for her, by the tergiversation of so many statesmen, and the commission of so many crimes; and from which she could not escape, being degraded by an actual rape, and entangled by the matrimonal tye.

The queen, and Bothwell, getting intelligence of an intention to seize them, on the 6th of June 1567, fled from Holyroodhouse to Borthwick castle; as they distrusted Balfour, the doubtful keeper of Edinburgh castle. They were pursued by eight hundred horsemen; and they soon departed from Borthwick castle, to the safer retreat of Dunbar. On the 11th of June, the associated insurgents, amounting to three thousand men, came to Edinburgh, which they easily entered, though the gates had been shut against them, by unsteady hands. On the same day, when they had only entered the Canongate, they issued a proclamation; commanding all persons, particularly, the citizens of Edinburgh, to assist them, *in relieving the queen*, and preserving the prince (*y*). The queen

(*y*) Anderson's Col. i. 128: On the morrow, the insurgents published another proclamation, at the cross of Edinburgh, commanding all persons to be ready to pass with them, "to deliver "the queen, and take revenge on Bothwell, for ravishing, and detaining her majesty." Keith, 399; Birrel, 9. The people did not readily join. Knox, 445. We thus perceive, that the insurgent faction, artfully, kept up their practice of duplicity: They avow their purposes to *relieve the queen*; and to *take revenge on Bothwell*: But, the moment, that she separated herself from Bothwell, on Carberry hill, they seized her as a prey; and allowed him to make his escape. The town council was also chargeable with the same duplicity. They paid a musician, who played through the town, at the incoming of the associated lords, on the 10th of June. Keith, 399. The magistrates, at the same time, sent to Mary three of their number, to excuse the town, for allowing the insurgent lords to enter it. Id. The town council are said to have supplied the insurgents with 200 harquebusiers. Ib. 400. Edinburgh castle appears, during unscrupulous times, to have been placed in doubtful hands. Lord Erskine was appointed governor, by the dowager queen; and, during the civil war under her regency, professed to act with the strongest party. On the 19th of March 1567, Queen Mary gave him an honourable discharge, which was ratified, by the parliament of April 1567. Parl. Rec. 751. On the 21st of March 1566-7, the castle was rendered to Cockburn of Skirling,

queen endeavoured to raise her people, in support of her authority: But, the principle, which the insurgents avowed, as the cause of their rising in arms, of rescuing the queen, and punishing Bothwell, enfeebled her efforts. On the 14th of June, she came forward, from Dunbar castle, to Carberry hill, to meet the insurgents, in conflict. But, observing the unsteadiness of her army, in the evening, she joined the insurgent chiefs. And, she was conducted through the streets of Edinburgh, to the house of Sir Simon Preston, the provost, amid popular insults (*z*). The craftsmen, on the morrow, feeling for her fallen state, threatened to rescue her: But, they were pacified, by the associated nobles, who assured them, that it was their real object to restore her to her palace, and her power (*a*). And, on the same day, under an order of those insidious chiefs, she was removed, from Holyroodhouse, to the fortalice of Loch-Leven, as a prisoner, for life. The queen complained of this treachery: And, Kirkaldy, the gallant officer, to whom she had surrendered, on certain terms, remonstrated against the injury done to him, by thus departing from the agreement, which had been made with him: Yet, they easily pacified this soldier, by pretending, that the queen had written to Bothwell, since her surrender, by agreement; and that their lands, and lives, could not be safe, while she continued free (*b*): And, while the associated chiefs were thus inventing pretences, which they did not feel, they forgot, that one of the avowed objects of their insurrection was the rescuing of the queen, from the domination of Bothwell. But, of the base artifices of such unprincipled nobles, there was no end. They, however, caused Edinburgh to be searched for persons, who were suspected of Darnley's murder, when they found Sebastian, a Frenchman, and Blackadder, a Scotsman (*c*). They now proceeded to seize the queen's valuables, within Holyroodhouse: and they ordered her plate to be coined, for supporting their rebellion. The Earl of Glencairn, one of the most ferocious of the reformed nobles, demolished

at the queen's command, saith Birrel. Dairy, 7. Soon after Mary's marriage with Bothwell, in May 1567, Sir James Balfour was appointed to the government of the castle. Goodal's Life, iii. Sir James, as he was soon gained, by the adverse party, was unworthy of any trust, at the epoch of the insurrection, in June 1567. Melvil's Mem. 81-90. And, he continued in this important trust, till the accession of the regent Murray, who appointed Kirkaldy of Grange. Id.

(*z*) Birrel's Diary, 10; Keith, 401; Melvil's mem. 162.

(*a*) Keith, 402-3; Pennycuik's Hist. of the Blue Blanket, 58.

(*b*) Melvil's Mem. 163; Keith, 403.

(*c*) On the 24th of June 1567, saith Birrel, Captain William Blackadder was drawn from the Tolbooth to the cross of Edinburgh; and there was hanged, and quartered, for being on the king's murder. Diary, 10. The chiefs of the insurgents again forgot, that they were themselves the principal contrivers of the death of Darnley.

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the chapel, within the palace of Holyrood, with its furniture, and ornaments: But, his associates were not much pleased, with this voluntary act of sacrilegious savageness; as he had not acted, by their authority, and with their participation (*d*). The chiefs of the insurgents now took upon themselves to act, as the council of state; and, with their accustomed inconsistency, arising from their treasonous motives, they governed the kingdom, in the name of their imprisoned sovereign.

But, a rival power, at length came upon this seditious stage. The assembly of the kirk, which had often met, since the year 1560, without any warrant of law, covened, at Edinburgh, on the 25th of June 1567. On the morrow, the assembly resolved to call a convention of clergy, and nobles, to meet, at Edinburgh, on the 20th of July then next, for carrying forward such things, as should, on that occasion, be proposed (*e*). And, the assembly, as if the members meant to sanction crime, and hallow insurrection, ordered a public fast, in the town of Edinburgh alone, upon the two Sundays, falling on the 13th and 20th of July, as appropriate preparations, for an illegal convention (*f*). This convocation, which accordingly met, at Edinburgh, was artfully designed, to draw away the nobles, who had associated, at Hamilton: But, it failed of the intended effect, as its artifices were discovered. Argyle, and others, sent excuses; and desired, that no further innovations might be attempted (*g*). But, such a convention was not to be obstructed, in its predetermined measures. Whatever the preachers desired was granted. It legalized the parliament of August 1560, which certainly wanted legalization; giving the acts, concerning religion, which were then made, the force of acts of the *three Estates*. And, this convention stipulated, that the parliament of 1560 should be ratified, in the first meeting of the Estates, which might be held (*h*). It was reserved, for this convention of clergy, and nobles, to suppose, in their reasoning, that illegality could authorize unlawfulness, and insurrection legalize mob.

In the meantime, the Earls of Morton, and Athol, convened the magistrates of Edinburgh, before whom they laid the insurgent association of the 16th of June. The magistrates adopted this unwarrantable document; and ordered Preston,

(*d*) Keith, 407; Spottiswoode, 208.

(*e*) Keith, 573; and in Knox, 448, may be seen the *political* reasons, for that convention, in July 1567.

(*f*) Keith, 576. (*g*) Ib. 577. (*h*) Keith, 577—84.

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the Provost, to sign it, as their act, for recordation on their council books (*a*). The same document was ordered to be entered on the register of the privy council. After thus adopting the false pretexts, and base practices of the insurgents, the magistrates made every preparation, for the vigorous defence of their town (*b*). They went, in their zeal, one step further. They entered, on the 23d of July, into *a league* with Sir James Balfour, the captain of Edinburgh Castle, for mutual support; fearing danger from the divisions of the nobles, and still pointing their preparations against the queen's friends, in favour of Morton's faction (*c*).

But, those contradictions, of being at once for, and against the queen; of using her name against her authority; of pretending to release her, whilst they imprisoned her; were soon discontinued. Morton's faction, after so many base artifices, resolved to avow their hostile designs (*d*). On the 24th of July 1567, *the secret council*, as the insurgent chiefs called themselves, sent Patrick, Lord Lindsay, from Edinburgh, the seat of usurpation, to Lochleven Castle, to oblige Mary, to resign her sceptre, and her sword. Meantime, the clergy, sitting in convention, within that guilty town, clamoured for the blood of the same sovereign, who had relieved them, from the severe penalties of so many

(*a*) Keith, 409. Even on the 2d of July 1567, when that document was laid by Morton, and Athol, before the town, it was made to avow, that the objects of their insurrection were, in their duty to their sovereign, to punish the murderers of the king; to procure the dissolution of the marriage between her highness, and Earl Bothwell; and to relieve their sovereign from the thraldom, ignominy, and shame, which she had sustained by the said Earl. Ib. Apx. All this they professed, even after they had degraded, dethroned, and imprisoned the unhappy queen. Beyond the assurance of Morton, and Athol, impudence could not carry shameless men. Keith, 409, and Apx. 148, shows, by collation, that the copy of that association, which was certified by Guthrie, the town clerk, for insertion, in the books of privy council, was grossly interpolated. This Guthrie went out into rebellion with Murray, in 1565; was present, after being pardoned, by the queen, at Rizzio's murder, for which he was obliged to flee. And, in addition to treason, and murder, he now added the baseness of forgery.

(*b*) Maitland, 29. Those preparations were obviously made, to resist the associated nobles, at Hamilton. If these nobles were for the queen, then, the magistrates were acting against their own act. The queen had voluntarily separated herself from Bothwell, as soon as she could; and to run into civil war, on such gross pretexts, was delusion, in the extreme, if the magistrates of Edinburgh meant well.

(*c*) Keith, 410: As soon as Murray became regent, he entered into a negotiation with Balfour, for the amicable surrender of the castle: And, on the 5th of September 1567, the castle was surrendered; when Sir William Kirkaldy was appointed the governor. Keith, 455, states the bargain which was then made, for that surrender; and Birrel's Diary, 12, shows the day, on which the castle was put into abler hands.

(*d*) Keith, 430.

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statutes (*e*). Lord Lindsay, carried with him, to Lochleven, three instruments; one, containing the queen's resignation of the crown to her infant son; another, constituting provisional regents, for her son's government; and a third, empowering Murray, her bastard brother, to act as regent, during her son's infancy (*f*). To such instruments, that odious messenger could not obtain the imprisoned queen's voluntary signature: "And, haggard Lindsay's iron eye could "see fair Mary weep in vain." He returned with those instruments, formally executed, on the subsequent day, to Edinburgh. The secret council immediately convened: And, there was now laid before it one of those instruments, containing the queen's resignation of her sovereignty to her son (*g*). The insurgent chiefs immediately entered into a second association, for carrying those measures into effect; avowing as their motive, the queen's wishes, to see her son govern his native kingdom, during her own life-time (*h*). It is curious to remark, how readily those chiefs, with Morton, at their head, and Maitland, as their secretary, could supply themselves with some pretence, or falsehood, or forgery, as their occasions required. They now determined to crown the infant James: And the magistrates of Edinburgh appointed three of their number, as commissioners, to represent the City, at the coronation, though it was not customary, for the burroughs, to attend such ceremonies (*i*). On the 29th of July, 1567, the prince was crowned king of Scotland, in the kirk of Stirling; the lords producing the queen's commission, and consent, under her own hand, and seal (*k*). All those great measures were executed, under those three instruments, which the queen executed, under solitary confinement, and the threats of a ruffian, without any other presence, than Lindsay, who was capable of any villainy, as well as any violence. In this manner, then, was accomplished the conspiracy, for dethroning Mary Stewart, and for placing her ambitious brother in her seat, as

(*e*) Keith, 420-21.

(*f*) See those instruments, in Keith, 430-3; and in the Parliamentary Acts of December 1567.

(*g*) Keith, 434: The members present, at that scandalous transaction, were: The Earl of Morton, the great director of those violent measures, the Earl of Athol, the Earl of Home, Lord Sanchar, and Lord Ruthven. The queen's resignation, and commission for the government, were proclaimed, at the cross of Edinburgh, on the 25th of July 1567. Spottiswoode, 211.

(*h*) See that *second bond*, in Keith, 434. (*i*) Keith, 435-6; Maitland, 31.

(*k*) Birrel's Diary, 11; Keith, 437. On the 2d of August, the prince was proclaimed king, at the cross of Edinburgh. Birrel's Diary, 11. On the 11th of the same month, Murray, who was perfectly informed of all those measures, arrived, at Edinburgh, from France, where he had waited those preconcerted events. Id.; Spottiswoode, 211. On the 22d of August, Murray was solemnly proclaimed, at the cross of Edinburgh, regent, during the prince's infancy. Id.; Keith, 454.

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her son's regent, which had required so many pretences, so many falshoods, and so many crimes, to obtain: While the government of her son, and brother, was founded not on the resolve of a national convention, or the votes of the three Estates, but, on the presumption of insurgency, and the dictates of cabal. In pursuit of those nefarious measures, the magistrates of Edinburgh partook of the intrigue, and shared in the disgrace.

The regent immediately displayed the vigour, and harshness of his nature. He obtained, as we have seen, from Sir James Balfour, at whatever price, the command of Edinburgh Castle (*l*). He issued precepts to various persons, in Mid-Lothian, who were supposed to be attached to the queen, commanding them to surrender themselves, and their strengths (*m*). A proclamation was issued, on the 1st of September, 1567, requiring all persons to meet the regent, at Edinburgh, in four days, furnished for the warlike purpose of accompanying him to the siege of Dunbar (*n*). Another proclamation was issued, prohibiting the use of guns, pistols, or other fire arms, on pain of death (*o*). This proclamation, at the cross of Edinburgh, was followed by another, which required amity, and prohibited the causes of discord (*p*).

Those various proclamations seem to have been intended, to prepare people's minds, for the proposed meeting of parliament. The three Estates assembled, at Edinburgh, in the town hall, on the 15th of December, 1567; when the sceptre was carried, by Argyle, the sword, by Huntly, and the crown, by Angus, a boy of scarcely fourteen (*q*). The first act of this busy session was intended to legalize Mary's resignation of the crown, which was declared to have been voluntary, and to be legal: By it, also, the coronation of her infant son was recognized, as constitutional. By a second act, the authority of the regent was legalized. Another act was proposed, by the chiefs of the insurgents, and adopted by the parliament, without any apparent inquiry, with regard to *the retention of the queen's person.* The justification of those chiefs was now put upon

(*l*) Keith, 455; Spottiswood, 213; Birrel's Diary, of the 5th September 1567.

(*m*) Keith, 459: Among others, who were thus summoned, was Sinclair of Roslin, who was commanded to deliver his castle in twenty-four hours. Id. On the 17th of January 1568-9, the Laird of Roslin, and his servants, won his castle from the Laird of Lochinvar's servants. Birrel's Diary.

(*n*) Keith, 461; Birrel's Diary.

(*o*) Id: On the 24th of November 1567, three days before, the Laird of Airth, and the Laird of Wemys, with their followers, meeting on the street of Edinburgh, had fought a bloody skirmish, with shot of pistol. Birrel's Diary.

(*p*) Keith, 466. (*q*) Birrel's Diary of that date; the Black Acts of that Session.

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the default of the queen herself (*r*). But, they failed, as we have just seen, in making out *that default*. They have another *default* behind: They charged the queen,

(*r*) Black Acts of that session: The queen's default was proved, by "her *privy letters*, "*written wholly with her own hand*, and *sent by her to James Earl Bothwell*," and by her pretended marriage with him; and by the assertion, that she was privy to the actual murder of her husband. Now, 1st, it has already appeared, from the dying declaration of Morton himself, who was at the head of those chiefs, and chancellor, that the Earl of Bothwell, on the 10th of February 1567, the morning of Darnley's murder, had not any privy letters, or other writings of the queen, within his power. 2dly, The story told, by the same Morton, that he had found a box of letters on Dalgleish, a servant of Bothwell, returning from Edinburgh castle, where he had received the same, from Sir James Balfour, on the 20th of June 1567, cannot possibly be believed: For, Bothwell, with Mary, fled from Edinburgh, on the 6th of the same month, not choosing to seek safety in Edinburgh castle, as they could not trust Balfour; On the 15th of the same month, Bothwell retired from Carberry-hill to Dunbar, where the queen surrendered herself to the insurgents; on the morrow, the queen was sent a prisoner to Lochleven: And, yet is it said, by Morton, who was capable of deliberate falsehood, that he had seized a box of privy letters, which Dalgleish was carrying from Balfour, in Edinburgh castle, on the 20th of the same month of June; the same Balfour, being a person, who perfectly knew the true value of such privy letters; and who was already gained by the insurgents, and distrusted by Bothwell: On the 26th of the same month of June, Dalgleish was examined upon oath, by the privy council, with the same Morton, at the head of it; yet he said not one word about such letters, or such a transaction. Anders. Col. ii. 173. Nor, was Sir James Balfour ever examined, about the delivery of such a box with letters, although he might have been easily sent for: This discovery of such letters rests, of course, on the assertion of Morton, who had an interest to deceive, and was capable of deception. That *any writing* of the queen had been discovered, by the insurgents, was first intimated, by Thregmorton, queen Elizabeth's envoy, at Edinburgh, on the 24th of July, subsequent to the same 20th of June, when Morton said he had seized them. Keith, 424-7. 3dly, The supposed letters were first produced in the privy council, on the 4th of December 1567, where sat Murray, the regent, Morton, the chancellor, and the same Sir James Balfour, when those letters are described, "*as written*, and *subscribed*, with her *own hand*." "Whitaker's Apx. No. 1. 4thly, When those letters were laid before the parliament, on the 15th of the same month, they are described, "as *wholly written* with *her own hand*, but not subscribed." Black Acts of that Session. Here, then, are *four* points, in addition to the queen's denial, that she ever wrote such letters, which form a moral demonstration of *the forgery* of those *supposed letters*: 1st. Bothwell had no such letters, on the 10th of February 1567, the day of the murder; 2d. It is untrue, that Morton, or any other man, ever found such letters on Dalgleish: 3d. The letters, which were laid before the privy council, were said to be *written*, and *subscribed* by *the queen*: 4th. The letters, which were laid before the parliament, a few days afterward, are said to have been *written* by the queen, but *not subscribed*, by her. When we have thus obtained *moral demonstration* of the forgery of those letters, it were idle, to go further, in quest of additional evidence, to establish their positive spuriousness. The regent, Murray, the chancellor, Morton, the secretary Maitland, and the whole officers of state, impeached the queen, in parliament, of being accessary to the murder of her husband: And, when their proofs are examined, they are found to be forgeries. This conduct is sufficiently wicked: But, when we consider, that they impeached an *innocent wife* of the crime, which themselves had procured to be committed, by Bothwell, their turpitude admits of infinite aggravation.

who had sent Bothwell to be tried, by his country, of holding back the knowledge of the truth; and by coloured means, to have obtained a delusive acquittal of the guilty person. And, this is charged by Morton, the chancellor, and his colleagues, who obtained, by collusive measures, the acquittal of Bothwell; and who, afterward, entered into a written association, to defend his conduct, as innocent, and his acquittal, as just (*s*). The same Morton, and his colleagues, charged the queen, also, with inordinate love, for Bothwell, and with a settled purpose of making the prince, her son, taste of the same cup, as had been administered to his father. This is charged, by the same Morton, and other nobles, who, by a written association, had recommended Bothwell, after his collusive acquittal, as the properest husband for the queen; and who, by such recommendation, encouraged that unprincipled noble, to ravish the queen; and thereby made it necessary to marry him, as she had no other resource, for her tarnished honour: The charge of a design on the life of her son is, merely, the revival of an absurd calumny, which was propagated, by the insurgent chiefs, to raise popular indignation; in order to obtain, by false pretences, for themselves, popular favour. The parliament of December 1567, by adopting, without examination, such calumnies; and countenancing such charges, involved itself in the ignominy of its chiefs, who instituted an impeachment, which they could not prove, without the aid of forgery; and asserted fictions, which they knew to be untrue. The legislators of this session, however, abolished expressly the Pope's authority, which had been already abolished by law, in April 1567, as we have seen. They established by positive statute, "the jurisdiction of the "kirk;" abolishing every other form of religion: And requiring the king, by his coronation oath, to withstand, and put down all false religions, contrary to "the one perfect religion." They confirmed the acts of the doubtful parliament of August 1560. They enacted a confession of faith. They recognized the queen's act of toleration; thinking perhaps, that it might do some good, while it could not do much mischief. In this manner, then, was the reformed religion, for the first time, established by law, in exclusion of every other, which the government was now bound, by law, to suppress. Some laws of domestic economy were also passed: And preparations were made, by the appointment of commissioners, to enact many more, in some future session (*t*). No one doubted the

(*s*) See their bond for those ends, dated the 20th of April 1567. Anders. Col. i. 107-12; Keith, 380: The true date is the 20th, not the 19th of April.

(*t*) See the Black Acts of this session; as printed, by Leckprevick, on the 6th of April 1568. On the last day of the session, Bothwell, and some of his associates, were *forfalted*, for the *king's murder*. Birrel's Diary of the 29th December 1567. The act of attainder, for that end, is in the Paper-

the legality of those parliamentary proceedings, on whatever authority the Estates were assembled; or suspected the fitness of changing a queen, who had talents, for a boy, who had none; though the real object of so many measures, which cannot be defended, became sufficiently plain, when Murray was appointed regent.

But, an event was at hand, which meanwhile gave a new turn to affairs. On the 2d of May, 1568, the queen made her escape from Lochleven castle, in Fife, to Hamilton, in Lanerkshire. The regent prepared to meet her in conflict (*u*). The magistrates of Edinburgh ordered the city to be put in the best possible state of defence; and directed a guard, to watch over its safety, day, and night (*x*). On the 13th of the same month, the queen was discomfited, at Langside-hill; and was obliged to seek for refuge in England. Queen Elizabeth had often given shelter to the treasonous nobles of Scotland; but, she now gave an unauthorized imprisonment of long endurance to her cousin, her neighbour, and her fellow queen.

The regent called a parliament, for forfeiting those, who had recently met him in battle. The magistrates of Edinburgh ordered the deacons to assemble their several trades, in order to ascertain, by their oaths, to which side they were each attached, during this time of national trouble (*y*). The practice of many a year had shown, that the rulers of Edinburgh had but imperfect notions of civil freedom, and knew still less of the true art of wise government. The parliament met, at Edinburgh, on the 16th of August 1568. It sat till the 24th; executing the prompt vengeance, which a new, more than an ancient government, is so prone to inflict. The city of Edinburgh was meantime in arms, for preserving the quiet of irascible men, whose passions were inflamed, by civil, and religious collisions (*z*). The pestilence, at the same time, raged, within the city; adding its grievous ravages to the turmoils of domestic perturbations (*a*).

Out of those disquietudes arose an event, which was attended with great consequences. On the 21st of January 1569-70, the regent Murray, at the age of

Paper Office. On the 18th of December 1567, a convention of churchmen, and their coadjutors, met at Edinburgh; and the kirk assembly convened, at the same place, on the 25th of the same month. Keith, 585-90. And those facts, point to the authority, whence several of the acts of parliament, which sat at the same time, and in the same town, proceeded; and account for the delusion, which could receive forgeries, for facts, and assertions, for certainties.

(*u*) In the meantime, there was proclaimed, in Edinburgh, a great fast, for eight days duration. Birrel's Diary, 15. And, the preachers of the metropolis prayed, that the Lord would turn her enterprize to nought. Keith, 591.

(*x*) Maitland's Edin. 31. (*y*) Id. (*z*) Birrel's Diary, 17.

(*a*) Birrel's Diary, 17; Maitland Edin. 31-2.

forty, was slain on Linlithgow street, by the "vengeful ire" of Hamilton of Bothwelhaugh (*b*). This unexpected event threw Edinburgh into great confusion. The magistrates ordered a strong guard to be kept, day, and night. The senators of the college of justice formed a design to leave a city, which mingled so much with civil contest. The magistrates applied to Morton, the chancellor; beseeching him to prevent that event; and promising to revenge the regent's murder, and to support the king's interest (*c*). The chiefs of the queen's party marched, from Linlithgow, to Edinburgh. Kirkaldie, the governor of Edinburgh castle, and provost of the town, prevailed on the citizens to receive them within its walls. Kirkaldie set at liberty the Duke of Chatelherald, and Lord Herries, who had, by the regent, been committed prisoners to the castle: With Kirkaldie acceded to the queen's party, the Earl of Athol, and secretary Maitland. A civil war now commenced, whose miseries did not soon come to an end. They easily found a new regent in the Earl of Lennox; but, repose was not so readily obtained, or retained, amid infuriate factions. In May 1571, two parliaments sat, in the harassed metropolis: The king's parliament convened, in the Canongate; and the queen's, in the ancient place, the Tolbooth of Edinburgh (*d*). The several legislatures not only fulminated forfeitures, at each other; but, their partizans fought frequent skirmishes, in the neighbourhood, and in the streets. The castle was, meantime, kept for the queen, with great superiority of advantage, by Kirkaldie, the best soldier of a warlike people. And Holyrood-house was retained for the king, by the regent Lennox. At length, Elizabeth interposed, with her usual alacrity, and vigour: She sent a small army, under Drury, from Berwick to Edinburgh: They besieged the castle, which surrendered on the 29th of May 1573 (*e*). The quick succession of four regents, who fell amidst the furies of civil war, did not tranquillize a wretched nation, nor restore Edinburgh to the quiet, which it had lost, by its own factious follies.

(*b*) The date of that consequential event has been left, by the inaccuracy of the Scotish historians somewhat doubtful: Spottiswoode says, he was slain, on Saturday, which happened, on the 21st of January: Cecil, in his Journal, places that event, on the 22d of January 1569-70. Murden, 769. And, the 21st of January of that year was probably the true date.

(*c*) Maitl. Edin. 33. (*d*) Birrel's Diary, 19-20.

(*e*) Birrel's Diary, 20-21. Kirkaldie, the governor, though he surrendered on terms, was hanged, at the cross of Edinburgh, on the 3d of August. He could not be forgiven, by Morton, whose castle of Dalkeith, Kirkaldie had destroyed, on the same day, that Morton had wasted his estate, in Fife. Such were the blows, which were mutually given, and received, by an infatuated people.

At length, the king himself came upon the unsettled stage, on the 10th of March 1577-8; when Morton was driven from the regency, by the indignation of the nobles: And, sixteen counsellors were chosen to sit with that boyish ruler, within the Tolbooth of Edinburgh (*a*). These events were received, by the offended people, with loud acclaims. Morton was required to surrender Edinburgh castle; which, however, he prepared to defend: But, the enraged citizens attacked his followers, with such success, that he was glad to relinquish what he could not retain (*b*). Nor, was that hated statesman, to be easily driven from his prey. On the 26th of April 1578, Morton, with the aid of Mar, surprized the castle of Stirling, where the king resided, with unsuspicious guard. Morton now resumed the charge of the king's person, and the direction of his spirit (*c*). In the contest between Morton, and his opponents, whether the parliament should sit, at Edinburgh, or Stirling, the magistrates of Edinburgh refused to interfere (*d*). During the year 1578, Edinburgh was crowded with the followers of the cabal, who opposed the Earl of Morton; and who were never thoroughly reconciled to that hated noble (*e*).

The king, [illegible] summoned a parliament, at Edinburgh, in October 1579, resolved to remove from Stirling. The citizens of Edinburgh now exerted themselves, to give him a splendid reception (*f*). The king came to Edinburgh, on the 17th of October, when he was magnificently received; and passed through to the palace of Holyrood, with a cavalcade of two thousand horse (*g*). On the 23d of October 1579, the king held a parliament, in the Tolbooth of

(*a*) Birrel, 21; Maitland's Edin. 34-5. (*b*) Id. Moyse's Mem. 6-7.

(*c*) Morton would not permit the king to hold his parliament, at Edinburgh, on the 25th of July 1578; as he himself was obnoxious to the people of the metropolis. Mait. Edin. 36.

(*d*) Id. Morton wrote, in the king's name, to the magistrates of Edinburgh, requiring them to choose specified persons, as the town council, at Michaelmas, 1578: But, they declined; and, receiving another letter, to the same effect, they took the opinion of the citizens, who confirmed their refusal. On the day of election, a letter, from the king, was produced, requiring their compliance: But, they adhered to their resolution of choosing their own counsellors. Mait. Edin. 36-7. This historian is so weak, as to run out against the king, for the act of Morton. Maitland perseveres, in repeating this folly, while the king was a prisoner to the elder Gowry. Ib. 38.

(*e*) Moyse's Mem. 3—31.

(*f*) The citizens were ordered, by the magistrates, to appear in their richest dresses; and the streets to be decorated with tapestry, and arraswork. Mait. Edin. 37. They presented the king with a rich service of plate. Id.

(*g*) Id. Crawford's Mem. 317; Moyse's Mem. 38-9. When the king came to the landgate, the townsmen, in arms, met him; the castle also shot vollies; and the people rejoiced much at his majesty's coming. Id.

Edinburgh,

Edinburgh, which sat till the 12th of November. In this session, the Hamiltons were forfeited, when their rich abbeys were given to more needy courtiers (*h*).

The ministers continued to reprehend the king from their pulpits, not for his prodigality, but his favouritism; from an ambition of calumny, rather than a desire of amendment (*i*). The king, animated by Arran, persevered, in restraining the ministers, from speaking evil of dignities, as calumnious intermeddling with state affairs.

The time was at length come, when the Earl of Morton was to suffer for his many crimes. In December 1580, he was accused, before the privy council, of being an accessary to the murder of Darnley. He was at first warded, in the palace of Holyrood; and soon after sent to Edinburgh castle: He was again removed, under a strong guard, to Dunbarton castle (*k*). Morton was, afterward, convicted of the imputed crime; and died on the block, confessing his guilty knowledge, with his dying breath (*l*). During such perturbations, the king ordered a body of Edinburgh citizens, in arms, to guard the palace of Holyrood (*m*).

Such were the laxity of manners, and the debility of law, during that age, that the king could not visit any noble, without danger of seizure, for the most selfish purposes. In this manner, was James detained, at Ruthven, by the elder

(*h*) Moyse's Mem. 40.

(*i*) Ib. 41. Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, soon after the rising of the assembly in 1580, was, by the privy council, committed to Edinburgh castle, for some public speeches: But, he was soon liberated, on the application of his fellow ministers; and his promise of forbearance. Spottiswoode, 311. This is the first check, which was given to the calumny of preaching, since the queen's return from France. Dury did not keep his promise; and he continued to declaim from his pulpit against the king, and his favourites, Lennox, and Arran. The king, thereupon, commanded Dury to be removed from Edinburgh, and to cease from preaching, in any other town. The magistrates were charged to cause him to be removed. The assembly, which was then sitting, in Edinburgh, interposed on behalf of Dury; but, the king would not give way; and obliged the magistrates to remove Dury. This seditious preacher was triumphantly restored, when the king was seized by Gowry. Spottiswoode, 321; and Calderwood.

(*k*) Moyse's Mem. 46. The town of Edinburgh furnished, on that occasion, two hundred hackbutters. Id. The king also required another hundred hackbutters, to attend on his person, within the palace of Holyrood. Maitland, 38.

(*l*) See his confession, during his last moments, in Bannatyne's Journal, 49—53; Crawford's Mem. 2d edit. Appx. The person, who had the merit of freeing the nation, from that prodigious criminal, was Stewart of Ochiltree, the king's favourite, who became Earl of Arran, and chancelior of Scotland.

(*m*) Mait. Edin. 39.

Gowry.

Gowry (*n*). On that occasion, the Duke of Lennox applied to the magistrates, for protection (*o*). Gowry, and the other conspirators, who now had possession of the king, wrote to those magistrates, in September 1582; desiring them to choose specified persons, into the town council (*p*). But, they declined to comply with a request, which would have placed the rule of the city, in the power of every succeeding faction. The conspirators, soon after, brought the the king to Holyroodhouse: And, they at length demanded of the magistrates a body of hackbutters, to guard him, in his palace (*q*). Other requisitions of a similar kind were made on the magistrates of Edinburgh; as the king was without a guard, and without a revenue to pay one (*r*).

A new scene, of a different sort, was now ready to open, at Edinburgh. In January 1582-3, two ambassadors arrived there, from France; in order to solicit the king's freedom. The preachers of Edinburgh railed against them, from their pulpits: The ambassadors were mortified; but, as they perceived the king's inability to prevent the calumny of the churchmen, or to protect the injured; they only hastened their departure. The king commanded the magistrates of Edinburgh to feast the ambassadors, before they proceeded on their return. But, the preachers were not to be prevented, from following up their insults on the ambassadors. They directed a *fast* to be kept, on the day of the *feast:* And, three of their number preached, successively, in St. Giles's church, so as to occupy the whole day, with invectives against the magistrates, and nobles, who, by the king's direction, accompanied the ambassadors. The

(*n*) On the 23d of August 1582, the king's majesty, saith Birrel, being in the palace of Ruthven, was presumptuously holden in the place, by the lord thereof, against his will; and caused his majesty to expel the Duke of Lennox. This, he adds, was a very great presumption, in a subject to his prince. Diary, 22. We thus perceive, that Birrel had not any conception, that this was a *very great crime.*

(*o*) Mait. Edin. 39.

(*p*) Ib. 40: Maitland, foolishly, runs out against the imprisoned king, as if he could be answerable, for the act of the traitors.

(*q*) Mait. Edin 40, dates the above requisition, on the 16th of October 1582: Spottiswoode, 321, says, they brought the king to Holyroodhouse, in the beginning of October; knowing that the people of Edinburgh did approve their enterprize; as appeared, by the restoration of John Dury, the preacher, upon the news of the king's restraint; and the triumph they made; singing, as they went up the street, the 124th psalm. The Scotican church voted this *restraint* upon the *king's person*, "to be a good, and acceptable service to God, the king, and the country." Arnot's Crim. Trials. 35. The Earl of Gowry, however, was executed for his treasons, on the 4th of May 1584, at Stirling. Birrel's Diary, 23. And, the parliament of May 1584 confirmed several proceedings against that guilty noble, and his associate traitors. Unprinted Acts of that session.

(*r*) Mait. Edin. 40.

malignity.

malignity of the churchmen, did not stop here: After the departure of the ambassadors, they pursued the magistrates, with the censures of the church; and with difficulty could be prevented, from proceeding the length of excommunicating the objects of their scandal (*s*).

The king, on the 27th of June 1583, freed himself from the thraldom of Gowry's faction; and he made preparations to emancipate himself, from the domination of the clergy. For those ends, the parliament was convened, at Edinburgh, on the 22d of May 1584. With that design, various acts were, accordingly, passed (*t*). And, there were also established other statutes, with respect to domestic economy. A guard of forty gentlemen on horseback, for attending on the king's person, was now established, with two hundred pounds a-year, for each horseman, through life. And adequate provision was, in the same spirit, made, for the governor of Edinburgh castle (*u*). The clergy heard of those parliamentary proceedings, with great indignation. Some of the preachers of Edinburgh attempted to enter the parliament house; to remonstrate against those decisive measures; but, the doors were shut against them (*x*). They declaimed against them in their pulpits (*y*). When the acts of parliament were soon after proclaimed, at the cross of Edinburgh, Pont, and Balcanquhal, protested against them. And, the preachers, pretending fear for their lives, retired to Berwick, whence they wrote letters to the magistrates, which they put into the hands of the king (*z*).

(*s*) Spottiswoode, 324; Calderwood, 138. The magistrates themselves carried their fanaticism up to folly: On the 19th of July 1583, they passed an act against those burgesses daughters, who should not be reputed virgins, on their day of marriage. Mait. Edin. 41.

(*t*) By one of those acts, the king's power over all estates, and subjects, was confirmed. By a second, the authority of the three Estates was declared, as it had been questioned. By a third, all jurisdictions, and conventions, without the king's licence, were prohibited. By a fourth, the manner of the deprivation of ministers was appointed. By a fifth, the ministers were prohibited, from being senators of the College of Justice, or being advocates, agents, or notaries. By a a sixth, punishment was provided, for the slanderers of the king, his progenitors, his estates, and realm. Skene's Statute Book.

(*u*) The Earl of Arran was both provost of the city, and governor of the castle, in the years 1584, and 1585. Birrel; Calderwood, 166. There was a large provision made, by parliament, for the keeping of Edinburgh castle, by the act 9 parl. Ja. VI. No. 8. The town council of Edinburgh, in May 1584, for the honour of the city, ordered, that their chief magistrate, and representative, in parliament, should be attended, during the session, to and from the Tolbooth, and Holyroodhouse, by twenty of the principal citizens. Mait. Edin. 42.

(*x*) Calderwood, 155. (*y*) Ib. 156.

(*z*) Id. The king continued to meddle in the elections of Edinburgh, long after his influence was contemned; owing to the improper use of unfit interposition. Mait. Edin. throughout.

After

After a grievous struggle, through a wretched minority, James approached to the legal age of twenty-one. On an occasion so interesting, a parliament was summoned to Edinburgh. But, the king supposing himself to possess, in an eminent degree, the powers of persuasion, resolved to perform an impossibility, by promoting the reconcilement of the irreconcileable nobles. On the 13th of May 1587, he made a royal banquet, in Holyroodhouse, where, with puerile conceipt, he made irascible men walk into the city, hand in hand: The magistrates, entering into the same views, entertained the king, and nobles, at their market cross (*b*). The parliament, accordingly, assembled, after all those measures of preparation, at Edinburgh, on the 29th of July 1587. The king's *perfect age* was now declared to be, after his completion of one-and-twenty years (*c*). The various acts of his minority, particularly those relating to religion, were now confirmed (*d*). The practice of persecution was confirmed, and enforced (*e*). Punishments were provided, for the sellers of erroneous books (*f*). The preachers were provided for (*g*). The *temporality* of benefices was annexed to the crown, by an act of great comprehension (*h*). The power, and sitting of parliaments, were enforced, and regulated (*i*). Provision was also made, for the better administration of justice. The receivers of the king's rents were required to find security, in Edinburgh. There were also made various acts of domestic economy, during this session, the most important, perhaps, of any, in the Statute Book (*k*).

During the subsequent year, the national attention was drawn to more warlike objects. When intelligence arrived, in August 1588, that the Spanish armada approached the shores of Scotland, preparations were made to receive it, with adequate spirit. And, the magistrates of Edinburgh commanded the citizens to provide themselves with arms, to prevent a descent; directing, at the same time, three hundred men to be raised, for the town's defence (*l*). It had now become the king's practice, arising from his penury, to direct the magistrates of Edinburgh, to entertain ambassadors, and other considerable persons, coming to this metropolis, at a ruinous expence (*m*); which, however, did not conceal the wretchedness of a people, who, during thirty years of reform, had few means of acquiring wealth.

(*b*) Birrel's Diary; Maitl. Edin. 44. The king not only received such entertainments; but, he seems to have exercised the power of requiring the citizens, to entertain, whomsoever he thought fit, both men, and women. Ib. 43—5.

(*c*) Skene's Acts, p. 76. (*d*) Id. (*e*) Ib. 75. (*f*) Id. (*g*) Id.
(*h*) Ib. 76. (*i*) Ib. 86. (*k*) See the acts, in Skene, and Glendook.
(*l*) Maitl. Edin. 45. (*m*) See Maitl. Edin. throughout.

The king's marriage created almost as much intrigue, and disquiet, as the spousals of his mother. Elizabeth, interposing with similar artifices, seems to have gained James's ministers. But, as he suspected, that his chancellor, and counsellors, obstructed his favourite nuptials, with the daughter of Denmark, the king, secretly, incited the chiefs of the tradesmen of Edinburgh, to mob his ministers (*n*). They were thus induced to dispatch the Earl Marshal, and other envoys, to Denmark, for settling that rich, and honourable match. James, meantime, commanded, in his usual tone, the magistrates of his metropolis, to prepare entertainments, for the expected queen, and her retinue, till Holyrood-house could be prepared, for her reception: But, they gave five thousand marks, to be excused (*o*). "But, dire portents the purposed match with-"stand." A tempest forced back the fleet, which bore the Danish bride to the Scotish shore. And, the youthful king, with more enterprize, than he was supposed to possess, set out himself, in October 1589, to dissolve the charm, which had raised the waves, and unbound the winds (*p*). He even obliged the magistrates of Edinburgh, to supply him with a ship, for transporting, from Denmark, the dear object of all his "travail difficult (*q*)." The 1st of May 1590, saw the king, and queen, arrive safe at Leith, after so many obstructions, and perils. They were received, with the general, and loud acclaims of real welcome (*r*). But, the queen was still to be crowned: And, it occurred to the censorious minds of the ministers of Edinburgh, that the rite of unction could not be allowed. The king overcame their scruples, by threatening to bring *a bishop* to perform this ceremony, according to the ancient custom (*s*). And, she was solemnly crowned, on the 7th of May, with the accustomed rites, in the abbey church of Holyrood (*t*).

After all those marks of joy in the people, and discontent of the clergy, the king had to sustain a long contest with the Earl of Bothwell, in the effects of which the metropolis was involved. On the 27th of December 1590, that turbulent noble broke into the palace, at the hour of supper; when, meeting

(*n*) Melvil's Mem. 327. (*o*) Maitl. Edin. 45. (*p*) Spottiswoode, 377-9.

(*q*) Maitl. Edin. 45, states, with dissatisfaction, the expence of the corporation, for that ship, at 500l. Scots, a month.

(*r*) Id.; Calderwood, 255. (*s*) Spottiswoode, 381-2.

(*t*) She made her public entry into the metropolis, on the 19th of May, when she seems to have been again married, in St. Giles's kirk; and when she was presented with a rich jewel, which appears to have been pledged to the city, by the king himself. Maitl. Edin. 45. The magistrates, by the royal command, had to entertain the Danish ambassadors. Id. Those feastings continued for a month, at the end of which the strangers departed, with rich presents. Spottiswoode, 382.

with

with some obstruction, he attempted to fire the king's apartments. A body of armed citizens repaired to the palace. And Bothwell was now obliged to flee; killing some of the king's domestics, as he retired. Eight of his followers were executed, on the morrow: But, the principal traitor lived to be forfeited, by parliament, on the 21st of July 1593 (*u*). Under other governments, the attainder of the traitor, by the supreme tribunal, is followed, by punishment, and quiet: But, in Scotland, under such a prince, as James VI., forfeiture of a noble was followed, by pardon, by reiterated treasons, by judgments, by restorations, and embarrassments. During several years, Bothwell was raised up, and cherished, by that frivolous prince, to disturb his own palace, and to disquiet his people's peace (*x*).

The king appears, to have renewed, in September 1593, his practice of dictation to the city of Edinburgh, as to their annual choice of the town council, provost, and other officers. They seem to have resisted this assumption. And, James issued a precept, containing the names of those, whom he wished to be chosen, under pain of rebellion; and declaring his dispensation with such acts of parliament, as stood opposed to his royal precept (*y*). The town council appear to have obeyed the king's precept, by choosing the persons of his appointment (*z*). The intermedling passion of James VI. carried him one step further: On the 27th of November 1593, he issued a proclamation, directing that no person should repair to Edinburgh, without his leave (*a*). The whole conduct of this feeble prince justifies the historical remark, that a weak government is always the most violent.

The queen was delivered of a prince, on the 19th of February 1594, who was baptized, by the name of Henry Frederick. The town council of Edinburgh presented the king, for the christening of his son, and heir, ten tons of wine; and sent a hundred of the citizens, richly accoutered, to attend the ceremony (*b*). During

(*u*) Spottiswoode, 387.

(*x*) Spottiswoode, the Scotish historian, and Birrel's Diary, are filled with the reiterated treasons, and final expulsion of Earl Bothwell; as we have seen. On the 21st of July 1593, however, passed an act of parliament, strengthening the authority of the magistrates of Edinburgh, in preserving the peace thereof, and in executing legal process. 13 Par. Ja. vi. c. 184.

(*y*) Maitl. Edin. 46, records that extraordinary document.

(*z*) Alexander Home of North-Berwick, who certainly had the merit of rescuing the king, from the hands of Bothwell, at a critical moment, was of course chosen provost, during the years 1593-94-95, and 1596.

(*a*) The above proclamation, saith Birrel, grieved the town of Edinburgh, and especially the ministers, who were chiefly opposed by it. Diary, 31.

(*b*) Maitl. Edin. 46; Spottiswoode, 407.

Bothwell's treasonous tumults, in 1595, the town council furnished the king with a guard of fifty citizens, for his palace of Holyrood (*c*). The feebleness of James's government even induced, in September 1595, a rebellion of the boys, in Edinburgh school, who shot one of the magistrates, from the school-house (*d*). The principles of the age generally actuate the practice of the youth: And the stubbornness of those reformed times, we thus see, inspired the school-boys, with their murderous practice.

In the subsequent year, on the 19th of August, the queen gave James a daughter, who was named Elizabeth, after the English queen. And to her christening, on the 1st of December, within Holyroodhouse, the king invited the magistrates of Edinburgh, who, feeling this honour, engaged to give this welcome princess 10,000 marks, on her nuptial day (*e*): So easily are the people pleased, by their princes, when they are properly treated.

Meantime, the English ambassador complained to the king against David Black, one of the ministers of St. Andrews, for calumniating his mistress, from the pulpit: He summoned the preacher before the privy council, for his speeches, which were as unscriptural, as they were illegal: But, Black, in opposition to the late acts of parliament, declined to appear before the privy council, as an incompetent authority (*f*): Thus acting upon a principle, which Knox had incorporated into the Scotican church, to prefer clerical dogmatism to the declarations of positive statute. Meantime, Andrew Melvil convened a number of barons, at Couper of Fife, where they entered into an association, for raising an insurrection against the king's authority (*g*): Avowing, according to their principles, that they only owed subordination, and obedience, *to the kingdom of Christ:* Now, what was this absurd pretence, but to set themselves above the parliament, the supreme power of the temporal state. The convention of Couper, disregarding the late statute, on the 20th of October, adjourned themselves to Edinburgh; and, by letters, invited the several presbyteries to send

(*c*) Mailt. Edin. 46. (*d*) Birrel's Diary.

(*e*) Birrel's Diary, 38; Moyse's Mem. 245; and Cecil's Journal places that event, on the 19th of August 1596. On the marriage of the princess, the magistrates actually paid the promised dowry; adding to their liberality 5,000 marks. Maitl. Edin. 47, from the Town Register. The marriage of Frederick, prince palatine, and the Lady Elizabeth, the sole daughter of King James, was solemnized, on Shrove Sunday, the 14th of February 1612-13, in the chapel-royal, at Whitehall. Strype's Westminster, 579.

(*f*) Moyse's Mem. 245—7; The act of parliament was that of May 1584, in Skene's Stat. 58.

(*g*) That convention of the barons of Fife, under another act of the same session, Skene, 586, was declared to be illegal; and subjected to the pains, which were ordained by law against those, who unlawfully convoke the king's subjects.

commissioners

commissioners to Edinburgh; in order to form a *standing council*, for carrying into effect their secret purposes. How contrary this conduct was to the recent statutes, needs not be repeated. They went a step further, in their progress of rebellion: And, they recommended to every preacher, both by public doctrine, and by private conference, to stir up the people to fear danger, and to prepare for resistance (*i*). This standing council of the Scotican church met every day, at Edinburgh, throughout November 1596. The king sent the president of the session, the secretary, and his advocate, to confer with that seditious meeting; and to know what would satisfy them: But, we do not learn, that those eminent lawyers, informed the ministers, that they were an illegal body; that they had already incurred the pains of treason; and would be prosecuted, if they did not depart in peace. But, this language was unfashionable, at that period, however familiar it is, in more enlightened times. The standing council of ministers, unconstitutional as they were, sent a deputation to the king, with a remonstrance: And, so ill educated was he, whatever he may have known of languages, that he received those deputies; having persuaded himself, that he could out-reason ministers, who were not under the influence of reason. It was an essential trait of this feeble prince, that he was vain enough to suppose, that he could govern fanatical men, by his kingly persuasion, however unkingly were such conceits (*k*). The ministers treated him contemptuously; because he acted weakly. And they transmitted Black's declinature of the king's power in his council, to every preacher in Scotland, in order to make a common cause against a wretched government. On the 26th of November 1596, Black was again summoned, at the cross of Edinburgh, to answer before the privy council. The government, on the same day, issued letters, charging the council of ministers to depart from Edinburgh; and to cease from holding unlawful assemblies, on pain of rebellion. But, as they had seen no examples made, they did not fear any danger. The ministers continued to act, as a standing council, against law; and they instructed the several preachers to assert, "that the spiritual jurisdiction "floweth immediately from Christ; and of course cannot proceed from the "king, or civil magistrate; that the power of convening is from Christ, and "his power cannot be prevented by any prince; and that their judicatories "ought not to be under the controul of any christian prince (*l*)." Here was an avowal of their disobedience to the civil power: And, we may remember, that this was one of the dogmas, which Knox had brought from Geneva, and had

(*i*) Calderwood, 333; Spottiswoode, 419.
(*k*) Calderwood, 334-5; Spottiswoode, 420.
(*l*) Calderwood, 342.

interwoven

interwoven into the texture of his peculiar church. The members of the council, at Edinburgh, even went a step further: They sent a deputation to the king; "threatening him with the consequences of not yielding to their "purposes; and *protesting before God, that they were free of his majesty's* "*blood* (*m*)." The church was now at issue with the state. The clerical council ordered the presbytery of Edinburgh to call before them *such persons of the highest rank*, as were inimical to Christ, and his church (*n*). The king issued a declaration, to correct the misrepresentation, and falsehood of the clergy. And, the clerical council of ministers were charged, by sound of trumpet, at the cross of Edinburgh, to pass from the town, within eight-and-forty hours. After some deliberation, the ministers resolved to depart; protesting that they might *lawfully* disobey; and leaving to others, to take their places, for carrying forward the good work, of establishing the church on the ruin of the state (*o*). The king now endeavoured, with unavailing eloquence, to conciliate the ministers of Edinburgh (*p*). They only inflamed their bigoted partizans with wilder passions (*q*). In order to prevent a tumult, on the 16th of December 1596, four-and-twenty of the most turbulent citizens were commanded to leave the capital. The ministers only preached more seditiously, while some of them read, in the midst of the infuriate people, appropriate passages, from the scriptures; and crying out, with seditious gestures, *for the sword of Gideon.* Nor, did the ministers, and their partizans, want leaders in arms: Lord Lindsay, the son of that savage, who had compelled the imprisoned queen, to resign her crown, now took the lead, in bringing forward the insurgents, to attack the king, and his council, then sitting in consultation, within the town-house. Home, the provost, and the magistrates, now came upon the theatre of tumult: And, by skilful management, somewhat pacified the hideous uproar. A sort of treaty now ensued, between the king, and clergy: James acted, with more firmness, than was expected of him; and the ministers rose, in their pretensions, to complete independance of the constituted authorities of the reformed state (*r*).

On the morrow, the 18th of December 1596, the king, and his council, removed, from Edinburgh, to Linlithgow. He now issued a proclamation, stating the principles, and objects, of the recent tumult, within the capital; the unfitness of it, for his residence, or the safety of his judges; and requiring the

(*m*) Ib. 349; Spottiswoode, 424. (*n*) Calderwood, 358.

(*o*) Calderwood, 358; Spottiswoode, 427. (*p*) Id.

(*q*) Birch's Mem. ii. 250, says, the more zealous citizens determined, to defend their ministers, by force of arms.

(*r*) Spottiswoode, 430; Moye's Mem. 245-52.

Lords

Lords of Session, with every one connected with justice, to remove to a more appropriate place, and the nobles to depart to their several residences (*s*). The citizens of Edinburgh were now awakened to a sense of their own interest: And all considerate men, at length, perceived, that there could be neither freedom, nor rights, nor quiet, where the clergy indulged in pretensions, which admitted no earthly authority, and acknowledged no individual privileges. The town council deliberated on their situation, without being able to determine what was most salutary. The zealous clergy persisted in their seditious courses: But, the town council declined to sign their association. The ministers thus wanting a head, offered that dangerous pre-eminence to Lord Hamilton: But, he carried their seditious proposal to the king (*t*). Thus informed of the rebellious purpose of the clergy, James, on the 20th of December 1596, sent a charge to the magistrates of Edinburgh, to arrest the chiefs of the clergy, with several of their partizans, and commit them to Edinburgh castle (*u*). The ministers now fled into England, with the connivance, probably, of the town council; as they did not retreat till the third day, after the date of the king's command. The privy council at length resolved, that the tumult, at Edinburgh, on the 17th of the same month, was traiterous. The several judicatories were removed to Leith: And the Court of Session was directed to sit, at Perth, after the 1st of February 1597. These decisive measures alarmed the councils of Edinburgh. And, they sent a deputation of citizens to Linlithgow, with a supplication for pardon. It was intimated to them, that *the Estates* would be convened, at Edinburgh, where the offence was committed; and he would follow their advice, as well as to the inquisition, as to the punishment (*x*). On the 1st of January 1597, James entered Edinburgh, with great ceremony; the keys being delivered to him; and the ports placed in the hands of those nobles, whom the king could trust (*y*). He met the convention in the town-house. After some general discourse, on the recent tumult, James admitted the provost,

(*s*) Spottiswoode, 431. (*t*) Spottiswoode, 432.

(*u*) Calderwood, 367; Spottiswoode, 432. In the meantime, *money*, and victual, had been provided, for the keeping of the castle of Edinburgh; Twelve hundred marks, to be paid, monthly, out of the customs of Edinburgh, and the surplus of the thirds of benefices; and of victual, one third of the income of the archbishop of St. Andrews, and the abbey of Scone, and of other ecclesiastical revenues. Stat. 9 parl. Ja. VI. No. 8.

(*x*) Spottiswoode, 309. On the 27th of December 1597, the king issued a proclamation, charging all magistrates, and others, to interrupt the preachers, when uttering false, and traitorous speeches, from their pulpits. Calderwood, 369.

(*y*) Birrel's Diary, 41.

and

and the magistrates, to make their ample submission (*z*). After various proceedings, as to the late tumult, in which Elizabeth interposed, the king pardoned Edinburgh, on the 22d of March 1597 (*a*). On the morrow, James went into the city, and drank with the provost, and magistrates, in token of reconcilement. There was great rejoicing. But, they were ordered to pay a fine of thirty thousand marks Scots (*b*). In this manner, then, did the king, taking advantage of the misconduct of the magistrates, humble the capital of his kingdom: But, whatever he may have then obtained of the reformed church, which had defied all earthly power, her original pretensions were, occasionally, brought forward, and her seditious practices were, often, renewed; till *the Union*, with England, laid her political perturbations for ever.

The remaining years of James's reign over Scotland did not produce many events, in which the capital was much concerned. In 1598 and 1599, there were frequent conventions in Edinburgh, which a feeble prince deemed necessary, for supporting his inefficient measures. In 1599, indeed, James was again obliged to enter into collision with the clergy. Some English players, coming to the metropolis, obtained the king's licence to amuse the citizens. The ministers of Edinburgh presbytery opposed, with their usual violence, the acting of plays, as positively sinful. But, they were now convened before the privy council, for opposing the king's licence; and were obliged to rescind the act of the presbytery. Thus, the people of Edinburgh were quietly amused, by the earliest players, who had presumed to appear, since the reformed clergy had decided, that amusements, and sins, are the same (*c*). The convention of the Estates, which met, at Edinburgh, on the 10th of December 1599, ordained, that the beginning of the year should be changed, from the 25th of March to the 1st of January 1600 (*d*).

The year 1600 is not only remarkable, for that diplomatic change, but will always be memorable, both in the history of Scotland, and its capital, for what has been called *Gowry's Conspiracy*. Early on the 5th of August, James VI.,

(*z*) Maitl. Edin. 50-51, has transcribed the willing submission of the Edinburgh magistrates.

(*a*) Maitland, 53-4.

(*b*) Birrel's Diary, 43; Calderwood, 402. On the 13th of April 1597, the king was again entertained by the city: And, on the 21st of the same month, the four guilty ministers were admitted, to make their submissions; and were afterward pardoned. Calderwood, 411—16; Birrel's Diary, 43.

(*c*) Spottiswoode, 457; an Apology for the Believers in the Shakspeare Papers. At a convention, which assembled, at Edinburgh, on the 24th of June 1598, it was ordained, that every *Monday*, in every week, should be *a play-day*. Moyse's Mem. 260

(*d*) Ib. 264.

preparing

preparing to hunt, in his park of Falkland, was invited by the Earl of Gowry to his house, at Perth, where the king was seized, with whatever purpose, of imprisonment, or death. But, he was rescued, by his attendants, who slew the Earl, and his brother, and overpowered their followers (*e*). A sermon was preached at the cross of Edinburgh, where the people, on their knees, gave thanks to God, for the king's deliverance (*f*). The king soon after arrived; and publicly confirmed the whole circumstances of that remarkable event. The fact was believed by every one, at Edinburgh, except the clergy: The ministers, and particularly Mr. Robert Bruce, who was then deemed the great oracle, were altogether incredulous; yea, after the truth, and circumstances, were testified, by five hundred gentlemen, who were present, and saw with their eyes the form, and manner of that treasonable practice (*g*). One would suppose, from this singular incredulity of the ministers, that the clergy had some connection with the conspiracy. On whatever motive they acted, whether of guilt, or obstinacy, or selfconceit, the five ministers of Edinburgh were banished, by proclamation, at the cross; and were prohibited from preaching, or coming within ten miles of the king's residence, on pain of death, for disbelieving what the king had publicly affirmed (*h*). The dead bodies of the Earl of Gowry, and

(*e*) See the Discourse on that conspiracy, with the Depositions annexed to it, in Moyse's Mem. 265. Birrel's Diary, 49. On the morrow, news came to Edinburgh of the king's escape, whereupon there was great rejoicing; "the canons shot, the bells rang, the trumpets sounded, and "the drums beat." Id.

(*f*) Moyse's Mem. 309.

(*g*) Moyse's Mem. 309. On the 10th of September, however, three of those five ministers came into the privy council, and declared their belief of the conspiracy. On the next day, a fourth minister declared his conviction of the truth of Gowry's conspiracy: And those four were pardoned, for their *scepticism* on so plain a point: Robert Bruce alone remained obstinately incredulous; and being banished from Scotland, went to France. Spottiswoode, 462. They did not believe twenty witnesses, who swore to the simplest facts: The *motive* of Gowry, and his *design*, when he inveigled the king to Perth, can only be conjectured, from the context of the history of Scotland, which contains similar events: That Gowry meant treason is obvious.

(*h*) Birrel's Diary, 51. There was published, at the time, a written declaration of the king, with depositions, for the satisfaction of the people. Gowry, and his brother, were attainted by parliament, after the examination of witnesses. Yet, did the reformed clergy, with a party in Scotland, disbelieve the truth of an obvious conspiracy. During the reign of Anne, the Earl of Cromerty, the Lord Register, published, from the Record, twenty depositions of the most respectable men, including the Duke of Lennox, who proved the simplest facts. Yet, in our own times, the late Dr. Robertson, the king's historiographer, and Lord Hailes, one of the senators of the College of Justice, entertained strange scruples, about the Gowry conspiracy; such is the lamentable effect of early prejudice, which prevented two such persons, from sitting down, like men

and his brother, were brought from Perth to Edinburgh, and were hung up, at the market cross, as traitors, according to the coarse practice of the Scotish jurisprudence (*i*). The king had now escaped, from the conspiracy of Gowry, and the incredulity of the clergy; nor is it easy to decide, whether the treason of the one, or the scepticism of the others, or the scruples of historians, be the most absurd. After this storm, which was so common, in the climate of Scotland, James VI. enjoyed some tranquil years, with the secret correspondence of Elizabeth's ministers, who saw her age approaching to its end, and the king advancing to her throne.

At length, the English queen demised, at the period of life, on the 24th of March 1603. The Scotish king was, on the same day, proclaimed her successor, upon the same title, which had been denied to his mother, through whom he had derived his right. Many messengers hastened to Edinburgh with the welcome news. On the 31st of March 1603, the nobility came to the cross of Edinburgh, with the Secretary, Elphinston, who read the proclamation of those great events; and Sir David Lindsay, the lion king, re-echoed it (*k*). The whole commons of Scotland, who could read, now busied themselves, in explaining how many of the prophecies, since the ancient times of Thomas Rymer, were at length fulfilled, by the accession of James to the English crown (*l*). Amidst the popular regret, for the king's departure, there were others, however, of a graver cast, who foresaw, from the absence of the court, and the receding of the nobles, that Edinburgh was doomed to a long debility, though it might enjoy greater quiet, from the absence of political intrigue.

of skill, to satisfy themselves about so obvious an historical truth. Lord Hailes republished the king's declaration, with notes, in order to discredit it, however supported, by depositions: And, he solicited more evidence, to illustrate this obscure passage in the Scotish history.

(*i*) Moyse's Mem. 309. They were attainted by parliament, in November 1600. See the trial, in Arnot's Crim. Trials, 20—44.

(*k*) Birrel's Diary, 58: On Sunday, the 3d of April 1603, the king came to the great kirk of Edinburgh, where he harangued the people, in presence of the noblemen of England: He promised to defend the faith, and to revisit his native kingdom, every three years. On the 5th of April, the king set out, from Edinburgh, for Berwick, and for London, the mighty metropolis of his new dominions.

(*l*) Birrel's Diary, 59, delights to tell what is so illustrative of the political superstition of the times. On the 15th of March 1603, the king granted to the city of Edinburgh a charter, confirming the grants of his predecessors. Mait. Edin. 240—57. On the 5th of July 1603, the king's charter was read, and received, at the cross of Edinburgh, by Alexander Seyton, the provost, and the magistrates, in the presence of most of the Lords of Session. Birrel's Diary, 60.

At

At that epoch, and during some years thereafter, Edinburgh, in common with other Scotish towns, were greatly distressed, by the frequent recurrence of the *plague*, which swept away many citizens; and reduced the survivors to great penury (*m*). Amidst his English cares, James seems to have been studious how to prevent the interposition of the nobles in the politics of his burroughs. And, in September 1608, he wrote the magistrates of Edinburgh, to recollect, in their choice of a provost, that none could be chosen, according to a salutary law, but a real citizen (*n*). He appears, however, at the same time, to have been equally attentive to the usual gratifications of exterior appearances: He empowered the corporation to cause a sword to be carried before the provost, and the magistrates to wear gowns (*o*). Before this reign, there seems to have been little attention paid, by any order in the state, to exterior ornaments, on public occasions (*p*).

James, at length resolved, to perform the promise, which, in the fulness of his heart, he had made, when he set out from Edinburgh, for London, of frequently returning to his native kingdom. The magistrates of Edinburgh gave orders to make preparations for his reception (*q*). On the 16th of May 1616, the king, arriving at the West Port, was received, by the magistrates, in their gowns, and by some citizens, in velvet habits. Hay, the town clerk, made him an oration, in such eloquent terms, as the times afforded. On that happy day of their new birth, the orator acknowledged the goodness of the Almighty, in allowing their eyes to behold the greatest felicity of their hearts, which is to feed on the royal countenance of their true phoenix, the bright star of their northern firmament, the ornament of their age: And who could witness, he

(*m*) Maitl. Edin. 567.

(*n*) 1535, ch. 26; Maitl. Edin. 57. In the parliament of 1605, an act was passed, in favour of Edinburgh. Unprinted Acts, No. 14. During that session, indeed, a general act was made, in favour of the whole *burroughs regal*; confirming their usual privileges, and liberties. 1606, ch. 16. And this gratifying act was followed by another law, for preventing unlawful conventions, within towns, and enforcing the authority of the magistrates, in the execution of their offices 1606, ch. 17.

(*o*) Maitl. Edin. 58. With his usual attention to petty objects, James sent the magistrates two pattern gowns from London. Id. All this while, the king seems to have been indebted to the corporation of Edinburgh 59,000 marks, which he seems to have discharged, in 1616, by a sort of bankruptcy, for 20,000 marks. Id.

(*p*) At the ranking of the peers, according to their precedence, in 1606, they were required to appear, in parliament, in robes of red, lined with white: The like was never seen, in this country before, saith Birrel. Diary, 63. Balfour's Annals, i. 406, concur, that those were the first parliament robes, that were ever used in Scotland. James II. had tried to introduce such robes.

(*q*) Maitl. Edin. 58.

adds, your majesty's beneficence, more than this good town of Edinburgh, which, being founded, in the days of that worthy king, Fergus I., the builder of this kingdom; and enriched by him, with many freedoms, privileges, and dignities, which your majesty not only confirmed, but also, with the accession of many more, endowed. But, of Fergus I., who never reigned, and of James VI., who visited Scotland to little purpose, enough (*x*)! The citizens entertained the king, with a sumptuous banquet; and presented him, with what was of still more importance, with ten thousand marks, of double golden angels, in a silver bason. But, what magnificence could be shown by a town, whose streets were not yet paved, and the houses whereof were covered with thatch (*y*)? The king convened his two-and-twentieth parliament, at Edinburgh, on the 28th of June 1617. Acts were now passed, "for the election of archbishops, and bishops;" "for the restitution of *chapters*." Commissioners were also appointed "for the plantation of kirks." Several statutes on material points of domestic economy were also enacted. And provision was made for the better support of Edinburgh castle (*z*). The king returned to London, on the 15th September 1617, after presiding at a scholastic disputation of the professors of Edinburgh university. He died, at Theobalds, on the 27th of March 1625; and, on the subsequent Sunday, the ministers of Edinburgh, who had now learned a lesson of flattery, from the town clerk, praised him, in their sermons, as the most religious, and peaceable prince, that ever was, in this unworthy world (*a*).

Charles I. was proclaimed, at the market cross of Edinburgh, by the officers of state, on the 31st of March 1625. A convention was convened at Edinburgh, in October, and November 1625; but, their proceedings are as obscure, as their authority is questionable. The town council of Edinburgh agreed to advance to the king, the assessment of that city; and to contribute to the maintenance of ten thousand men; at the same time providing for the city guard, and for the discipline of the whole citizens (*b*).

(*x*) The absurd flattery of the town clerk is transcribed into Maitland's Edinburgh, 58—60.

(*y*) The town council ordered several ways to be paved, in 1612, which is the epoch of the paving of the road to Leith. Maitl. Edin. 58. An act of parliament, in 1621, directed that the houses of Edinburgh should be covered, with slates, lead, tyles, or thackestone. 1621, ch. 26. A thousand nuisances were ordered to be removed, by another act of the same session. ch. 29. Three bells were provided, for the churches, in November 1621. Maitl. Edin. 62. And water was introduced, under a law of the same year. A nightly guard of citizens was provided, in 1625. Id.

(*z*) Unprinted act of that session.

(*a*) Calderwood, 815.

(*b*) Maitl. Edin. 62-3.

As

As early as 1628, Charles I. seems to have designed to enter Edinburgh, and to receive his crown: The citizens made great preparations to receive their sovereign, with splendid ceremonies. And Drummond, the poet, prepared a speech, for that joyous occasion, which may vie with the oration of Hay, the town clerk, in honest zeal, inflated eloquence, and absurd adulation. But, the king was disappointed, in his purpose of visiting Scotland, during several years. It was on the 12th of June 1633, that Charles entered Edinburgh, by the West Port, where he was received by the provost, and baillies, in red furred gowns, and by three score counsellors, in velvet dresses. The reception of Charles I. was certainly more splendid, and undoubtedly more proper, than the plainer reception of James VI., which seems to intimate more wealth, in the citizens, and more tastefulness in Drummond, the poet (*c*). On the morrow, the king passed from the palace of Holyrood to Edinburgh castle: From thence he returned, on the following day, to Holyrood palace: And, on the 18th of June 1633, was Charles I. crowned, in the abbey church of Holyrood, with unwonted ceremonies, and perhaps unexampled splendour (*d*). In the official language of that age, the coronation of the king was called, *giving him his crown.*

On 20th of June 1633, Charles I. assembled his first parliament of Scotland, in the *Tolbooth* of Edinburgh, the appropriate place of such meetings, in recent reigns. Every privilege of every body was now ratified, and every right of every person was, at the same time, confirmed (*e*). In perusing the statutes of that session, one can hardly suppose, that a single grievance existed, in a happy land. Yet, no conclusion could be more fallacious. A thousand jealousies existed, and many

(*c*) Spalding, in his History of the Troubles in Scotland, p. 20, gives the most minute account of the ceremonial, on that joyous occasion. Maitl. Edin. 63-4. In the same book, we may see the learned puerilities of Drummond, the best poet of a sterile age. His pageant exhibits: Caledonia's Speech; the Muses Song; Endymion's Speech; Saturn's Speech; Jove's Speech; the Sun's Speech; the Speech of Venus; Mercury's Speech; the Speech of the Moon; Endymion's Speech;

"Wherever Fame abroad his praise shall ring,
"All shall observe, and serve this blessed king."

How *he was served,* needs not be told.

(*d*) See Spalding, as above, for much curious detail.

(*e*) The acts concerning religion were confirmed. There were ratifications of the College of Justice; there was a ratification of the privileges of the royal burroughs; there was a general ratification of the rights of the whole people. And, the interest of money was reduced from *ten* to *eight* per cent., though the king was to enjoy, for some years, two per cent. of the reduced interest. See Table of the printed acts,

fears

fears were propagated; while the people's minds were prepared, to receive every imputation, and to listen to every suggestion. This seems to be the first time, that we hear of any direct attack made on the authority of the three Estates: It was given out, that the parliament itself had been packed; that votes were bought; that voices were not truly numbered; and that some acts were passed, without a plurality of suffrages (*f*): But, it is not easy to discover, at present, what could be the statutes, which were obtained, by such ignominious means (*g*). Charles I. had scarcely retired from Edinburgh, when those discontents were openly avowed. In 1634, the town council of Edinburgh applied to the king, for a charter, empowering the inhabitants to form themselves into several companies of militia: They were desired to form their companies, so as to show their intentions (*h*). Whatever may have been the king's distrust, in 1636, he gave a charter to the city of Edinburgh, confirming all the privileges, which had been granted, by his progenitors (*i*).

Meantime, Charles I., without adverting how much the current of popular opinion ran, in Scotland, against any thing episcopal, in 1633, established the episcopate of Edinburgh, and a liturgy, for the Scotican church. The Service Book owed its origin to James I., which was approved, by the assembly of 1616. From that period, the English liturgy was used, in the chapel royal of Holyroodhouse, in some of the cathedral churches, and even in the new college of St. Andrews, though without apparent discontent. But, there had been a great progress of dislike, in the intervenient period. And, when the service book, which was chiefly copied, from that of England, was read in St. Giles's

(*f*) See the king's large declaration of 1639.

(*g*) We may remark, indeed, that the statutes, which were made, confirming the rights of the reformed kirk, were not hitherto well received, by the clergy; as they seemed to think their rights to have been derived from some higher source, than the highest temporal power. The Scotish clergy never considered their privileges as safe, while episcopacy of the most limited sort existed, in the land. They constantly endeavoured to gain many partizans, particularly, at *the fasts*, which they held four times a-year. Previous to the meeting of the parliament, in 1633, they resolved to present a petition to the king, and parliament, for a redress of all their grievances, real, and pretended. The Earl of Rothes, on the same day, that the king made his entry into Edinburgh, waited on Charles I., at Dalkeith, with their petition. The king, having read the petition, returned it to Rothes, saying, No more of this, I command you. To this source, may be traced up the calumnies, which were propagated of that parliament, and the discontent, which ensued, though so many rights were confirmed. The conferring of new titles, on some nobles, made these ungrateful, and many discontented. Add to all those causes of discontent, the resumption, which the king had made, early in his reign, of the improvident, or illegal grants of his predecessors; a measure, that generally gave great offence, however legal it might be.

(*h*) Maitl. Edin. 285.

(*i*) Ib. 257-68.

church,

church, at Edinburgh, a tumult ensued (*k*). In October 1637, a great concourse of people, of every rank, resorted to Edinburgh, to avow their discontent, and declare their opposition to the Service Book. A proclamation, commanding them to disperse, was issued, in vain. A fresh tumult ensued, which was followed by a second proclamation, with as little effect. The Privy Council, and the Court of Session, now removed from Edinburgh to Linlithgow. This measure was followed, by a still greater tumult (*l*). In December 1637, a proclamation was made, at Edinburgh, that it was not the king's intention, to make any alteration in religion (*m*); yet, was not the Service Book even now relinquished, as untenable (*n*).

During the subsequent year, discontent was animated into rebellion. On the 21st of February 1638, the cross of Edinburgh was covered in state; and a proclamation made from it, prohibiting opposition to the Book of Common Prayer (*o*). Against this prohibition, a public protest was made, with equal solemnity. There thus appears a wonderful infatuation, that Charles I. should risque a kingdom, for such an object; and that the Scotish people should hazard a civil war, to avoid a Service Book. Yet, a convocation of people was now made, at Edinburgh, to oppose it: This measure was met by a fresh proclamation: And the covenant was at length renewed, in the Gray Friars church yard (*p*). The magistrates of Edinburgh now ordered the citizens to prepare themselves for war (*q*): And the covenanters also made military preparations; as if civil war were a slight evil. At length, on the 22d of September 1638, a proclamation was made, at the cross of Edinburgh, relinquishing the Service Book, the Book of Canons, and the high commission (*r*). Such a measure might have prevented hostilities, had it been taken, a twelvemonth sooner. Edinburgh castle became, at length, a great object with both parties. The covenanters beleaguered it, in December 1638: The town council concurred with them, by raising five hundred men, and voting £50,000 of Scots money, for their maintenance (*s*). The covenanters now took the king's house of

(*k*) Maitl. Edin. 71-2; Arnot, 107—9. (*l*) Maitl. Edin. 73; Arnot's Edin. 110.

(*m*) Spalding, i. 59-60-61.

(*n*) The king was studious to inform his people, in his large declaration, 1639, that religion was only pretended, as a palliation of the intended rebellion; as the seeds of sedition had been sown, by the covenanters, long before any religious grievances were heard of among them.

(*o*) Spalding, i. 63-4. (*p*) Maitl. 75; Arnot, 113; Spalding, i. 68.

(*q*) Maitl. 81. (*r*) Spalding, i. 83.

(*s*) Ib. 84; Maitl. 82-3-4: The castle, being unprovided with provisions, surrendered, on the 21st of March 1639, after a slight assault.

Dalkeith,

Dalkeith, where they found the *regalia*, which they carried to Edinburgh castle, and many arms, and much ammunition, that they appropriated to the uses of war: And they now fortified Leith against an expected armament (*u*). The Marquis of Hamilton, who, like his fathers, saw some interest, in such commotions, came into the Forth, with a fleet, and army, which he had no purpose to employ. And, the pacification was made, at Berwick, on the 21st of May 1639, between the contending parties; the king, to retain, and the clergy, to gain the sovereignty of Scotland. A public thanksgiving was made, at Edinburgh, when a declaration was made, that the citizens would adhere to the assembly, though perhaps without any very specific motive. Edinburgh castle was, on that occasion, delivered to the Marquis of Hamilton, as the king's officer. The fortifications of Leith were demolished: And, the arms, and ammunition, which it contained, were transferred to the castle (*x*). A proclamation was made, at the cross of Edinburgh, during the existing tranquillity; forbidding the use of fire arms, on pain of death; but, this proclamation was disregarded by those, who considered the present quiet, as only a prelude to future war (*y*). The parliament, which sat, at Edinburgh, in December 1639, rose, amidst mutual criminations of unconstitutional conduct. The magistrates of Edinburgh, in the meantime, pretended to deliver the power of governing their town to the committee of insurrection.

Peace, indeed, could scarcely be preserved, while the minds of men were so distracted, by jealousies, and fears, and the officers of state were egregiously corrupt (*z*). With the year 1640, began fresh preparations for inveterate war (*a*). In March, the magistrates of Edinburgh raised fortifications to defend the town against the castle; exercised the citizens in arms; and appointed a guard, during the night. Ruthen, the governor of the castle, remonstrated, in vain. They continued their hostile demonstrations: And he fired upon the town, from the castle. Lesley, the Scottish general, after mustering his army at Leith, invested the castle, which resisted his efforts. And, at length, the governor of the

(*u*) Arnot, 121. (*x*) Spalding, i. 184-5. (*y*) Spalding, i. 195.

(*z*) See the king's Declaration, of the year 1640, for an exposition of his motives, which show, that scarcely any of the stipulations of the treaty of Berwick had been executed, by his opponents.

(*a*) The insurgent nobles applied to the French king for assistance. Their letter is printed, in the king's Declaration, 1640, and was laid before the English parliament. In the meantime, the popular leaders, in England, by various intrigues, urged the Scotish insurgents to persevere, in their pretensions. Mr. Professor Macky's MS. Collections.

castle

castle capitulated, for want of provisions (*b*). The war of 1640, between vigour, and irresolution, was carried on, without success, by the king's officers. And further hostilities were prevented, by the treaty of Rippon, on the 2d of September 1640, which was confirmed, at London; and which left the king little more than a choice of difficulties.

Charles I. came to Edinburgh, for a second time, on the 14th of August 1641; "to perfect, as he said, what he had promised; and to quiet distraction, "for the people's satisfaction (*c*)." But, as he attempted impossibilities, he came only to see his friends prosecuted; and to reward his enemies. He consented to the various parliamentary proceedings, which changed the constitution, from limited monarchy to unrestrained democracy. And, he agreed to an act of oblivion, which saved harmless the successful insurgents, and delivered his unfortunate supporters to several punishments (*d*). On the 17th of November 1641, he departed from this disgraceful scene, at Edinburgh, to meet fresh mortifications, at London (*e*). A committee of the Estates continued to sit, at Edinburgh, to domineer over all, under the pretence of government.

Edinburgh, as it was the capital of the kingdom, continued to be the great seat of fanatical insurrection. The magistrates of this city were induced, by their prepossessions, to adhere to the covenant; and were carried forward, by their prejudices, to raise a regiment of twelve hundred men, which cost them nearly £60,000, Scotish money (*f*). A new covenant was made, at Edinburgh, in October 1643, which was sworn to, in St. Giles's church (*g*). In March 1545, the plague superadded its desolations to the waste of civil war: Happily, this pestilence, which then joined its ravages to the delusions of fanaticism, was the last, that afflicted this wretched city (*h*).

Meantime, a parliament, like the unwarrantable convention of 1560, convened at Edinburgh, on the 8th of January 1645, without any representation of the

(*b*) Spalding, i. 214—260-1. (*c*) Spalding, i. 318-19.

(*d*) See the statutes of the session 1640-1. (*e*) Spalding, i. 335-6.

(*f*) Maitl. Edin. 110: The raising of those men was designed, to carry into effect the treaty, between the English parliament, and the Scotish, that the Scots should furnish 21,000 men to England, at the rate of 21,000l. Sterling, a-month. The popular factions of the two kingdoms were now playing into one anothers hands the game of fanatical folly: The English faction had enabled the Scotish to outfight, and overreach Charles I.: And, the Scotish faction was now, in the act, of enabling the English to overreach, and overcome, the same deluded prince: The practices of both ended in what might have been foreseen, if prejudice had not overpowered the wisest minds, in the tyranny of a protector.

(*g*) Arnot, 125; Maitl. 282. (*h*) Maitl. Edin. 85-6; Arnot, 259.

king; but with the Earl of Lauderdale, for its president; the same earl, who acted, as the dictator of Scotland, in the subsequent reign. Five committees sat, daily, at Edinburgh. This activity of legislation produced an *excise* on almost every article of consumption. The murmurs of the citizens, as they were heard without feeling, by the magistrates, broke out into tumult. But, the clergy convinced them, that their present, and future happiness, was the object of this excise; which was perceived to be new, and was felt to be oppressive (*i*).

Yet, the citizens had merited their sufferings, from their misconduct, throughout so many years. Edinburgh, from this period, partook, with the national councils, of the scandal, arising from the sale of the king for money, of his subsequent murder, and of the subjugation of the state (*k*). After that violent demise of the tarnished diadem, the city of Edinburgh joined in what was called the national engagement, in favour of Charles II. In the place of the quota of twelve hundred men, which the citizens ought to have raised, they agreed to give £40,000, Scotish money: Yet, were they obliged to borrow it, so exhausted were their means. They, afterward, endeavoured to avoid this debt, by pleading the unlawfulness of such an engagement. They consulted the assembly of divines, who supported their scruples; as the money had been borrowed, for an uncovenanted purpose. Yet, were they compelled, by a new power, in December 1652, at the suit of their creditors, to fulfil their contract, which the English judges deemed just, and the Scotish clergy unlawful: Such

(*i*) Arnot, 122; Spalding, ii. 265-7.

(*k*) The Scotish army, on the 30th January 1646-7, in consideration of 400,000l., delivered the king to the English commissioners: This was confirmed, by an act of the state; some of the statesmen sharing, largely, in those wages of villainy. In vain did the committee of the Estases send Lothian, Cheiselie, and Glendoning, to London, in December 1648, to care for the state. In vain did those commissioners give in a futile protestation against taking away the king's life: In vain did the assembly of the kirk give in a testimony to the same effect. The state, and church, were both declared to be useless, and their conduct offensive. And, they soon received from their commissioners, at London, the following result of their absurd mission; as appears from Mr. Professor Macky's MS:

"Right reverend, and honourable: This day, about two of the clock, in the afternoon, his "majesty was brought out, at the window of the balcony of the banqueting-house of Whitehall, "near which a stage was set up, and his head was struck off, with an axe; wherewith we hold it our duty to inform you: And so being in haste, we shall say no more at this time, but that we remain, your most affectionate friends. Lothian.—Jo. Cheiselie.—Ro. Blair."

Covent Garden,
30th January 1649.

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mental confusion had arisen, from the absurd casuistry of political, and religious anarchy, during so many wretched years (*l*).

The public affairs of a ruined people had now become quite inextricable; from the discordant opinions, and profligate conduct of so many clergy, and nobles. Wanting a pageant, they invited Charles II. to become their covenanted king. And, on the 15th of July 1650, was he proclaimed king, at the cross of Edinburgh (*m*). But, a very different personage was now at hand, who established the quiet of Scotland, by the unhallowed means of its subjugation. Cromwell passed the Tweed, on the 22d of July 1650; and, marching forward, through Lothian, encamped on the Pentland ridge, above Edinburgh. The Scotish army then lay at Corstorphin, under Lesley: But, they soon moved to a more secure position, between Edinburgh, and Leith, where they entrenched themselves, protected, on either flank, by the batteries on Calton hill, and by the fortifications of Leith. Cromwell, finding this camp to be impregnable, while the caution of Lesley allowed him no advantage, retired first to Musselburgh, and afterward retreated to Dunbar. By knowing the country, Lesley was enabled to seize the passes of the Lamermoor, before Cromwell could pass their defiles. On the 3d of September 1650, however, the ecclesiastical commissaries, attending the Scotish army, by obliging Lesley to leave his strong position, and to fight a doubtful field, delivered the Scotish army into Cromwell's hands. Edinburgh was now subdued, by its own fears; and was left by the magistrates, without a government (*n*). On the 7th of the same month, Cromwell took possession of Leith, and Edinburgh, invested the castle, and seized the fortlets of Roslin, and Borthwick: And, at the end of three months, Edinburgh castle surrendered, by capitulation (*o*). At the expiration of fifteen months absence, the town council resumed the government, from those citizens, who had ruled prudently, during the necessary inattention of the constituted authorities. They probably found leisure, during their flight, to reflect, how much, by their own follies, they had contributed to the conquest of their city, and the subduction of the kingdom.

(*l*) The historians of Edinburgh speak, with indignation, of the dishonesty of the citizens, and the knavery of the clergy. Maitl. Edin. 87—91; Arnot, 123. In a statement of the debts of the city, in 1690, the above debt of 40,000l. was charged 60,000l. While the magistrates were preparing to receive Charles II., they went out, accompanied by the hangman, to introduce the great Montrose, who was executed, at their cross, with every circumstance of brutal exultation. Arnot, 129-30-1.

(*m*) On the arrival of Charles II., in pursuance of the negociation at Breda, the city of Edinburgh presented him with 20,000l. Scots. Maitl. Edin. 110.

(*n*) Maitl. Edin. 89.

(*o*) Arnot, 135; Heath's Chron. 280.

The English commissioners, for ruling Scotland, arrived, at Dalkeith, in January 1652. And, the citizens found it necessary to ask their consent, before they chose their own magistrates: So fallen were they, after dictating to their legitimate sovereign, and after feeling the humiliation of conquest (*p*). As they were now freed from the domination of the clergy, and were not oppressed by Cromwell, who had other objects, the citizens enjoyed more quiet, as well as security, than they had possessed, for many a wretched year of covenanted domination: They saw, however, English people settle at Leith, under the encouragement of Cromwell, who here built a citadel, at a great expence (*q*). Scotland now enjoyed unusual quiet, under the strong arm of positive conquest, by her ancient adversaries. The clergy were at length restrained from their accustomed calumnies. Justice was equally administered by strangers, who did not enter into party connections, with which they were unacquainted. And, the whole people began to breathe, after such terrible agitations; their minds being freed from the tyranny of the clergy; their persons being secured from the outrages of faction; and their estates being safe from exactions, beyond their abilities. So completely had the nation been exhausted, by so many efforts, which were beyond its powers; there was scarcely a person, or a community, in that kingdom, which could pay their debts. The city of Edinburgh owed £55,000 Sterling, which it was unable to satisfy. Such was the debilitated state of Scotland, when Monk marched, in December 1559, into England, with perhaps no very predetermined design, though he undoubtedly meant well.

The conquest of Scotland, and its union with England, had scarcely left it any constituted authorities, who could concur, in the meditated *Restoration*. After the two houses of parliament, in England, had *determined to settle the civil government, in the ancient channel*, the town council of Edinburgh addressed a letter to the king, on the 11th of May 1660, which was signed, by Sir James Stewart, the *lord provost*. The citizens lament, that *the iniquity* of *the times* had so long prevented them, from tendering their faithful service; they declared their concurrence with those, who had prudently laid themselves out to settle the king upon the throne of his dominions; and they rejoiced, that they might now expect, from their lawful prince, a redress of those grievances, under which *they had so long fainted* (*r*). Thomson, the town clerk of Edinburgh, was the

(*p*) Maitl. Edin. 89. (*q*) Maitl. Edin. 91—6.

(*r*) From their feelings, they assured the king that, "the land hath been impoverished, subdued, and kept in bondage, by that party, who hath invaded us upon the account of adhering to

the only authorized person, who waited on the king, from Scotland. He was received with the *most gracious acceptance.* He appears to have had some authority, on that occasion, from *the royal burroughs*; in whose name he presented "a poor "myte of a thousand pounds Sterling (*s*)," which yet was one tenth of the city of London's gift. So great was the joy, at Edinburgh, when the citizens heard of the king's arrival, in England, that they caused a sumptuous banquet to be made, at their market cross. The king was so pleased, with all those attentions, that he ratified some of their old privileges, and promised a confirmation of their several rights (*t*). But, it was not till the 22d of August 1660, that the king abolished the English tribunals, in Scotland (*u*); re-established its ancient forms of government; appointed the officers of state; and directed a parliament to meet, at Edinburgh, to whom he referred the preparing of an act of indemnity, to save from legal penalties a guilty nation. The keeping of Christmas, at Edinburgh, by persons of all degrees, except a few ministers, was deemed a proof of the renovation of rationality over fanaticism (*x*).

The parliament assembled, at Edinburgh, on the 1st of January 1661, under Lord Middleton, as the king's commissioner. The constitution was now restored, with the king's legal authority. The public transactions, during the last three-and-twenty years, were reprobated, as grossly unwarrantable. The acts of the seven parliaments, which sat from 1640 to 1648, were rescinded, as unconstitutional, in their commencements, and violent in their proceedings:

"to your majesty; the true religion established among us, hath been exposed to hazard, by the "deluges of error, and division, for which a door was kept open, by that power, which held us "under." Yet, the magistrates of Edinburgh had concurred, very zealously, in the factious follies, which, during three-and-twenty years, had involved the country, in desolation, and drenched it, in blood: Nor, is it easy to find a single person of any consequence, in Scotland, who can fairly be considered, as guiltless of the ruin of their country; so general were the delusions of *the covenant*; all but *the doctors* of Aberdeen, who are so emphatically commended by Clarendon, for the superiority of their learning, and the firmness of their spirit.

(*s*) Sir William Lower, in his relation of the king's proceedings, in Holland, from the 25th of May to the 2d of June 1660, does not notice the town clerk's acceptance with the king; nor, indeed, the approach of any person from Scotland, though the Earl of Lauderdale is said to have repaired to the king, soon after he was discharged from his imprisonment. Lauderdale was, in consequence, appointed secretary of state, for Scotland. On the 3d of March 1660, the Earls of Crawford, Lauderdale, and Lord Sinclair, were released from their imprisonment, in Windsor castle.

(*t*) Maitl. Edin. 96-7.

(*u*) Law, and government, were never better administered, in Scotland, than by those *English tribunals.*

(*x*) The Kingdom's Intelligencer, No. 1.

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The motive, which was assigned, by the parliament, for annulling the transactions of so many parliamentary meetings, was, "that all the miseries, which "this kingdom had groaned under, during three-and-twenty years, were the "necessary consequences of the invasions, by pretending reformation, (the "common cloak, say the parliament, of all rebellions), on the royal autho- "rity (*y*). Such, then, was the sober opinion of the Scotish legislators, at the end of more than twenty years of innovation, and fanaticism, of warfare, and conquest, when they had learned wisdom, in the school of adversity. The parliament, at this sitting, passed various laws of domestic economy, which tended to employ the people, after so many years of idleness (*z*). And, the Estates settled a revenue, on the king, during his life, for the necessary charge of his Scotish government; whereof the town, and county of Edinburgh, raised a sixth (*a*). In that first parliament of Charles II., there passed an act, ratifying to Edinburgh its new charter of confirmation, its power of regality over the Canongate, and its customs, which were collected at the toll-house, in the moor (*b*).

The parliament again assembled, at Edinburgh, on the 8th of May 1662. The practices of late times appear to have dictated almost all the laws of this parliament. The ancient government of the church, by archbishops, and bishops, was now re-established (*c*). An act was passed, for preserving the king's person, and authority; wherein the late *leagues*, and *covenants*, were censured, as immoral; and nullified, as illegal (*d*). A declaration of fidelity

(*y*) See the statutes of the first Parl. Charles II.

(*z*) See the several statutes, among the acts of this session.

(*a*) Of that sum, Edinburgh, the Canongate, and Leith, raised 3,732l.; Edinburgh county 2,660l.; which amounted to 6,392l.; whereof the town raised a tenth. In 1663, the parliament settled the proportions of the excise, for three months: Of the whole 29,325l. 16s., the shire of Edinburgh was to pay 2,140l.; and the town 2,932l.; and thus again the town paid *one tenth* of the whole, and the shire more than *one sixth*. In 1667, the convention of Estates gave a voluntary aid of 72,000l. a-month; which were assessed on the 33 shires, at 60,000l., and the 62 burroughs, at 12,000l.; the town of Edinburgh, at 5,320l.; being much more than one third of the whole burroughs; and the shire of Edinburgh, at 3,183l. 8s. In 1663, the parliament made a voluntary offer of 20,000 infantry, and 2,000 cavalry; whereof Edinburghshire furnished 800 infantry, and 74 cavalry; and Edinburgh, and Leith, furnished 800 infantry. In these proportions of men, the counties of Hadington and Berwick, were equal to Edinburghshire, though they were much below it, in the supplies of money.

(*b*) Unprinted Acts. (*c*) Act, No. 1.

(*d*) Ib. No. 2. The proceedings of the Glasgow assembly, in 1638, were specifically annulled, as seditious, and unlawful.

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was prescribed to all persons in public trust (*e*). There was passed the usual act of revocation, of acts done, or rights granted, during the king's minority (*f*). And, there was passed an act of pardon, and oblivion, with very few exceptions, considering the multitude of the guilty, and the enormity of the crimes (*g*). But, such laws were enacted, in vain, when so many persons, in Scotland, denied the authority of the temporal legisature, and professed obedience only to their spiritual superiors.

In this state of men's minds, the votaries of the late covenant carried their discontents into insurrection. They disarmed some of the king's troops, in Dunfries: They now marched, under such leaders, as they could find, to Lanerk; and thence proceeded towards Edinburgh. The city was now put into a posture of defence: The gates were barricadoed; no one was allowed to go out, without a passport; the neighbouring gentlemen were called in, for its protection; and the College of Justice armed its members, in support of the law against insurgency. The privy council sent General Dalzel to suppress the insurgents. They were at length encountered, by the king's troops, at Rullion-Green, among the Pentland hills, on the 28th of November 1666. Fifty of them were killed; a hundred and thirty were made prisoners; and the remaining fanatics were dispersed. On the 7th of December, ten of the rebellious enthusiasts were executed, at Edinburgh; avowing their disobedience to the king, and the laws; and glorying in their fanaticism, and fate: Their avowed motive was adherence to *the covenant*, in opposition to law, according to the maxims, which had come down to them, from their fathers, who had been instructed by Knox, in the Genevan principles, and practice.

Under such maxims, quiet could not exist, within the land, where the law, and the populace, stood opposed to each other. As the practice of assassination had also come down, from their fathers, to the fanatics, one Mitchel, in attempting to murder the archbishop, in Edinburgh streets, wounded the bishop of Orkney. After a while he was irregularly tried, and corruptly condemned, though of his enormous guilt there could be no doubt. On the day of his execution, the women of Edinburgh assembled, to rescue this odious assassin: But, he was too powerfully guarded, to admit of female deliverance (*h*).

Throughout this guilty reign, the law, and the lower orders, constantly opposed each other: The covenanted ministers, and their wretched disciples, avowed

(*e*) Act, No. 5. (*f*) Ib. No. 8. (*g*) Ib. No. 10.

(*h*) Arnot's Edin. 148—50; and see the *Ravillac Redivivus* of the celebrated Doctor Hickes.

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the most dangerous doctrines, and practised the basest actions (*i*): The rulers of those infatuated people, could find no other measures, for restraining enthusiasm, and inducing acquiescence, than the threats of death, and the violences of coertion: The government was thus violent, and severe, while the populace were disobedient, and obstinate. A standing army left the metropolis, in the meantime, no other measures, than pliability, and subserviance (*k*).

Those anarchical proceedings were not altogether confined to the church. A schism existed within the College of Justice. During an age, when so much of the law was either unknown, or uncertain, it was a litigated point, whether an appeal lay, from the Court of Session, which seems to have come in the place of the judicial power of the parliament, to the king, and his estates (*l*). The king, upon reviewing the whole matter, and wishing to preserve the authority of the court, directed the advocates to acquiesce, or to be debarred from their functions. The advocates refused to acquiesce; and they were joined by forty other advocates, who deserted the bar, avowing the same opinions: The contumacious counsellors were now ordered, by the privy

(*i*) In 1681, the government published, an impartial account of the confessions of the conspirators; in order to expose to the world the wild opinions, both as to religion, and law, which were avowed, and practised, by the deluded followers of the covenanted ministers. On the 5th of May 1684, there was published a proclamation, with a *list* of *fugitives*, which has been transcribed into Wodrow's Appx. No. xciv.: It shows, with satisfactory evidence, that the persons, who defied the laws, and pretended to dictate to the church, were servants, low tenants, weavers, shoemakers, taylors, and other tradesmen; but, there were among them, scarcely any landholders, or any persons of the learned professions; and, only a few vagrant preachers, with the women, who were fugitives for receiving the guilty. Men, and women, of somewhat higher ranks of life, may have approved of the covenanted practices, though they did not think fit, to appear openly in the same cause.

(*k*) The town council gave large sums of money to the profuse, and profligate Lauderdale, for his good offices. Maitl. Edin. 99. And the king was induced to restore to the citizens the right of choosing their own magistrates, as well as to give them, by charter, additional privileges. Id.

(*l*) The king's proclamation, dated the 12th of December 1674, flings some light on this obscure subject, which has been misunderstood by ill-informed history. It recites, that having learned, that the Earl of Aboyn had appealed, from the lords of our council and session, to *Us, and our Estates of parliament*; and this being a *strange*, and *unaccustomed practice*, the lords did require the advocates, in this appeal, to give their oaths, whether they had advised such an appeal: But, this request the advocates refused: And, instead of justifying that appeal, gave in a paper, stating another kind of appeal, having only the effect of *a protestation, for remeid of law, without sisting process*. The court, and the advocates, wrote to the king, justifying their several proceedings. The king decided, in favour of the court, and declined to receive any appeal *to him*, and *his Estates*: And he quoted the statute of James II., which seems to preclude such appeals; and he instanced the refusal of the parliament of October 1663, who refused to review a decision of the court of session. The above proceedings were censured, by the Convention of 1689.

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council, acting under the king's command, not to remain, within twelve miles of Edinburgh, while they refused obedience to the Court of Session. This juridical schism would alone show the high passion of the times, if so many rebellions, upon the avowed principle of disregarding the authority of the king, and the laws, did not evince the complete anarchy of those terrible times. The youth adopted some of the principles of the old. At Christmas 1680, the students of the College resolved to burn the effigy of the pope, in contempt, perhaps, of the Duke of York's religion. The magistrates of Edinburgh interposed; and a tumult ensued. The College was now shut up; and the students were required to depart twelve miles, from this tumultuous city. The College, however, was soon opened; and the students were again admitted: Yet, is there reason to believe, that some of those students set fire to the lord provost's house of Priestfield (*a*); and, by such an action, evinced more malignity, than usually actuates youthful minds.

In the midst of those events, the Duke of York came to Edinburgh, during the year 1679, as a sort of banishment from court. The magistrates entertained him magnificently. He tried, by every agreeable art, to please, and to be pleased (*b*). He introduced *the drama*, and other elegant amusements, which, had they been steadily practised, might have been attended with salutary consequences: They would have gradually corrected the sour, and sullen temper of the populace, which positive statute can never correct, and acrimonious edicts can only increase. But, he did not remain, at Edinburgh, long enough for the application of such correctives; or to show how much could be effected, by popular attentions (*c*).

(*a*) Arnot's Edin. 392. (*b*) Maitl. Edin. 286—9.

(*c*) The following dates will exhibit more distinctly, than any history, the Duke of York's scanty intercourse with Edinburgh. On the 27th of October 1679, the duke set out for Scotland. On the 28th of January 1680, the king declared in council, that he would send for the duke; finding no good effects, from his absence. On the 24th of February, the duke, and dutchess, came to court. On the 20th of October 1680, they set out for Scotland. On the 22d of June 1681, the king sent a deputation to the duke, to be his commissioner to the parliament of Scotland. On the 11th of March 1683, the duke met the king, at Newmarket. On the 3d of May 1683, the duke embarked on board the Glocester frigate for Scotland; on the 5th of May, she struck on the sand, called the Lemon and Oar; on the 7th, however, he arrived, at Edinburgh; he changed the officers of state; and he returned to London, on the 27th of the same month. The privy council, on the 2d of November 1680, thanked the king, for the favour of sending the duke to Scotland. In February of the subsequent year, amid frost, and snow, the duke made an excursion, from Edinburgh, to Linlithgow, Falkirk, and Stirling; and he was every where received with welcome, entertainments, and applause.

On the 28th of August 1681, he held a parliament, in person, at Edinburgh. The statutes of this session seem to have been dictated, by the sad state of the country. All former laws, for the security of the protestant religion, were confirmed. The right of the succession to the crown was asserted, in such terms, as to comprehend the duke, notwithstanding *any difference*, in his religion. A new supply was voluntarily offered. An act, for securing the peace of the country, was passed, with a view to those unhappy people, who carried up their zeal for *the covenant* to positive frenzy. This was followed by an act against *assassinations*, which were practised, and avowed, by the same zealots. But, the statute, which was attended by the greatest consequences, was the *test* act; and which imposed an *oath*, so complicated, as to be unintelligible, without much study. Such were the laws, enforcing *protestantism*, which were now enacted, under the *papistical* commissioner. With the exception of some laws of domestic economy, the statutes of this session show the statesmen to have been full as fanatical, though in a different extreme, as the wildest of the populace. It is not to be lamented, that *the Estates*, while actuated by such a spirit, did not again sit, during the present reign.

Of the infelicities of those times, Edinburgh felt its full share. As the seat of a severe government, and the garrison of a standing army, it was not much disturbed by tumult. But, it witnessed assassinations, which were openly committed, in its streets; it beheld a thousand punishments inflicted, in its public places; and it saw the mangled limbs of the guilty exhibited daily on its bloody gates (*d*). At length, the town council tried to ingratiate themselves with the Duke of York, by every mode of adulation, and by every species of service (*e*).

Charles II. unexpectedly demised, on the 7th of February 1685; the news whereof reached Edinburgh, on the 10th of the same month: And, thereupon, a theatre was erected, at the cross of Edinburgh, when the militia were drawn out; and, at ten o'clock, the chancellor, treasurer, and whole officers of state, with the nobility, and privy council, the lords of session, and the magistrates of Edinburgh, came to the cross, with the lion king at arms, and his heralds: the chancellor carried his own purse; and weeping, proclaimed James Duke of Albany the only undoubted, and lawful king of this realm; the clerk register reading the words of the act; and all of them swore fealty, and allegiance, to

(*d*) See Lord Fountainhall's Dec. Index, article, *Edinburgh*.

(*e*) See their letters, in Maitl. Edin. 104: And, they even voluntarily offered a supply of seven months assessment, for supporting the duke's succession. Ib. 105.

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the new king, whose title was thus pronounced to be undoubted (*f*). All officers were continued, by the king's proclamation. The castle shot a round of guns; and a sermon was preached, wherein Mr. John Robert, the preacher, did regret their loss; but, desired them to dry up their tears, when they looked upon so brave, and excellent a successor (*g*). The magistrates of Edinburgh transmitted an address of felicitation, which was graciously received, and obligingly acknowledged. At that epoch, they erected, in the parliament square, the equestrian statue of Charles II., which still attracts popular admiration (*h*).

A new parliament was convened, at Edinburgh, on the 23d of April 1685. The first act of James's first parliament was a confirmation of all former laws, for the security of the protestant religion, as professed, in Scotland. The Estates passed an act of absurd adulation, with an offer of the excise to the king (*i*). There were passed also, in that session, some useful laws of domestic economy, while the recent attainders of various persons were confirmed, in a rigid tone of vindicative legislation (*k*).

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(*f*) The act of parliament, which was then read, by the clerk register, was that of the 3d Parl. Cha. II. No. 2, asserting the right of succession to the imperial crown of Scotland, passed on the 13th of August 1681. The above ceremonial of the proclamation of James VII. is transcribed from Lord Fountainhall, i. 336—9, who was present. His lordship was studious to quote the Institute of Wesembecius, who says, *coronatio principis non est necessaria.* He might have also quoted Sir George Mackenzie's Observations on the Statutes, 174-5, who insists, that neither a *coronation*, nor *a coronation oath*, are necessary to the king's title. A late writer of history says, "the corona-"tion oath for Scotland was declined by James, as repugnant to the religion, which he proposed "to introduce." But, there was no declinature of what was unnecessary in Law, which was correlative with the coronation, that was itself only a mere ceremony. In his letter, dated the 28th of March 1685, to the Scotish parliament, the king says, "we were fully resolved, *in person*, "to have proposed the needful remedies to you; but, things having so fallen out, as render this "*impossible for us*, we have thought fit to send our cousin, and counsellor, William Duke of "Queensberry, to be our commissioner among you." Wodrow, ii. 145.

(*g*) Fountainhall, i. 339. There was also published, soon after, *an act of indemnity*, with some exceptions. Wodrow, ii. Appx. No. ciii.

(*h*) Maitl. Edin. 105. What was of still more importance, the magistrates, at the same time, directed lights to be hung out, for illuminating their inconvenient streets, which were not yet half paved. The revenues of Edinburgh were exhausted in gratuities to statesmen, during an age, that had been corrupted, by civil wars.

(*i*) Stat. Ch. II. of that session. The parliament passed also an act of supply. The religious state of the country called for several acts against the *covenant*, and *conventicles*. There was also passed *an act for the clergy*, in which the king declares his firm resolution, to maintain the church, in its present government, by archbishops, and bishops, and not to endure, or connive at, any derogation, from its rights. In the same spirit, the *test* was enforced, by a new law.

(*k*) See the unprinted acts of that session. There was an act, "ratifying, and approving the

The statutes of such a parliament are the best proofs of the sentiments of the people. Unhappily, too many of the populace had for years stood opposed to the legislature, and the laws, according to the absurd maxims, which had come down, from their fathers, to them. Hence, the imprudent invasion by Argyle, which involved the country in so many troubles, and stained the capital with so much blood (*l*).

The epoch of the king's purpose to change the religion of the state, in Scotland, by the introduction of popery, notwithstanding so many laws, for supporting protestantism, seems to have been October 1685. His measures of conversion were at first secret: But, in the progress of proselytism, his conduct became more open. Edinburgh was the chief scene of his religious follies (*m*).

"Earl of Argyle's forfeiture." When Argyle, on the 20th of June 1685, was paraded through the streets of Edinburgh, to the castle, with his hands bound, his head bare, and with the hangman walking before him, he was treated as a person, attainted by parliament. Historians, who are carried away by their commiseration, do not advert to that essential circumstance. It throws additional light on the obscure story of Argyle's conduct, to state, that he was indebted to Heriot's hospital 58,403l. 10s. Scots money, which the corporation of Edinburgh was obliged to pay to the hospital: This seems to show, that Argyle was in ruined circumstances. On the 21st of the preceding May, the Countess of Argyle, with her family, had been committed to Edinburgh castle: And several of the burgesses of Edinburgh were also secured: About the same time, the magistrates of Edinburgh enjoined the citizens to give in the names of strangers, lodging with them; as many disloyal persons were supposed to be harboured in the town.

(*l*) They had resolved, saith Lord Fountainhall, to have regimented, and armed the College of Justice, when news came to Edinburgh, on the 19th of June, that Argyle was taken. Dec. i. 364. The Duke of Monmouth, on the 9th of June 1685, was cited, by proclamation, at the cross of Edinburgh, to appear, at the criminal court, to answer a charge of treason. It must have been for crimes, saith Fountainhall, posterior to the last king's remission, in December 1683: The fee of Buccleugh, it was thought, he adds, could not be forfeited for his fault; as his lady, and children, had *the right*; while he had only his life, in the estate. The invasion of Monmouth was not then known, at Edinburgh. At Michaelmas 1685, the king nominated Baillie Kennedy to be the provost; and he was, accordingly, admitted: By this we see, saith Fountainhall, i. 370, the king intends to assume the nomination of the provost of Edinburgh into his own hands, in future, as also of the other considerable towns, in Scotland. Wodrow, ii. 575.

(*m*) On the 28th of October 1685, a letter came to the bishop of Edinburgh, which was signed, by Secretary Murray; signifying, that the king was informed of seditious speeches, which had been uttered in the pulpits of Edinburgh, tending to stir up the people to a dislike of the king, or the popish religion; and ordaining the bishop to advert thereto *on his peril*: The bishop convened his ministers; and intimated this to them. Fountainhall, i. 371. The fact is, however, that the Duke of Queensberry, when he was appointed the king's commissioner to the parliament of April 1685, was instructed "to suffer nothing to pass, to the prejudice of the Roman Catholics, more "than was already." Ib. 374. This carries back the king's intentions, with regard to his religion, to a much earlier period; at least, with regard to *defensive measures*.

On

On the first of the subsequent November, the king's letter was read, at the privy council, dispensing with *the test*, in favour of *some papists*, who had been named in the supply act of April 1685: It was pretended, that those papists had been inserted by mistake; and they were, therefore, exempted from the test, that they might act without it: "This seemed a downright derogation from the "act of parliament 1685, and not within the king's power (*n*)." The dispensing power was thus plainly avowed: And his purpose, not only to protect the papists, from persecution, but to give them power, and to encourage proselytism, was apparent. The whole conduct of James VII. on this head, as he was not defective in understanding, is one of the most singular instances of absurd delusion, which is recorded in any history. The experience of five-and-twenty years had shown, that protestant episcopacy, with every support of law, and government, could scarcely be maintained, in Scotland, against the prejudice of the populace, and the practices of fanaticism, which, at that period, had produced so many odious crimes, and so many popular ebullitions. How hopeless, then, the endeavour, to introduce, and support popery, in such a country, against law, and in the face of such firm conviction, in the wisest minds: We may thus perceive, also, that religion was the king's great object, and the dispensing power only a secondary means.

With the opening of the year 1686, the king's design became more apparent. An order was made, by the privy council, directing the stationers of Edinburgh neither to sell, nor print any books, reflecting on popery (*o*). A tumult soon after ensued, in Edinburgh, when, to such an order was added the saying of mass, in an open manner, however contrary to law. The privy council, actuated by the heat of the new converted chancellor, the Earl of Perth, directed a young baker, who had acted riotously, to be whipped, by the common executioner: But, he was rescued from the officer, who was himself insulted by the populace. The king's guards were now ordered to disperse the rioters, who were tried,

(*n*) Lord Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 374. There was another clause, he adds, "*without* "*prejudice* to the king, to dispense with any others, he pleased." Id. This letter, he goes on, alarmed some people, as an evidence, that the king intended, by degrees, to put papists in the government; and which seemed to them clear, from his speech to the English parliament, on the 9th of November 1685. Id.

(*o*) Fountainhall, ii. 398. A copy of that order was delivered to every bookseller, in Edinburgh. When it was intimated to James Glen, he informed the messenger of the privy council, that he had one book in his shop, which condemned popery very much: And being asked what book, he said, *the Bible*. Glen seems to have been a resolute, as well as a witty man: For, in such times, his tongue ran some risque of being castrated, for such a sarcasm. Id.

and

and convicted, by the privy council; and were yet afraid to proceed to extremities. The king said, publicly, when all those matters were communicated to him, that he would support his chancellor; yet privately blamed the privy counsellors, for bringing the practices of his religion too openly before a zealous people (*p*). At the criminal court, on the 15th of February 1686, the king's advocate insisted on the forfeiture of the Duke of Monmouth, who was found guilty of three points of treason; for the invasion; for the assumption of the crown; and for touching persons, who were afflicted with the scrofula, *jure coronæ* (*q*).

The king's intentions became every day more apparent (*r*). The Duke of Hamilton, the Lord President Lockhart, and General Drummond, were called to London, on the 23d of March; in order to sound them, before the meeting of parliament, when it was to be proposed to rescind the laws against popery (*s*). The chancellor, Perth, had suggested this measure; as Hamilton, and Lockhart, had shown some symptoms of disapprobation. The archbishop of St. Andrews, and the bishop of Edinburgh, were also called to London; with the same purpose of securing previous votes, by private intrigue (*t*). The burroughs, also, whose representatives in parliament formed a numerous body, were flattered with the promise of a free trade to England (*u*). The proposed measure was now discussed, in printed papers, and by public preaching (*x*). The parliament at

(*p*) Fountainhall, ii. 399—403. In order to prevent such tumults, in Edinburgh, an act was passed, making masters answerable, for the misconduct of their servants: And, because a landlady distrained the press, and other goods, of one Watson, a papist printer, for his rent, this distress was made a *combination*; and his goods were violently taken, and brought to the abbey of Holyrood, where he was protected: He was made the king's printer, in Holyroodhouse; and was the father of James Watson, the king's printer, during the reign of Anne. Id.

(*q*) Fountainhall, ii. p. 403. The counsel, for the injured dutchess, declined to act; but protested, that the doom against her husband should not prejudice her just right to her own estate. Id. This respectable lady, who, with all the virtues of her sex, possessed the fortitude of her fathers, lived long, and acted prudently: She acquired, for her children, many lands; Musselburgh, on the east, and Langholm, on the west.

(*r*) On the 11th of March 1686, the king appointed the Duke of Gordon, who was a papist, the governor of Edinburgh castle, in the room of the Duke of Queensberry; and *the test*, which was required by law, was dispensed with, in the duke's favour; In return, the Duke of Gordon discharged this trust honourably.

(*s*) Id. (*t*) Ib. 412. (*u*) Ib. 412.

(*x*) George Shiel, the minister of Prestonhaugh, having preached vehemently, in the abbey church, against popery, was sharply reproved: But, he said, he had obeyed the bishop's old instructions;

at length convened, at Edinburgh, on the 29th of April 1686. After the usual protests, for precedence, the king's advocate objected to the sitting of Lord Forrester of Corstorphin, as he had not a right of peerage; the last lord's patent being but temporary: So he was desired to withdraw, till he had cleared his title (*y*). This intimation is important; as it shows the usual mode of objecting to disputable peerages. The king's letter to the parliament was now read; proposing indulgence to the Roman Catholics: And the king's commissioner recited his speech; enforcing the king's topics of legislation (*z*). This was a session of unusual length, and discussion; and the people's minds were now enlightened, and their apprehensions awakened. The king's desire, in favour of his religion, was finally disappointed (*a*). Yet, the king, and his ministers, did not learn any moderation, from recent experience. Any man of common abilities might have perceived, from the intrigue, and management, and agitation, at Edinburgh, during that session, how impossible it was to obtain a repeal of *the tests*, or to make much progress, in proselytism. The profoundest lawyers, the soundest divines, the ablest men of Scotland, had all settled their belief, and taken their several stands; so that promises, and threats, were

instructions; allowing the ministers to preach against popery, sparing persons; and he added, that a ridiculous religion might be treated with ridicule: Thereupon the bishop, by a new act, directed the ministers to discontinue such preaching, in the pulpits of Edinburgh, and its suburbs, without his licence. Ib. 413.

(*y*) Fountainhall, ii. 413.

(*z*) The king's letter, the commissioner's speech, and the answer of the parliament, are transcribed in Wodrow's Appx. ii. 158—60: The parliament say, in answer to the king's desire of toleration to the Roman Catholics: "We shall take the same into our serious consideration; "and go as great lengths therein, as our conscience will allow; not doubting that your majesty "will be careful to secure the protestant religion, as established by law." Id.

(*a*) Wodrow, ii. Appx. 160, has preserved the proposed bill, respecting *the penal statutes*, which shows, that private worship, in their private houses, would have been allowed to Roman Catholics; yet on condition, that the test acts should be still more enforced: Nor, was such a law accepted, by the king's ministers. There is a good account of the parliamentary debates, during this interesting session, in Fountainhall, i. 413. His lordship states, that two of his servants had been arrested, during the sitting, though the servants of the English members of parliament were free: But, he did not complain to parliament of a breach of privilege: These circumstances show, how little the privileges of the Scotish parliament were then understood. The lord chancellor, Perth, sat in that parliament, though he was a papist, and had not taken the test, as required by law; There were hints thrown out, that he had no right to sit: But, there was no formal motion made, upon this important point. It is curious to remark, that in the *Harlem Gazette*, there was published, from time to time, a good account of what passed, in that parliament.

equally

equally unavailing. In a few months, this parliament was dissolved; without any design, perhaps, of ever calling another, during James VII.'s reign (*b*).

The parliament had hardly risen, when the king, and his ministers, began the unhallowed work of persecuting the members, for their several votes, from the highest to the lowest; from the Duke of Queensberry to Provost Miln of Linlithgow (*c*). Rewards were given, on the other side. The whole conduct of James VII. exhibits such a delusion, as the world had never witnessed before. In opposition to the spirit of the country, and the declarations of law, he continued to fill the privy council, and the offices of government, with papists, in contempt of *the test act.* He now went the length of doing that for the papists, which the parliament had refused to do for them. By his own authority, he took the Roman Catholics under *his* laws, and protection; giving them the private exercise of their religion, with a chapel in the abbey of Holyrood; and he commanded the privy council, and the magistrates, to maintain the Roman Catholics in their rights, and privileges (*d*). Watson, the popish printer, was made

(*b*) Lord Fountainhall remarks of that session: "One said of this parliament, what *the Irish* "*tague* said of the Earl of Feversham, when the king was making him a knight of the garter, for "defeating Monmouth, *that God only deserved the garter:* So, the finger of God was seen, in the "stedfastness of this parliament, who had not one great man, in public, to own them; and it "behoved to be from some higher principle, that noblemen, gentlemen, bishops, and others, "cheerfully laid down their places, rather than violate their consciences." Decisions, ii. 419. His lordship also mentions, among *other providences*, which concurred, at that time, "to defeat this "*project of toleration*," Doctor Sibbald's turning protestant, and Lord Doun, the commissioner, Earl of Murray's son, turning papist. Poor Sir Robert Sibbald, the physician, the antiquary, the topographer, whose books show him to have been one of the weakest of men, was bred a protestant; became a papist; and now, from trouble of conscience, after his return from London, called upon the bishop of Edinburgh; and declared he could find no security in the popish religion, and desired to be readmitted into the protestant faith; offering to make a public recantation: But, the bishop of Edinburgh refused it, as unseasonable; while others called it a dispensation of providence, for strengthening protestants.

(*c*) Fountainhall, i. 420. Provost Miln, indeed, had been trusted, to lead the burroughs, in favour of the court; but deserted the ministers in parliament.

(*d*) The king's letter, which was read in council, on the 4th September 1686. Lord Fountainhall, i. 424, says, some asked, what those *rights*, and *privileges*, were? This unwarrantable epistle was accompanied with panegyric on the papists, and censures on the protestants, and particularly, on some of the late members of parliament. We do not learn, however, from that intelligent writer, that the secretary, or other officer, countersigning such illegal, and offensive rescripts, were called to an account, as responsible for their conduct. The useful principle of responsibility seems not to have been known, at least practised, in the Scotish jurisprudence. This observation is justified, by what passed, in the Scotish privy council, when an answer was drawn up

made printer to *the king's family*, though Anderson's heirs had a grant to be the king's printer: And the privy council gave Watson the right to print all *the prognostications*, in Edinburgh. To that source may be traced up the various books, which bear in their title pages, to have been printed, at that period, in *Holyroodhouse*. The printing, and circulating, of such books, were made one of the charges against King James VII., when his right to govern was declared, by the convention, to be forfeited (*a*). The king, soon after, assumed the power of appointing the provosts of the several burroughs (*b*). In May 1688, the king explained his grant of toleration, in the face of the law, in such a manner, as to dissolve all judicatories, till they should obtain new commissions, renouncing the legal test (*c*).

James VII. had now run his race of religious folly; and had shewn his people a thousand examples of his violent passion, for governing against law, when in

up to that rescript. The Duke of Hamilton, objecting to the prerogative of the king, as a legal security, for this favour to the papists, the chancellor asked, briskly, who would question the king's power to relax the laws: So the duke, retiring, said, he was not doubting the king's prerogative; but what needed the privy council declare it to be law. Sir George Lockhart, the president, *sat mute* the whole time; but whispered, he would quit his head, before he would sign it so: Thus, was the word *legal* put out, and the word *sufficient* put in. In this manner, says Lord Fountainhall, they granted what the parliament had refused. Decisions, i. 424.

(*a*) Ib. 424, of date the 16th of September 1686. The printers, and booksellers of Edinburgh, were required, by the privy council, to declare what books they had imported, in the last year; the chancellor observing, that they had sold sundry scandalous, and seditious pamphlets. Ib. 472.

(*b*) Ib. 425. The king immediately nominated the magistrates of Edinburgh. On the 23d of November 1686, the king's yacht arrived from London, at Leith, with the altar, vestments, images, priests, and their appurtenants, for the popish chapel, in the abbey of Holyrood. Ib. 430. On St. Andrews day, the abbey chapel was consecrated, by holy water, and a sermon, by Wederington. Ib. 432. On the 8th of February 1688, Ogstoun, the bookseller, in Edinburgh, was threatened, for selling Archbishop Usher's Sermons against the Papists, and the History of the French Persecutions; and all the copies were taken from him; though popish books were printed, and sold. Ib. 496. On the 22d of March 1688, the Rules of the Popish College, in the Abbey of Holyrood, were published; inviting children to be educated *gratis*. Ib. 502. See those rules, in Wodrow, ii Appx. No. cxlii.

(*c*) Fountainhall, i. 503. It was even supposed, by some, that the same exposition, had dissolved the Court of Session: But, the lords continued to sit. Id. On the 24th of July 1688, the chancellor ordered the king's advocate to summon the masters of the university of Aberdeen, for presuming to take an oath of the students, when graduated, that they would profess the protestant religion: The masters defended themselves, by saying, that their statutes, and their oaths, obliged them to do it. Ib. 513. This seemed to be the plea of Magdalen College, in Oxford.

pursuit of his object (*d*). Throughout the months of September, and October 1688, his officers of state, at Edinburgh, acted as if they expected an invasion from Holland (*e*). Throughout August, and November 1688, the Court of Session almost ceased to act; considering its functions to have ceased, from the apparent dissolution of the established government, at Edinburgh (*f*). As early as the 3d of December 1688, the students of Edinburgh university, burned the pope; and clamoured for a free parliament. The students were, on that occasion, obviously made use of, as instruments. The magistrates endeavoured to preserve tranquillity. But, the chancellor, Earl of Perth, in whose person rested the whole government of Scotland, retired, from the capital, to the Highlands; being persuaded by some of the privy council, to shelter himself, from the coming storm. The king withdrew, from London, about the same time, that the chancellor retired, from Edinburgh (*g*). The remaining members of the privy council assumed the provisional government (*h*). Yet, the populace, and the students, repaired to the abbey, to burn the chapel, in Holyroodhouse. They were repulsed, by the guard, who fired upon them, under the direction of Captain Wallace. He was now directed, by the privy counsellors, to withdraw his guards: But, hesitating to obey what he thought incompetent authority, the citizens overpowered him: The city being thus master of the abbey, the populace, without further opposition, forced the doors of the chapel, and carried the furniture to the cross, where it was burned, in zealous triumph. After this sacrifice, guards were placed throughout the town, and its suburbs, to repress any further tumults. Nor, did Edinburgh castle

(*d*) See Wodrow's Appx. ii. p. 187—99.

(*e*) Mackay, and Blackadder, who had recently come from Holland, as intriguers, were imprisoned, in Edinburgh castle. A proclamation was made for raising the militia, and for setting up beacons: Soon after, another proclamation called out the Heritors. Wodrow's Appx. ii. 201—3. On the 10th of November, a third proclamation threatened the spreaders of false news. Ib. 205. The Prince of Orange had landed, in Torbay, on the 5th of the same month. Sir John Dalrymple's Mem. i. 223. There was an address to the king, from the Scotish bishops, dated on 3d of November 1688, on the birth of a prince, on the threatened invasion from Holland; full of adulation; yet, trusting to his royal protection to their church, and religion, as the laws had established them. Woodrow, Appx. ii. 204. It was, in this address, that the bishops prayed God, to give the king *the hearts of his subjects*, and *the necks of his enemies*.

(*f*) Fountainhall, i. 516.

(*g*) The chancellor, who had been the great instrument of James's misgovernment, in Scotland, attempting to flee into France, was brought back, by the seamen of the Forth.

(*h*) On the 14th of December 1688, there was a proclamation against the papists; and requiring all persons to disarm them. On the 24th of the same month, another proclamation called out the militia, to resist papists.

fire

fire upon the city; owing to the discretion of the Duke of Gordon, the governor, who yet refused to resign his command. On the 25th of December, the students paraded, with the college mace before them, and music playing, to the cross of Edinburgh, where they again burnt the pope, while the privy counsellors, and town council, beheld the triumph, with approving eyes. But, the country was now universally in arms; and the papists, who made no resistance, were generally seized. In this manner, then, was the government of James VII. dissolved, in Scotland, where he seems to have had no party to support his measures, which were as absurd, as they were illegal.

It is a more pleasing task to show, how a very different government was established on the ruins of an administration, which was wholly corrupt. On the 27th of December 1688, the privy council transmitted an address to the Prince of Orange. On the following day, the lord provost, and the common council of Edinburgh, addressed the prince; expressing their satisfaction, that his endeavours had been attended with success, without bloodshed: They offered him their services; they begged for his protection to their persons, city, and privileges; and they assured him of their cheerful concurrence, in preserving their religion, their laws, and their liberties: They declared for a free parliament, as the students had done before them, for securing their ancient monarchy, and royal succession (*i*). The archiepiscopal city of Glasgow proclaimed the Prince of Orange, as the *protestant protector*. Such, then, were the proofs, which the prince received of the general wishes of the Scotish people.

Encouraged by those attentions, the prince, on the 7th of January 1689, called together, at Whitehall, the nobility, and gentry, of Scotland, who were then in London. He briefly asked their advice, in what manner to secure the *protestant religion*, and to restore their laws, and liberties, according to his declaration. After a slight debate, thirty peers, and eighty commoners, after thanking the prince for his generous undertaking, desired him to assume the government of Scotland, for the preservation of peace, until a general meeting of *the Estates* might be called, at Edinburgh, by the prince's proclamation, according to the custom of the kingdom. The prince had now the authority of a convention of nobles, and gentry, sitting without the kingdom, for taking upon him the administration of the Scotish affairs; and he was obeyed, with full as much conviction of his title, as the power of those kings, who had governed Scotland, for two centuries of anarchical misrule.

(*i*) Maitl. Edin. 108.

The Estates of Scotland assembled, at Edinburgh, in obedience to the prince's letters. They met, in one apartment, according to the custom of the country. The bishop of Edinburgh read prayers to them, in which he prayed God, to have compassion on King James, and to restore him to his government. Whether the king, or the bishop, had acted most indiscreetly, needs not be strenuously debated. The Estates chose the Duke of Hamilton, for their president, by a majority of forty voices, in opposition to the Marquis of Athole. And, they first provided, for their own safety; as the city of Edinburgh was altogether under the cannon of the castle, which was commanded, by the Duke of Gordon, a Roman Catholic. As the duke had no very determinate purpose, the castle sustained a sort of siege, throughout many months, in the midst of frequent treaties. In the meantime, the city of Edinburgh was crowded with armed men, who had come, from all parts, of the kingdom, from motives either of zeal, or curiosity: The Estates commanded all persons, who did not belong to the city, or the convention, to withdraw, from the town: And, they appointed a committee, to take care of the public peace. By admitting the son of the late Earl of Argyle, to sit, as one of the convention, notwithstanding a protest, while his father's attainder remained unreversed, the members shewed to those, who reasoned accurately, more zeal, than knowledge (*k*).

The prince's letter to *the Estates* was now read; recommending the speedy settlement of their government, on lasting foundations; and desiring them to consider of an union of the two kingdoms. After some debate, and a resolute protest, the Estates also read a letter from the king, which was written at sea, on his voyage to France. Such a letter, consisting of promises, and threats, at such a crisis, could only be injurious to the writer, who did not recollect, amidst his disasters, how much he had himself done, to animate the Scotish people, with desire of change; and to promote the quick progress of decisive revolution. The Estates, of course, proceeded to declare themselves a free, and lawful meeting, which was regularly convened, for the equal settlement of their regular government. Nor, did they proceed hastily to this difficult work. They provided for the public revenue (*l*): They endeavoured to draw together the scattered forces of the state (*m*): And, they now answered the prince's

(*k*) The attainder of the Earl of Argyle was afterward reversed by parliament.

(*l*) The merchants of Edinburgh offered to advance the money, immediately, upon the security of the convention.

(*m*) On the 30th of March 1689, the forces, that came from the west to Edinburgh, being above 6,000 men, were ordered one week's pay, and the public thanks of the house, for their good

prince's letter to the Estates, in a manner, that must have been very agreeable to him; while they declined to give any other answer to the king, than a passport to his messenger (*n*). On the 26th of March, the magistrates of Edinburgh gave their oaths of fidelity to *the Estates* (*o*). And, on the 2d of April 1689, the Estates came to the memorable vote, that James VII. had, by the violation of the laws, *forfaulted* his right to the crown; and that the throne was thereby vacant. This vote, and the various reasons, which were detailed, in its support, were approved by the whole Estates, except twelve; and of these, seven were bishops (*p*). This vote was followed by another, which was equally important, for settling the crown upon William, and Mary, the king, and queen, of England. On the 11th of April, William, and Mary, were accordingly proclaimed, at the cross of Edinburgh, king, and queen of Scotland, and the longer liver of them; but, the regal power was appropriated to the king alone (*q*). And, *a claim of right*, or instrument of government, was directed to be presented to the king, and queen, with the offer of the crown (*r*). All those measures were followed, by a long list of grievances, which had arisen out of the legal anarchy of late times; and undoubtedly improved a very imperfect constitution (*s*). All those documents were presented to the king, and queen, at Whitehall, on the 11th of May 1689: They both, on that occasion, took the coronation oath, with an explanatory avowal, that they did not consider themselves, thereby, obliged to persecute. The commissioners, Argyle, Montgomery, and Dalrymple, were not instructed, by the Estates, to represent to the king, and queen, "that persecution was neither intended by the oath, nor "required by law," whatever the words might import. William, and Mary, were now, both in law, and fact, the king, and queen of Scotland. It was

good service, in blocking up the castle. Convention Proceedings, No. 3. The above forces were popularly called the *Cameronians*. They refused any gratification, when they were sent home; saying, that they came to save, and serve, their country: They had on their colours *a Bible*, with some other devices; with this *motto*, "For reformation according to the word of God." Id.

(*n*) Ib. No. 3-4.

(*o*) Ib. No. 6. Several of the magistrates, refusing to take that oath to *the Estates*, were ordered to be turned out, and new ones chosen in their room. Id.

(*p*) When the business of the day was over, one of the bishops offered to say prayers, as the custom was: Upon which, it was ordered, that King James be no more prayed for: And, the bishop discreetly said, *The Lord's Prayer*.

(*q*) Ib. No. 11. (*r*) Id.

(*s*) Ib. No. 12; and the Acts of the Estates, ch. xiii.: Yet, on that occasion, there was no declaration, making the servants of the crown responsible, for the act of the king, which would have been far more useful in practice, than any recital of abstract rights, or of experienced wrongs.

also

also desired, by the Estates, that for the further securing the protestant religion, and the national liberties, the king would "turn this meeting into a parliament (*t*)." The Revolution was now accomplished, at Edinburgh, by the several acts of the Estates, who declared the forfeiture of James VII., and by the nomination of William, and Mary, as king and queen, under a claim of rights, and a representation of grievances (*u*).

Under the reigns of Charles II., and James, some of the covenanted clergy, and the lowest populace, refused obedience to the laws, and acknowledgment of the king: After this revolution, some of the episcopal clergy, and laity, refused to acknowledge King William, and to conform to the declared law. We may thus perceive, that those dissimilar parties acted upon a similar principle. But, the Episcopalians now changed places with the Presbyterians. One of the first acts of the Estates, was to admit the son of the attainted Earl of of Argyle, to sit among them, as a peer, having the rights of the peerage: And, they also admitted Sir Patrick Hume, to sit as a legal representative of Berwickshire, though he had also been attainted. The Estates, perhaps, acted upon the principle, that the government of the late kings, and the proceedings of the recent parliaments, were equally unconstitutional. James VII. had introduced unchartered irregularities into the magistracy of the royal burroughs: In order to restore those chartered bodies to their legal rights, the Estates directed, that new magistrates should be chosen, by the inhabitants of those towns. A different mode was adopted, when *the Estates* were to be converted into a Parliament. The Estates met, according to their adjournment: And the king, and queen, with their consent, declared *the Estates* to be *a Parliament:* And, it was, by the same act, declared to be treason, for any one to impugn the authority of the parliament, as thus constituted (*x*). In the unconstitutional government of James VII., there was nothing more absurd, and illegal, than the present mode of converting a revolutionary convention, into a legal parliament. When the king, and queen, had accepted the government, there were now rulers, properly

(*t*) The Convention Proceedings, No. 22.

(*u*) King William, on the 17th of May 1689, wrote a letter to the Estates; declaring his acceptance of the crown, with the claim of right, and the representation of grievances. On the 22d of the same month, the Estates adjourned themselves to the 5th of June, then next. The functions of the Estates, which had accomplished that great, and salutary measure, ought now to have ceased; as there was now a king in possession.

(*x*) Stat. 1st Parl. William and Mary, ch. i. This act was confirmed by the more legal parliament of Queen Anne. But, this act of recognition seems to imply, that the only parliament of King William was liable to some objection. Parl. Anne, May 1703, ch. 3.

constituted,

constituted, both in law, and fact: When the Estates had thereupon adjourned, the Revolution was accomplished; and the revolutionary government ought at this period to have closed. The king had, by law, no right *to declare the convention* to be *a parliament:* All he could do, legally, as the Scotish king, was to issue writs, in the accustomed manner, to the constituted authorities, directing them, to cause the electors to choose their representatives, for the proposed parliament, according to their several privileges. The king, then, in forming his first parliament, did not act, according to law. The objection to this first, and indeed only parliament of this reign, therefore, was, that the people did not choose the representative part of it. And, King William, with all his renown for prudence, chose to put his *legislative* government of Scotland upon the footing of power, rather than of law (*y*). Revolutions, in government, can only be justified, by necessity: But, no considerate statesman, who may be occupied, in such transactions, will carry revolutionary practice a single step, beyond the warrant of necessity: Every measure, which runs beyond that warrant, amounts to positive illegality (*z*).

Throughout the reign of William, there was only one parliament, without any election of the people, and eight sessions of violent legislation. Edinburgh was the scene of the Revolution, as we have seen, and the place of so many sittings of a parliament, whose authority was questionable, and whose policy was doubtful. The city of Edinburgh existed in a state of hostility with its castle, from the beginning of the Revolution till the 13th of June 1690, when it capitulated. In such a town, we may suppose, that it contained many persons,

(*y*) The second act of this first parliament, thus illegally constituted, was "an act recognizing "their majesty's royal authority:" But, as they had not the people's assent, constitutionally expressed, they did not gain one *iota* of additional legalization. The second act of this ill-omened parliament, was *an act abolishing prelacy.* The fourth act was that, for *rescinding the forfeiture of the late Earl of Argyle.* By another act, the first session was adjourned to the 8th of October, then next.

(*z*) On the 24th of May 1689, a new commission was issued by King William, nominating a privy council: It was resolved, that this new privy council should act, *before appending the Great Seal to the commission.* But, why should the privy council act, without their appointment? A thousand facts evince, that the statesmen, who then figured on the stage, at Edinburgh, had no notion of acting according to law, accurately understood. When the convention of Estates adjourned to the 5th of June, a proclamation was ordered to be issued, requiring the several members to attend, on that day; and the proclamation stated, that it was issued *by warrant from his majesty*; yet, this did not legalize the members; as the parliamentary electors had not chosen them: The king had no right, by his warrant, so to constitute a parliament. In the Convention Proceedings, No. 26, there are some reasons to justify this: But, they are egregious sophistry.

who

who did not quite approve of the revolutionary proceedings, which they witnessed within its walls. There were, of course, several plots, which were disconcerted, as soon as discovered (*a*). The city, however, concurred in the Revolution, though perhaps without much zeal. In July 1690, the magistrates were empowered to raise a revenue on the inhabitants, for maintaining the guard of the town (*b*). Another act was soon after passed, for enabling the corporation to pay its debts, though not without opposition (*c*). An act was also passed, in favour of the four incorporated trades of the Canongate, which was opposed by the protest of the city (*d*). Edinburgh was stained, in 1689, by the murder of the lord president, Lockhart: And, it was disgraced, during the reign of William, by the practice of torture. It saw also its university reformed, under a statute, which was made, in 1690, by legislators, who are more memorable, for their zeal, than knowledge (*e*). Their buildings were moreover reformed (*f*). A destructive conflagration, which happened in February 1700, gave rise to an act of the town council, in 1703, *for quenching fire*. Throughout this reign, we hear of no hilarity, in Edinburgh. There were frequent *fasts*, and some *thanksgivings*: But, the gloominess of the citizens was never, as far as appears, tempered, by such little incitements to mirth, as are apt to disperse melancholy. The birth days of the king, and queen, were, indeed, kept, though without any great display (*g*). There seems to be nothing, in the whole conduct of King William, with regard to Scotland, which much merits commemoration. The massacre of Glenco; the disregard of the Scottish privileges, at the treaty of Ryswick; the failure of the Darien expedition; all those causes of discontent, carried the popular discontent into violent indignation: And, in 1700,

(*a*) On the 21st of June 1690, a proclamation was issued, "for securing the peace, within the "city of Edinburgh, and the suburbs thereof;" requiring the citizens to deliver to the magistrates the names of their lodgers.

(*b*) Parl. Proceedings, No. 128. (*c*) Unprinted Acts, Sess. 1690. (*d*) Id.

(*e*) One of the professors was charged with the crime of *having taken down out of the college hall, the pictures of the first reformers*; with the abuse of making some alteration, in the oath, which was wont to be taken by the students, who were about to obtain their master of arts degree; and with the real offence of not taking the oath of allegiance, and signing the confession of faith. Parl. Proceedings, No. 143.

(*f*) In 1698, an act passed, regulating the manner of building, within the town of Edinburgh. Stat. chap. viii.

(*g*) On such occasions, the cannons of the castle were fired; a dinner was given; the magistrates came to *the cross*, in their formalities, to drink their majesties healths, while the conduits ran wine; and the solemnity ended with numerous bonfires, and ringing of bells: But, we hear nothing of concerts, balls, or plays.

a tumult

a tumult ensued, at Edinburgh, which obliged the king's commissioner, and other officers, to retire, from popular fury (*a*). Whether, indeed, we review King William's policy, or his legislation, nothing appears, that ought to revive in the minds of those, who are descended, from his Scotish subjects, but contempt, for a coronation oath, which, to be taken, required to be explained away; abhorrence of that monstrous anomaly, a free parliament, without the people's choice; and disdain, for forms of faith, which precluded freedom of thought.

King William demised, at Kensington, on the 8th of March 1702. On the same day, the accession of Queen Anne was proclaimed. She took the coronation oath, that was required by the Scotish statute, legalizing the claim of right. And, she immediately transmitted a letter to the privy council of Scotland; authorizing them to act; and assuring them, that she would maintain the government, both in church, and state. She was accordingly proclaimed, at the cross of Edinburgh, with the usual ceremonies. On the same occasion, a proclamation was issued, to continue the officers of state, till the queen's directions should be further signified. In this manner, then, was the Scotish government fully constituted, in the person of Queen Anne, and in the power of her ministers of state.

The parliament was holden, at Edinburgh, on the 9th of June 1702, under the Duke of Queensbery, as the queen's commissioner. By the first act, the Estates recognized her majesty's royal authority. Their second statute was merely an act of adjournment, till the 1st of July, then next. Their third act was another law, for securing the *true protestant religion*, and the presbyterian government. Their fourth statute, going far beyond all these, declared the present meeting of parliament to be lawful; and that it should be treason, to impugn the authority of the current parliament, on any pretence whatsoever. But, this declaration, continuing the same meeting, which had sat, as the convention, in 1689, did not pass, without opposition. The Duke of Hamilton, with seventy-nine members, withdrew from the assembly; protesting against its illegality. The faculty of advocates, forming the great body of the Scotish law, supported that protest, by declaring the sitting parliament to be positively unconstitutional (*b*): The lawyers were reprimanded, by the parliament; but, the nation was not convinced of the rectitude of this measure, and much less of the legality of the sitting legislators. A national fast did not remove the

(*a*) Arnot's Edin. 185.

(*b*) In 1696, the Estates had, by their act, ch. 17, declared that, the parliament, notwithstanding the demise of the crown, should continue to sit, during six months, after such an event.

well-grounded dissatisfaction, which pervaded the capital, and the kingdom. After voting a supply, the parliament proceeded to pass an act, appointing commissioners, for treating of an union, between Scotland, and England, which the queen had recommended to their consideration, as of the greatest importance to both.

The queen appointed commissioners to treat, concerning that great object, on behalf of England: But, another parliament, consisting of new members, assembling, at Edinburgh, on the 3d of May 1703, the most violent debates ensued, which ended, in rescinding the commission, that had already appointed negociators on behalf of Scotland. Under the baleful influence of party spirit, this parliament again recognized the queen's authority; again secured the *true protestant religion, and presbyterian government*; and ratified the act, which turned the meeting of the Estates, in 1689, into a parliament. These attempts to conceal the anarchical temper, which then prevailed, only revealed it. But, the act, with regard to peace, and war, sufficiently revealed that spirit, by changing the nature of the constitution. That temper was still more distinctly avowed, by the bill, which, pretending to secure the government, would have more essentially changed its nature; and which, when the queen's representative refused his assent, induced the promoters of it, to question the queen's power of legislative dissent. Some laws of domestic economy were passed, amidst this violence, while the usual supply was withheld. From the temper, and tenor of those proceedings, it became apparent to considerate men, that the two British kingdoms must either separate, or unite (*c*).

The several acts of the parliament, which assembled, at Edinburgh, on the 6th of July 1704, under the Marquis of Tweedale, as the queen's commissioner, are so many proofs of that melancholy truth. As early, however, as the 11th of January 1705, a bill was brought into the parliament of England, enabling the queen to appoint commissioners, to treat of an union with Scotland. The Scotish parliament, which assembled, at Edinburgh, under the Duke of Argyle, as the queen's commissioner, on the 28th of June 1705. followed that example of conciliation. In the meantime, the populace of Edinburgh, continuing in a state of irritation, broke out into tumult, which threatened the life of the chancellor (*d*). It was not till the 16th of April 1706, that the negociators of

(*c*) On the 6th of August 1704, the Scotish parliament passed *an act of security*, which amounted nearly to a declaration of war against England. On the 21st of December thereafter, the House of Lords addressed the queen to fortify Newcastle, with the other towns on the borders; and to march her army that way.

(*d*) Arnot's Edin. 186.

the

the two kingdoms assembled, for treating of an union. On the 22d of July, the articles of that union, by which the two kingdoms were incorporated into one state, were finally signed, by the several commissioners. But, the articles, which were purposely withheld from the public, were still to be ratified, by the two parliaments. The city of Edinburgh was, particularly, interested in the event. It was foreseen, that the withdrawing the semblance of royalty, and the national councils, would be as mortifying to her pride, as those circumstances were supposed to be injurious to her interests: And, it was not, then, surprizing, that a measure, which was unpopular, throughout the kingdom, should have incited the most dangerous ferments, in the capital. On the 23d of October 1706, the populace attacked the house of the late provost, Sir Patrick Johnston, who had promoted the Union; and who was now obliged to save himself, from popular fury, by timeful flight. The insurgents, from their numbers, and violence, became for a while masters of the city. A party of soldiers were sent to take possession of the Nether-Bow port; the guards secured the avenues to the parliament house; a little army was encamped, in the vicinity of the metropolis, during the sitting of parliament; in order, by all those means, to preserve the doubtful tranquility of the Scotish capital (*d*). In the midst of those disturbances, and this security, the parliament, which assembled, at Edinburgh, on the 3d of October 1706, ratified the articles of the Union, on the 16th of the subsequent January (*e*). This great measure being thus carried, it met with no difficulties, in the parliament of England. Thus, then, was accomplished this efficient act of wise policy, which had been often attempted; yet till now had always failed. The epoch of *the Union* is the 1st of May 1707. While the capital was somewhat depressed, during several years, the country did not derive all the benefits, which had been foretold; as the people were not prepared, either with capital, or skill, or enterprize, to derive all the commercial advantages, which ought naturally to have been the result. It is only by comparing the state of Edinburgh, and of Scotland, in 1706, and in 1806, that the wonderful effects, which were foreseen, and have resulted, from an union of affections, and interests, of industry, and enterprizes, of policy, and legislation, at length, clearly appear, and are generally felt.

This progress of melioration was, however, obstructed a while, by the rebellion of 1715. This unworthy enterprize began, owing to the relaxation of

(*d*) Arnot's Edin. 189. There were several proclamations, which show the state of the public mind, on that occasion, forbidding tumultuous meetings; and several writings were directed to be burnt, by the hangman, at the cross of Edinburgh. Unprinted Acts.

(*e*) Acts, 4th Sess. 1st Parl. Anne, ch. vi. ch. vii.; and ch. viii.

the established government, with an attempt to surprize the castle of Edinburgh. One of its first effects was to cause an extraordinary demand on the bank of Scotland, which obliged its directors to stop the temporary currency of their notes. Fifteen hundred insurgents passed the Forth, from Fife, into East-Lothian; and marching forward towards Edinburgh, found it so well prepared, that they declined to assault it: But, they diverged to Leith, which they held for some days, though the Duke of Argyle tried, with inefficient force, to overpower them. They did not think fit, however, to provoke his perseverance: And marching southward, they were more vigorously attacked, and finally overpowered. Meantime, six thousand Dutch troops arrived, at Edinburgh, in aid of the king's measures; and rebellion languished; and tranquillity was restored to a harassed capital, and a misgoverned country (*f*).

Scotland was again alarmed, and Edinburgh once more prepared, for defence, against the Spanish invasion of 1718, a hundred and thirty years after the grand armada had alarmed their fathers. The conspiracy of 1722 called upon the citizens to avow their loyalty, and to offer their attachments. The malt-tax of 1725, made them fear for their property; incited tumults, which disturbed their quiet; and in the end introduced among them new establishments, that promoted their industry, and augmented their wealth. Yet, experience of the past did not prevent the lower orders, from assassinating Porteous, who had been pardoned, by the government: And, this outrage brought them before the parliament; endangered their privileges; and obliged them to adopt measures, for preventing similar tumults. In 1744, the citizens of Edinburgh were roused, by information of the approach of a pretender to the crown. He actually landed in the subsequent year. He pressed southward to their capital, whatever force could be opposed to his progress. On the 17th of September 1745, he entered Edinburgh, which could not be defended; and he took possession of the palace of Holyroodhouse, the residence of his progenitors: But, he did not gain Edinburgh castle, which was defended by the governor, Guest, with vigour, and retained, with success, against the feeble attacks of "the "new-entrusted sceptre." Yet, the rebels went out, to defeat the royal army, under Cope; and to return with triumph. They marched off, to the southward, on the 31st of October, to try their fortunes, in England: But, they found themselves obliged to retreat, along the western road, before the vigorous pursuit of the king's armies. From the 17th of September to the 31st of October 1745, the rebels, amounting nearly to 8,000 men, domineered, at

(*f*) Arnot's Edin. 171.

Edinburgh;

Edinburgh; which was obliged to furnish contributions of shoes, tents, and targets (*g*). The castle, indeed, disturbed their enjoyments: Yet, during that period, within the Scotish metropolis, there was no municipal government (*h*). In the meantime, the son of the pretender resided, in the palace of Holyrood, at perfect ease; seeing, and being seen, by every one, without any hesitation, or restraint (*i*).

After the tumults, on account of the malt-tax, had been suppressed, in 1725, various useful establishments were formed, at Edinburgh, for giving employment to a restless people. From the suppression of this rebellion, in 1746, the spirit of the people was again turned to useful labours; and improvements soon after commenced, which contributed to energize the country, throughout many years; to confer on a more industrious land the agreeable advantages of industry, and the important benefits of wealth. The magistrates of Edinburgh began, in 1749, to think seriously of meliorations, and to propose establishments; to court commerce, by an exchange; to acquire useful knowledge, by a select society; and to promote general gaiety, by public amusements. But, the commencement of the present reign is the true epoch of the progressive im-

(*g*) They were described, by an intelligent person, who was sent from York to Edinburgh, on purpose to report the state of the insurgents: And, the following is submitted to the reader, from a MS. copy of his Report in my library: "They consist, said he, of an odd medley of greybeards, "and nobeards: Old men fit to drop into the grave, and young boys, whose swords are near equal "to their weight; and I really believe more than their length. Four, or five thousand, may be "very good determined men; but, the rest are mean, dirty, villainous looking rascals, which seem "more anxious about plunder, than their prince, and would be better pleased with four shillings, "than *a crown.*"

(*h*) Maitl. Edin. 124—31. On the 30th of October 1746, the king issued an order in council, directing a choice of new magistrates by a *poll election.* Id.

(*i*) The above mentioned "person got to Edinburgh, on the 15th of October 1745, at night, "without lett, or molestation: And, on the 17th was introduced to him, whom they call their "prince; who asked him several questions, as to the number of troops, and affections of the "people, in England, which he answered truly, as far as he knew; He was in the room with the "prince, and two more, a quarter of an hour. The young chevalier is about five feet eleven "inches high, very proportionably made; wears his own hair, has a full forehead, a small, but "lively eye, a round brown complexioned face, nose and mouth pretty small; full under the chin, "not a long neck, about his under jaw a pretty many pimples. He is always in a Highland "habit, as are all about him. Then he had a short Highland plaid-waistcoat, breeches of the "same, a blue garter on, and a St. Andrew's cross, hanging by a green ribbon, at his button-"hole, but no star; he had his boots on, as he has always. He dines every day in public; all "sorts of people are admitted to see him then; and he constantly practices all the arts of con-"descension, and popularity: Talks familiarly to his meanest Highlander, nd makes them very "fair promises." The above description corresponds very exactly with the bust, which was made by Le Moin, of Charles Stewart, after his return to Paris.

provements

provements of Edinburgh; of the activity of her enterprize; of the augmentation of inhabitants; the increase of her buildings; and the splendour of their opulence.

In the meantime, the rents, and profits of the lands, within the shire of Edinburgh, and the two constabularies of Hadington, and Linlithgow, amounted, according to the *ancient extent*, to £4,029: But, according to the *true value* of the year 1367, to £3,030: 12: 9 (*k*): Such being the sad effects of the succession wars, throughout the hostile reigns of Robert Bruce, and David II., his less fortunate son. At the recent epoch of the Restoration, there were accounted for, in the Exchequer, as the amount of the king's rental, in the shires of Edinburgh, and Bathgate, and in the regality of Musselburgh, £2,197: 12: 1 Scots money; from which, however, there were deductions, amounting to £1,411: 13: 4, that arose, from the rapacity, and fraudulence of many years, both of penury, and misgovernment (*l*): So disastrous had those long wars been to the domestic affairs of a wretched land.

When the competition for the crown began, and the numerous parliament of Brigham sat, in March 1290, we may easily discover, who were then the considerable men of Edinburghshire, by ascertaining, who were its representatives, in that assembly: The abbots of Holyrood, and Newbotle, represented the ecclesiastical estate; and William de la Hay of Locherwart, and William de Saintclair of Roslin, were the only barons, from Edinburghshire (*m*). But, at the accession of Robert Bruce, there were not any peers, or greater barons, who had a residence, in this county, or a title, from any of its localities. There was not a noble, in this shire, even at the epoch of the tardy return of James I., from his long captivity. During his reign, indeed, there were two *lords of parliament* created out of the gentry of Edinburghshire (*n*). James II. only

(*k*) The old MS. Rental, in the Paper Office.

(*l*) Mr. Solicitor Purvis's Exchequer MS. in my library. The difference, between the Scots, and English money, was, according to the Exchequer Account, as *ten* to *one*.

(*m*) Rym. ii. 471-2.

(*n*) Sir William Borthwick was made Lord Borthwick, in 1433. Bower, ii. 542. He is supposed to have been descended from William de Borthwick, who flourished, in 1378, under Robert II. Dougl. Peer. 76. William de Borthwick, the son of William, obtained a licence from James I, in 1430, to build a castle, in that place, which is called *the mote of Lochwarret*. Ib. 77. A castle was, accordingly, built, which is said to have been called Borthwick castle. Stat. Acco. xiii. 533-4. At the baptism of the twin sons of James I., appeared the son, and heir, of William, the lord of Borthwick. The other lord of parliament, who was created, by James I., was Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith, whose progenitor, Andrew Douglas, a younger son of Archibald, the third in descent, from the original settler, branched off, from the principal stock, at the middle of the 13th century.

added

added one lord of parliament, to the list, which had come down, from his father: Sir William Crichton, the chancellor, the ablest, and most vigorous character, in Scotland, was created Lord Crichton: But, this title, which he had acquired, by his talents, and defended, by his vigour, was forfeited by his grandson, in 1484. In 1458, James, Lord Dalkeith, was created Earl of Morton. And, from this enumeration it appears, satisfactorily, that when James VI. became king of England, in 1603, there were only three peers, in Edinburghshire; William, Earl of Morton; John, Lord Borthwick; and Mark, Lord Newbotle. James VI., after his accession, merely added three to the peerage of Edinburghshire: He, indeed, raised Lord Newbotle to the earldom of Lothian, in 1606. He created, in 1607, John Bothwell to be Lord Holyroodhouse; a lordship, which ceased, in 1635: His ancestors had been provosts of Edinburgh, and senators of the College of Justice. Sir William Cranston was created Lord Cranston, in 1611 (*o*). And Sir George Ramsay, who could boast of very gallant ancestors, was made a lord of parliament, in 1618; and created Earl of Dalhousie, in 1633. Charles I., amidst his constant choice of many difficulties, elevated one peer, as we have just seen; and added three new ones, within this shire (*p*). Charles II. only added to the list of peerages two peers, within this shire, who, however, did not long embarrass the peerage (*q*). James VII., amid his religious delusions, seems to have been very penurious of peerages. King William was frugal of his creations, in this county (*r*). At the great epoch of the Union, on the 1st of May 1707, there remained of peers, within this shire, only eleven, to oppose, or approve, that important measure of conciliation, and interest (*s*). In July 1726, Prince Frederick, the eldest son of George, Prince of Wales, was created, in his twentieth year, Duke of

(*o*) His progenitor had been provost of Edinburgh, under James II.

(*p*) (1), Sir Archibald Napier was created, in 1627, Lord Napier of Merchiston. (2), Dame Elizabeth Beaumont was created Baroness Crammond, in 1627; and her son, Sir Thomas Richardson, succeeded to the same title, in 1628: But, this peerage soon became extinct. (3), In 1633, George Forrester was made Lord Forrester.

(*q*) In 1651, Sir James Macgill was made Viscount of Oxenford, a title, which failed, by extinction, in 1706. In 1681, Charles Cheyne was created Viscount Newhaven, whose title became extinguished, in 1728.

(*r*) In 1700, he created Archibald Primrose Viscount of Primrose; who, in 1703, was elevated to be Earl of Roseberry. In 1703, Sir James Primrose was raised to the peerage, by the title of Viscount Primrose. And, in 1701, King William raised the Earl of Lothian to be a marquis, by the same title.

(*s*) Above all was Anne, the Duchess of Buccleugh, whose heir-apparent was Francis, Earl of Dalkeith. The ten other peers were, James Earl of Morton, who was one of the commissioners, for

of Edinburgh (*t*). He died, on the 20th of March 1751. And, on the 14th of November 1764, his third son, Prince William Henry, was created Duke of Glocester and Edinburgh. When he died, in August 1805, he was succeeded by his only son, as Duke of Edinburgh.

In addition to those distinguished persons, the localities of Mid-Lothian have given titles to several senators of the College of Justice. In May 1532, John Dingwall, the provost of Trinity College, William Gibson, the dean of Restalrig, and James Fowlis of Collington, were all appointed original members of the new establishment (*u*). John Sinclair, the dean of Restalrig, who was afterwards the bishop of Brechin, and president of the court, was made a senator of the College of Justice, on the 19th of November 1540 (*x*). James Scot, the provost of Corstorphin, and Thomas Marjoribanks of Ratho, were appointed to the same trust, on the 13th of November 1554 (*y*). Thomas Maccalyean of Cliftonhall, who died in 1581, was raised to that honour, on the 20th of October 1570, in the room of Henry Balnaves of Hallhill, a noted intriguer, during intriguing times (*z*). On the 20th of October 1575, Robert Pont, the provost of Trinity College, and the first protesant minister of the West Kirk, was elevated to that station (*a*). Richard Cockburn of Clerkington was appointed to that trust, in the room of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchinoul, in

for settling the Union; Henry, Lord Borthwick; William, Marquis of Lothian; William, Lord Cranston; William, the Earl of Dalhousie; Francis, Lord Napier; George, Lord Forrester; William, Viscount Newhaven; Archibald, Earl of Roseberry, who was one of the commissioners, for settling that interesting measure; and Archibald, Viscount of Primrose.

(*t*) On that event, there were great rejoicings, at Edinburgh. Caledonian Mercury of the 25th of July 1726.

(*u*) Lord Hailes's Catalogue of the Lords of Session. James Foulis was appointed the king's advocate, in 1528, the clerk register, in 1531, a senator of that college, in 1543: And he was employed, with other commissioners, to negotiate the marriage of Mary, queen of Scots, with Edward, the Prince of Wales. Dougl. Baronage, 87.

(*x*) Lord Hailes's Catalogue, p. 3, with the note. (*y*) Id. (*z*) Ib. 5.

(*a*) Ib. 5. He was the father of Timothy Pont, the celebrated chorographer of Scotland. The Rules, for understanding the *Calendare*, that are prefixed to Bassendyne's Bible, which was the first printed, in Scotland, during 1576, were written by Robert Pont: He wrote a tract on chronology. Under the name of Pontanus, he published *De Unione insulæ Britanniæ, Edin.* 1604, 8°. "At the convention of the kirk, halden in the kirk of Leith, on the 12th of January 157½, "Maister Robert Pont obtenit advyse of this convention to be senator of the College of Justice; "provyding always, that this their license to the said Mr. Robert be na preparative to na other "minister to procure sic promotion, without the kirk's advyse had of before, and license obtained "thereto." MS. Proceedings of the Kirk, from 1560 to 1605, by Ja. Melvil, in my library. Robert Pont died on the 8th of May 1608, aged 81. Mait. Hist. Edin. 179.

November

November 1591 (*a*). John Bothwell, the commendator of Holyroodhouse, was appointed a judge, in July 1593, in the room of the bishop of Orkney (*b*). In November 1594, John Skene of Curriehill, who is still remembered, for his several publications of the old laws of Scotland, was appointed a senator, in the room of Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet (*c*). David Macgill, of Cranston-Riddel, succeeded the commendator of Culross, in May 1597, at a period, which is noted, for juridical corruption (*d*). Sir Lewis Craig of Wright's Houses was appointed to this trust, in 1604. Sir John Hamilton of Magdalen was raised to the same bench, in 1622. And Sir Archibald Napier of Merchiston, the son of him, who is celebrated for his discovery of the Logarithms, was elevated to that trust, in 1623. Sir Alexander Napier of Laurieston, and James Bannatyne of Newhall, were both appointed to the same charge, in 1626 (*e*). Sir James Macgill of Cranston-Riddel, which has been fruitful of lawyers, was placed on the bench, in 1629 (*f*). Sir John Hope of Craigiehall, Sir William Scot of Clerkington, George Winram, and Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, were all appointed senators, during the long rebellion (*g*).

The reign of Charles II., like the reign of James I. in England, produced, in Scotland, several lawyers of great knowledge, and eloquence. Of these, the foremost was Sir John Gilmour of Craigmiller, who was appointed, in June 1661, the Lord President of a learned court (*h*). Sir Archibald Primrose of Carrington; Sir James Macgill of Cranston; Sir James Foulis of Collington; were all placed, at the same time, on the same honourable seat (*i*). Sir James

(*a*) Lord Hailes's Catalogue, p. 6. (*b*) Ib. 7.

(*c*) Ib 7. It were to be wished, says the late Lord Hailes, that his knowledge of the Scotish antiquities had been equal to his industry. He was keeper of the Scotish Records, under the name of Clerk Register. Melvil told King James, "that I would take with me, on an embassy "to Denmark, for a lawyer, Mr. John Skene: His majesty said, he judged there were many "better lawyers: I said, he was best acquainted with the German customs, and could make "them long harangues in Latin; and he was a good true stout man, like a Dutchman." Ib. 12. His son, Sir James Skene of Curriehill, was appointed a judge, in June 1612; and rose to be president, in 1626.

(*d*) Ib. 7—12. (*e*) Ib. 8. (*f*) Ib. 9.

(*g*) Ib. 9—11. Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston is one of those infamous men, who stained their country, during that calamitous period, by their fanaticism, and treason; This man expiated his crimes, on the scaffold, after the Restoration had raised the sword of justice. Ib. 19; and Lord Hailes' note.

(*h*) The Catalogue, p. 12—21: The stand, which he made, (as an advocate), on behalf of the Marquis of Argyle, says Lord Hailes, will ever be remembered, to his honour.

(*i*) Ib. 12.

Dundas of Arniston, who is the first of a series of illustrious lawyers, who have issued from that place, was appointed a judge, in June 1662; and he resigned, in November 1665; as he could not take the test of a scrupulous age (*k*). Sir James Foulis of Reidfurd was appointed to the same trust, in 1674, in the room of Sir Robert Preston, deceased. Sir John Maitland of Ravelrig, and Sir Robert Sinclair of Stevenston, were two of the judges, whom Scotland owed to the Revolution (*l*). Roderick Mackenzie of Prestonhall was appointed, in 1703, Sir William Calderwood of Polton, in 1711, and Sir Walter Pringle of Newhall, in 1718 (*m*). In the place of the last judge, was nominated, on the 10th of June 1737, Robert Dundas of Arniston, who was raised to the President's chair, in September 1748, and died, on the 26th of August 1753 (*n*). Robert Dundas of Arniston, who inherited the genius of his family, and chose the profession of his father, was called to the bar, in 1738; appointed the King's Solicitor, in 1742; the Lord Advocate, in 1755; and was elevated to the President's chair, on the 14th of June 1760 (*o*). The foregoing list is sufficient to show how many eminent lawyers have been produced, by Edinburghshire, for the public advantage, of preventing wrong, and distributing right.

But, Edinburgh county, and city, have given rise to distinguished men, in literature, in science, and in the arts. They have supplied an enterprizing

(*k*) The Catalogue, 12: His son was placed, in the same honourable list, on the 1st of November 1689. Ib. 14.

(*l*) Ib. 14. (*m*) Ib. 15-16.

(*n*) Ib. 16-17; Of this eminent judge, Lord Hailes remarks: The president Dalrymple said, "I knew the great lawyers of the last age; Mackenzie, Lockhart, and my own father, Stair: "Dundas excels them all." Ib. 26. I have seen, in the Paper Office, Lord Arniston's Letter to the Duke of Newcastle, asking for the chair: It is written in a very bad hand, but with all the modesty of real merit; Charles Ereskine, Lord Tinwald, was his competitor. On the 12th of May 1748, the Duke of Newcastle wrote to General Bland, the commander of the troops, in Scotland, of his majesty's intention to promote Mr. Dundas of Arniston, to be president of the session, in the room of the late Mr. Forbes; to appoint Mr. Fletcher to be keeper of the signet, for life; and Mr. Ereskine of Tinwald to be lord justice clerk, upon the resignation of Mr. Fletcher. These promotions were said to be made, "for convincing every one, that the king was determined "to reward merit, and zeal, for his service."

(*o*) Ib. 17—35: He died on the 13th of December 1787: He was followed to his grave, by the whole magistrates, and lawyers. When the Lord Advocate, Grant, asked for a seat upon the bench, on account of his health, the Duke of Newcastle was informed, "that Mr. Craigie "was the fittest to succeed him; that the next, in fitness, was Mr. Dundas, the late solicitor, a "gentleman of great honour, and abilities; and that the only other lawyer of any degree of fitness, "who can be called a whig, is Mr. Henry Home," [the celebrated Lord Kaimes]. Documents, in the Paper Office.

nation

nation with satesmen, and soldiers. Yet, is it impossible, in the limited space, which is here allowed to such inquiries, to specify the various characters, who have dignified those districts, by their birth, adorned them, by their genius, and widely diffused their literary fame, by their ingenious labours.

In the meantime, the lower orders of men, within Edinburghshire, lived amidst the wretchedness of Slavery. The wars of rude ages, which considered captivity, and servitude, as the same, multiplied a wretched race (*p*). Such bondmen were very common, in this shire, during the reign of David I., under the name of *Cumerlach*, which, in the Northumbrian language of that age, conveyed the idea of misery (*q*). This state of villeinage certainly continued, in Scotland, at the sad demise of Robert Bruce (*r*). This calamitous condition of the lower orders existed, particularly, in Edinburghshire, at that epoch (*s*). The same state of society continued throughout every district of Scotland, during the whole reign of David II. (*t*). The same policy, and its attendant of misery, remained, in full vigour, throughout the reign of Robert II. The villeinage, which we have thus seen existing, at a recent period of the Scotish history, cannot be easily traced to its abolition. All vassalage, and servitude, were abolished, by a rough ordinance of Cromwell's legislative usurpation (*u*).

§ VII. *Of its Agriculture, Manufactures, and Trade.*] Mid-Lothian, as we have seen, is rather a mountainous country, interspersed, indeed, with fruitful vales, and washed, by a mighty river. Two thirds, however, of its ample area, are supposed to be dedicated to tillage, or pasture, or wood. The successive settlers here did not find it much cultivated, at the various epochs of their colonizations, or conquests: Nor, was the diversified surface much meliorated, while it was frequently fought for, by those dissimilar people.

Whensoever the operations of the plough may have begun, in Mid-Lothian, during periods of warfare, and of rudeness, agriculture had here made some progress, before the commencement, in 1097, of the Scoto-Saxon period. At this epoch, and for ages afterward, this great district was covered with

(*p*) Hoveden, fol. 452, M. Paris Ed. Watts, p. 950; addit p. 198.

(*q*) See the charters of David I., in the Frag. Scots Hist. Appx. No. i. ii.

(*r*) Ib. No. iii., which is a judicial declaration of the manumission of certain bondmen.

(*s*) There is a charter of David de Crawford to the abbot and convent of Newbottle; granting, in 1327, all the escheats, and amercements of certain lands, "et *hominibus habitantibus* in eisdem." Chart. Newbottle, No. 158.

(*t*) See the charters of David II., in Robertson's Index to the Records.

(*u*) Scobell's Acts, 1654, ch. 9.

woods (*y*). Near Edinburgh was the forest of Drumselgh, the Drumseugh of modern times, wherein David I. encountered the stag; the circumstance which, if we may credit the legend, gave rise to the religious house of Holyrood (*z*): *Drumseilg*, indeed, signifies, in the Gaelic, the ridge of venison, or of hunting. From his demesn of Liberton, David conferred, among a thousand privileges, on the monks of Holyrood, thirty cart-loads of brush-wood (*a*). Alexander II. gave his *forest* of Gledehouse to the monks of Newbotle (*b*). Those woods, and forests, supplied abundant shelter, pasturage, and *mast*, for numerous brood-mares, cattle, sheep, and swine: And *pannage* became an object of profit, and of care. There were vast pasturages on the Gala water (*c*). While the feeding of flocks was pursued by the opulent, husbandry was followed by the poor. But, David I. was the greatest farmer, in Mid-Lothian. This admirable prince had many agricultural establishments, in this shire (*d*). Yet, was husbandry practised, in that age, without adequate knowledge, and full effect. Even David I. talked, without emotion, of the numbers of his sheep, which, in

(*y*) The maps of Lothian evince how many names of places were derived, from the woodiness of the soil; and show how much woods abounded, in Mid-Lothian, during the Scoto-Saxon period.

(*z*) Maitland's Edin. 143. The extensive common, near Edinburgh, which was long known by the name of the *Burrough-moor*, was covered with oaks, as late as the demise of James IV. Drummond, in mentioning the muster of his army, which he led to their fate on Floddon-field, says, the Burrough-moor, whereon they collected, was a spacious field, that was delightful, from the shades of many aged oaks. Hist. James's, 218.

(*a*) Ib. 146. David I. granted to the monks of Newbottle some lands, in Mid-Lothian, with a salt-work, at Blackeland, and pannage, through all *his forests*, and wood, from the same, to construct their buildings. Chart. Newbot. No. 28. This grant was confirmed by his son, Henry, and his grandson, William. Ib. No. 29—176.

(*b*) Chart. Newbottle, No. 127: In 1239, the same king granted to those monks the lands of Morthwait, and Glede-house, *in liberam forestam*. Ib. No. 32, and 128. Both those places lay on the sources of the South Esk, in Temple parish. Alexander II. granted to the monks of Dunfermlin, a *free warren*, throughout their lands of Musselburgh, prohibiting every one, from hunting, or trespassing, within the warren, on the penalty of 10l. MS. Monast. Scotiæ. We may trace, in the Chartularies, several other grants of *free warren*, in Mid-Lothian, during the 13th century.

(*c*) "Gala water, even now, says Robertson, abounds in sheep-walks, which are scarcely "inferior to the hills of Teviotdale." Agricult. Survey, 159.

(*d*) Charter of Holyrood, in Maitland's Edinburgh. From the reign of David I. to the days of King James VI., the agricultural changes, in the royal possessions were numerous: The park of Holyroodhouse paid of old 600 mutton bulks; which park was replenished, and reserved, for keeping his majesty's house; with 600 stone of hay, which was accounted for, in 1663, at 40s. for each mutton bulk, and 2s. for each stone of hay; amounting in all to 1,000l.: But, the same is now disponed to Sir James Hamilton, as keeper thereof, who pays nothing for the same, though the former keeper paid 1,000l.; as before mentioned. MS. Rental.

every

every year, died, *naturally*, from want (*e*). If so beneficent a prince did not provide winter food, for his herds, we may easily suppose how many of the flocks of his subjects perished, every spring, from the diseases, which penury produces. The people were too often exposed, during those rude times, to the inconvenience of plenty, and to the miseries of famine. The next greatest farmers to the king were the abbots, who possessed vast herds, and cultivated many granges, by their villeyns. The barons, in their several degrees of rank, and of opulence, were the next greatest farmers, to the abbots. As every church had its hamlet, so every baronial house had its villagers, who followed the plough, during peace, and drew their swords, in support of the baron, in war. Thus every hamlet was inhabited, by husbandmen, who tilled the adjacent fields, and pastured their flocks, on the extensive commons, which to every district belonged (*f*): And from this circumstance, it became, in those times, an established right, for every parson to enjoy common of pasturage, throughout his own parish.

During ages of rudeness, however, when the track of warfare was constantly marked by devastation, agriculture could not, uninterruptedly, follow her laborious course. The lower orders of men, as they were the bondmen, rather than the tenants of the landowners, laboured, unwillingly, for others, rather than, freely, for themselves. Under such a state of society, while coins were few, and circulation was unknown, it was impossible, that the tillers of the earth could possess sufficient capital, for enabling them to follow their ploughs, with advantage to the nation, or profit to themselves. Under those inabilities of means, the landlords, copying the example of the freeholders of England, found it necessary, to furnish the tenant with stock, which he rented, as well as the land; and which the tenant was obliged to restore, when he delivered up the farm to the owner of both. The stock, which thus accommodated both parties, was called, in the law of Scotland, *steelbow*-goods: The practice of *steelbow*, indeed, is still known, in this shire, though the origin of the term seems to be forgotten (*g*). It required a long progression of quiet industry, as well as attentive economy, to carry up the value of agricultural capital, from nothing, in the wretched age of *steelbow*, to the flourishing period of 1795,

(*e*) Charter of Holyrood.

(*f*) Adam of Swanyston granted various parcels of land to the hospital of Soltre, with common of pasture; with a reservation, however, to his own men, of the right of common, in all the commons, and other easements, belonging to Swanyston. Chart. Soltre, 19-20-31.

(*g*) Wood's Hist. of Cramond, 98; Robertson's View of Mid-Lothian Agriculture, 59.

when

when there were employed, in the agriculture of Edinburghshire, £508,750 Sterling (*b*).

When, with new men, a very different policy began, at the Scoto-Saxon period, every manor had its miln; as we have already seen. David I., the greatest farmer of his kingdom, possessed many a miln (*i*). The nobles, and ecclesiastics, who followed his agricultural example, had also many milns; as we may learn from the chartularies (*k*): And, from the increase of the number of milns, through every age, we may infer the progress of agriculture. During the same ages, there also were, in every manor, a malt-kiln, and a brewery; as we know from the chartularies.

There is reason to infer, from the facts, that are recorded in the chartularies, that the practice of horticulture began, as early as the pursuits of agriculture. David I., who gave so many salutary lessons to his people, also showed them an example of gardening. He speaks, in his charter of Holyrood, of his garden, under the castle. The royal gardens of Edinburgh were objects of care, during the disastrous reign of David II. (*l*). And horticulture was generally practised, in Mid-Lothian, during the Scoto-Saxon period. The monks of Newbottle received tithes from the gardens, as early as the reign of Alexander II. (*m*). As early as the year 1202, there was a garden, at Locherwart, on the Upper

(*b*) Robertson's View, 213.

(*i*) David I. speaks of his new miln of Edinburgh, and of his milns of Dene, and Liberton, in his charter of Holyrood: And he gave the monks of that *house* a right to erect a miln, on their lands; a privilege, which could not be enjoyed, without a grant. See his charter, in Maitland's Edinburgh.

(*k*) Alan of Swintun took to farm of the abbot of Dunfermlin, within his manor of Musselburgh, the site of a miln on the water of Esk, on the west part, opposite to the abbot's miln of Wythenoc, with common of pasture, for the horses, which might bring the corn to the miln; paying yearly one mark of money, at the two terms; and stipulating that he should not injure the abbot's miln, but uphold the same, in case of injury. Chart. Dunferm.

(*l*) David II. appointed Malcolm Pagainson the keeper of his gardens, at Edinburgh. Roberts. Index, 39. The royal garden was, in 1680, converted into a physic garden, with a proper salary to a skilful botanist. Maitl. Edin. 154. James Sutherland, who published, in 1683, a learned catalogue of "the plants in the physic garden, at Edinburgh," was probably the first *intendant* of the said garden. When this able man ceased to cultivate botany is uncertain. But, he was succeeded, in 1710, by George Preston, as *superintendant* of the physic garden: And, Preston was followed, in 1716, by the late Dr. Alston, as professor of botany, and as superintendant of the *physic garden*, at Edinburgh. The lectures on botany generally began, in the physic garden, at the end of May, and continued till the end of the season. See the advertisements, in the Edinburgh Courant.

(*m*) Chart. Newbot. 250; Lord Hailes's Canons.

Tyne.

Tyne (*n*). During the reign of James III., even the poorest tenants of the moorlands, in Mid-Lothian, had their gardens, which supplied them with *cail*: In March 1479, the tenants of Crosswood pursued, in parliament, Sir John Sandilands of Calder, for a trespass on their possessions; when the lords adjudged him, to pay to each eight shillings, for the *cail*, which he had destroyed, in their *cail-yards* (*o*). Before the accession of King James, gardens were universal, in Mid-Lothian (*p*). During his reign, it became the practice to pillage the gardens of Mid-Lothian (*q*).

In addition to all those agricultural pursuits, during those early ages, there were other objects of rural profits. *Petaries*, for fuel, became, as early as the the reign of David I., the frequent objects of request, and of grant (*r*). The *collieries*, and *quarries*, of Inveresk, and Tranent, were worked, perhaps, as early as the reign of William, the lion. The monks of Newbottle, as we have already seen, had the merit, of discovering, and working *coal*, at Preston, in East-Lothian, before the accession of Alexander II. (*s*). This useful practice must have soon been introduced into the adjacent shire, which abounds with

(*n*) Chart. Scone, No. 43. There was an *old orchard*, at Gilmerton, before the year 1607. Inquis. Special. Edin. 226. In 1603, the tenements, in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, had gardens belonging to them. Ib. 107. The tenements, in Leith, had also their gardens, in 1609. Ib. 271.

(*o*) Parl. Rec. 248.

(*p*) Chart. Newbot. 292—4; Inquis. Spec. Edin. On the 25th of May 1338, Henry de Brad granted to the monks of Newbottle the meadow, called *mediespeth*, and the well in it, and the *garden*, called Stotfauld, and the common use of his moor, with his peatary, for fuel. Chart. Newbot. 65.

(*q*) In 1625, John Rait, and Alexander Dean, were hanged, for stealing, from the gardens of Barnton, Pilton, and other places, various herbs, and bee-hives. Arnot's Crim. Trials, 305. At Edinburgh, in 1683, John Reid published his *Scots Gard'ner*. We may learn, from the advertisements, in the *Caledonian Mercury*, that soon after the seedsmen of Edinburgh began to import *garden seeds* from abroad, of the freshest, and choicest kind.

(*r*) Chart. Newbot. 27. Towards the end of the 12th century, David de Lyne granted to the monastery of Newbottle the *petary* of Locherwart, which was called Ulnestruther, with a sufficient space, on his land of Locherwart, to dry the fuel, and free passage, through his ground, to carry the *petes*. Ib. 23. A similar grant was made to the same monastery, by David de Lisurs, the Lord of Goverton. Ib. 43. Herbert, the abbot of Kelso, granted to Reginald de Bosco his whole land of Estir-Dodinestun "cum medietatem *petarie* de Camerun;" yielding for the same, yearly, ten marks of silver; and performing to the king the usual services. Chart. Kelso, 453-4.

(*s* See before p. 486; Chart. Newbot. 72. At the accession of King James, there were collieries, at Dudingston, at Gilmerton, in the barony of Newbottle, in the barony of Broughton, at Woolmet, and at other places. See the Inquisit. Special. Edin In December 1764, the coal-pits, at Woolmet, were, supernaturally, dried up. Scots Mag. 686.

coal.

coal. And, in after times, collieries were every where opened, and worked, to the advantage of the country, and the profit of the owners.

William, and his immediate successors, tried, by salutary regulations, to promote the practice of a better husbandry (*s*). The reign of Alexander III. is celebrated, after the factions of his minority had ceased, for its quiet, and its plenty; "swá wes corne in his land enwche, with sons of ale and brede (*t*)."

But, sad scenes of domestic strife, and foreign hostilities, ensued, "when "Alyxandyr oure kyng wes dede." A war of seventy years began, in 1296, and ended with 1366, during which hostility, and destruction, were the same. The waste of that course of conflicts cannot be easily calculated: Yet, may we estimate the loss, with some degree of accuracy, from a consideration of the amount of the old, and new extents, within this shire, which we have already seen (*u*). The war of the competition for the crown was succeeded, by domestic feuds; by the hostilities of the Reformation; by the conflicts of the fanatics, which ended, with the war of the Revolution. England long felt the enmities of *the Roses:* Scotland scarcely recovered, from the devastation, and the penury, which were the necessary effects of those successive wars, even to our own times.

Of the various accommodations of agriculture, easy communications are deemed of the greatest consequence. The earliest roads, in Mid Lothian, were undoubtedly made by Roman hands. During the Scoto-Saxon period, the king's high-ways are often mentioned, in the chartularies, as local boundaries (*x*).

(*s*) See their statutes, in Skene's old laws. Parl. Rec. 5.

(*t*) Wyntownis Chron. i. 400-1: Wyntown states the price, at that epoch, of a bolle of *atis*, at pennys foure of Scottis moné; a bolle of bere at awcht or ten; a bolle of whete at sextene, as at twenty pennys the derth was grete. But, it may be doubted, if those prices can be strictly applied to the reign of Alexander III.: There was no *Scottis moné*, in that age: All was sterling, of the same value, as the coins of England.

(*u*) In the chartulary of Newbottle, there are various documents, granting the monks several abatements of the rents, which they paid, for lands, and salt-works, on account of the devastations of the *direful war*, of *the oppressive wars*. We might hence infer, that the value of lands must have been very low, during the 14th century: Edward de Lestalrig granted to the nuns of North-Berwick a toft in Leith, and three acres of land, at Greenside, which they leased, for ever, to the monks of Newbottle, for the yearly rent of half a mark of legal money. Chart. Newbot. 57-8. The same property was granted, by the monks, in fee, to Symon de Daynotre, for eleven shillings Sterling, yearly, during the reign of James IV. Ib. 285.

(*x*) Under Alexander III., a charter of Sir Hugh Riddel mentions the *regiam viam*, which led, from the village, called Ford, to the monastery of Newbottle. Chart. Newbot. 22. The king's highway, which leads from that monastery to Edinburgh, is mentioned, in another of the year 1253. Ib. 16. Gervaise, the abbot, mentions, in his charter, a certain road, which was called *Derstrette*, near Colden, in the district of Inveresk. Ib. 163.

David I.

David I. recognizes several roads, in the charter of Holyrood. Yet, for ages afterward, county, parish, and cross roads, were but few, and founderous (*a*). The first statutes, with regard to *highways*, are said to have been made, under David II. The year 1714 is supposed to be the epoch of turnpike-roads, in this shire, when improvements are asserted to have begun (*b*). The true epoch of the first road act, for Scotland, is 1555: The year 1750 is the era of the first turnpike act, which was made, by the united parliament, for Hadingtonshire. This law, probably, led on to the passing of an act, in the subsequent year, "for repairing the high roads, in the county of Edinburgh, to and from "the city of Edinburgh (*c*)." And, it is from the year 1751, that we may date the commodiousness, and the extent, of the roads in Mid-Lothian, at whatever expence to the public, or the traveller.

Connected with roads, are wheel-carriages. These useful vehicles are said not to have been used, for the purposes of husbandry, in Mid-Lothian, till the recent accession of George I. (*d*). Yet, are *carts* mentioned, by David I., in

(*a*) The monks of Newbottle had several lands, in Clydesdale; and in order to have easy access to those distant granges, they obtained, from various proprietors, in Mid, and West, Lothian, special grants of free passage through their estates, between Newbottle and Clydesdale. Chart. Newbot. 218 to 227, and 240. Those grants evince, that the communications between Lothian and Clydesdale were difficult. In 1214, Thomas de Lestalrig granted a confirmation to the monks of Inchcolm, of some lands in *villa de Leith*, which he describes, as lying on the south "*altæ stratæ* "inter Edinburgum et Leith." Chart. Inchcolm, 16. Yet, it is supposed, that there were no wheel-carriages, at Leith, in 1602. In 1612, causeways were ordered to be made, about Edinburgh. Maitland, 58.

(*b*) Robertson's Agricult. Survey, 178. The act, which is alluded to above, is 12 An. ch. 10, private. This was followed by the act of 5 Geo. I. ch. 30, for confirming all the laws, made in Scotland, before the Union, concerning the repairing of highways, bridges, and ferries.

(*c*) 24 Geo. II. ch. 35. During the disturbed reign of Charles II., there had been made several statutes, for the making, or mending of roads, which, at least, evince the general conviction of the importance of road-making to domestic economy. In 1688, there were no *footways*, in the city of Edinburgh, which the magistrates endeavoured to remedy, by directing the citizens to lay before their *tenements* large flat stones. Maitl. Edin. 108. Even during the reign of King James, the legislature paid some attention to the *county bridges*. In 1587, an act was passed, for repairing Cramond brig. Unprinted Act. This was followed by another, for the same object, in 1607. Id. In 1594, there was an act passed, concerning the brig of Dalkeith. Unprinted Act. There was another, for supporting this brig, in 1663. Id. In 1670, there was an act, imposing a duty, for upholding the bridge of Dalkeith. Unprinted Act. In 1597, there was an act passed, for repairing the brig of Musselburgh. Unprinted Act. And, in 1661, there was passed another law, "for an imposition at the bridge of Musselburgh." Unprinted Act. Such were the endeavours of the legislature to repair the several bridges of Edinburghshire.

(*d*) Robertson's Survey, 178.

his charter of Holyrood: And the chartularies are crowded with notices of the villeyn-services, which were performed, by the husbandmen to the monks, in *wheel-carriages*, upwards of five centuries and a half, before the epoch, which has thus been mistakingly assigned them (*e*). The most common wheel-carriages, during the 13th, and the 12th centuries, were the waggon, or *wayne*, which was drawn by *oxen*, that were then commonly used, for every agricultural purpose (*f*). The epoch of the first public coach, which was proposed to run between Edinburgh, and Leith, was the year 1610 (*g*). The second project, for the same purpose, was adopted, in 1660, by the town council of Edinburgh, who licensed Woodcock to set up a coach, to run between Edinburgh, and Leith (*h*). In 1684, the town council ordered two coaches to be bought, at London, for the use of the magistrates, considering how much expence the town had paid in coach-hire, for the use of their baillies (*i*): So slow is the progress of introducing, effectually, the most obvious accommodations into general practice (*k*).

Neither the wasteful wars, nor the many changes in the ownership of the soil, during the reign of Robert Bruce, admitted of a flourishing husbandry. The hostilities, the distractions, and the debility of the age of his feeble successor, admitted of no favourable alteration, in this respect (*l*). Some other acts of the parliament

(*e*) Yet, is it certain, that David II. granted to John Tennand the lands of Laureston, in Cramond, with forty *creils of peits*. Roberts. Index, 60. *Cartwheels* were an article of import, from Flanders, during the reign of James I., who was assassinated, in 1437. Hackluyt's Voyages.

(*f*) There was a suit decided by the lords auditors, in parliament, on the 22d of March 1503-4, by Dame Elspeth, the widow of Sir Thomas Tod, burges of Edinburgh, against James Farley of Braid, for detaining 42 marks Scots money, 12 *oxen*, a *wayne*, a *horse*, a plough, two harrows, 6 bolls of meal, 3½ ells of russet, at 46s. 8d., two ells of welvous, of the value of 5l., and 5 ells of lawn, of the value of 50s. Parl. Rec. 499.

(*g*) The king granted a licence to Henry Anderson of Tralsound, in Pomerania, to bring from thence to Scotland, a number of coaches and waggons, with horses, for the purpose of transporting persons, between Edinburgh and Leith; taking for each person the fare of two shilling Scots money. Privy Seal Record, lxxix. This project was not probably carried into effect. Queen Anne brought with her, from Denmark, in 1590, the first coach.

(*h*) Maitl. Edin. 97. The whole fare of the coach was settled at 1s.; and of each person, at 4d.

(*i*) Ib. 105. From 1721 to 1726, it was the common practice to advertise a coach, returning to London from Edinburgh, for the conveyance of passengers. See the Edin. Courant of those times.

(*k*) The Edinburgh Almanack shows how many coaches now run from Edinburgh, in all directions, every day.

(*l*) The low prices of every thing, which was connected with agriculture, evince the wretched condition of the husbandmen. The following are the prices, from the chamberlain's accounts of

1329:

parliament of James I. cast additional light on agricultural affairs, during his reign (*b*). The statutes of the parliaments of James II. evince a knowledge of legislation, and an ambition to promote the agriculture of the kingdom, which are very remarkable (*i*). During the mild reign of James III., the quiet removal of tenants, at the usual terms, was provided for (*k*). In April 1481, it was enacted, with great attention to the *poor commons*, as well as to the gentry, that no one, coming to the king's host, should waste *the meadows*, or destroy the corns; nor should make spoil of any manner of goods (*l*). During the traitorous year 1482, the insidious war with England created great waste of corn, and cattle; and famine, thereupon, ensued, which caused many deaths (*m*). Those

1329: A horse, 13s. 4d.; an ox, 10s; a sheep, 14d. to 2s.; a swine, 6s. 8d.; a stone of cheese, 1s.; a boll of meal, 1s. 7d.; a boll of barley, 2s. 5d.; a boll of oats, 11d.; a boll of *white* pease, 2s. 4d: Such were the articles, and the prices, in 1329. Compare with them, the articles, and prices of the year 1424, at the distance of almost a century, from Ruddiman's Diplomata: A boll of wheat, 2s.; a boll of rye, barley, or pease, 1s. 4d.; a boll of oats, 6d.; an ox, 6s. 8d.; a horse, 13s. 4d. The parliament of May 1424, ordained taxes to be raised upon cattle, and corn, for paying the king's ransom: The several articles were then valued, as follows; as we may learn, from the Parliamentary Record, 9: The boll of wheat, 2s.; the boll of rye, bear, and pease, 1s. 4d.; the boll of oats, 6d.; a cow, and her follower of two years, 6s. 8d.; a draught ox, of three years old, 6s. 8d.; the wedder, and the ewe, 12d.; gimmers, dinmounts, and goats, 12d.; the wild mare, with her follower of three years old, 10s.; colts of three years, 13s. 4d. The same parliament of May 1424 passed an act against rooks, breeding in the trees of *church-yards*, and *orchards*; as they consumed the corn. Parl. Rec. 10.

(*b*) The export of horses, under three years old, was prohibited. Parl. Rec. 12. The sellers of *hay*, and fodder, within the burroughs, were prohibited from going into the *hay*-house, with a candle, without a lantern. Ib. 17. In May 1426, it was enacted, that every husbandman, tilling with a plough of eight oxen, be required, to sow, at least, a firlot of wheat, and half a firlot of *pease*, with a proportion of *beans*. Every baron was required to sow the same quantities of grain, under a large forfeiture to the king. Ib. 18. In 1439, was the *dear summer*: For, the boll of meal was 24s.; the boll of malt 26s. 8d; and the boll of wheat 30s.: And, many died, for hunger: Chron. at the end of Wyntown.

(*i*) In January 1449-50, an act was passed, "for protecting the poor commons, that till the ground:" Their possessions, and their leases, were declared to remain, though the landlord might sell the soil. Parl. Rec. 31. The scarcity induced, and the parliament ordained, that all manner of corn should be threshed, before the last of May: No one was allowed to hoard. Parl. Rec. 35. In July 1454, the importation of victual was encouraged. Id. In March 1458, the parliament required all landholders to let their lands, in fee-farm. It was then ordained, that all the tenants should be obliged to plant woods, hedges, and broom; and that hedges should be made with *living* wood; that every one having *a plough of eight oxen*, should sow certain quantities of corn; and that *rooks*, and *crows*, building in *orchards*, and other places, should be destroyed. Ib. 43.

(*k*) Ib. 177, on the 20th of November 1469. (*l*) Ib. 268.

(*m*) The old Chron. at the end of Wintown; Parl. Rec, 358.

various measures of those several reigns, wretched as they were, may seem to mark a progress of improvement. But, what useful husbandry could exist, when the neighbouring barons might oppress, with impunity, the king's tenants; when the weak might be oppressed by the strong (*n*). The parliament enforced, in 1504, the act, for the encouragement of letting to lease the lands, in fee-farm (*o*): As far as this measure had a tendency to give permanence to possession, it laid a strong ground, for real improvement. The practice of inclosing was at the same time enforced (*p*). And punishments were provided for those, who stole fish, pigeons, bee-hives, deer, or other articles, from *orchards*, *parks*, or other privileged places (*q*). The frequent returns of scarcity, and of famine, seem to show the bad state of the agriculture, after all those legislative measures of encouragement, or at least protection. But, those various means were obstructed, by the still more terrible times, which ensued: The minority of James v.; the reign of Mary Stewart; the infancy of her son; and the civil wars of her grandson, Charles i.; were all periods of lasting waste (*r*).

Melioration of the means of conveyance is, undoubtedly, a great object. In tracing the improvements of agriculture, we must always advert to the condition of the people, whether happy, or adverse. The emancipation of the *villeyns*, during the progress of the 15th century, was certainly a great step, in genuine melioration. Yet, what could this change avail, during wretched times, arising from foreign, and domestic wars; from the propensity of the strong to oppress the weak; from the want of protection to persons; from the insecurity of property, owing to the prevalence of wrong, rather than the administration of right. In this view of the subject, the establishment of the College of Justice, in 1532, was an important measure, for making both persons, and property,

(*n*) An act was passed, in February 1489-90, during the first year of James iv., "for protecting "the king's tenants, from oppression." Parl. Rec. 366. During the preceding reign, we have seen the tenants of Crosswood apply to parliament, for redress against the violence, and spoliation of Sir James Sandilands. Ib. 247-8.

(*o*) Ib. 493. (*p*) Id.

(*q*) Ib. 492. James iv. was active to introduce horses, and mares, from Spain, and also from Poland. Epist. Reg. Scot. i. 98-9. James v. was equally active, to introduce horses, for the stud, from Denmark, and Sweden. Ib. ii. 36-7. And, Pitscottie tells, 279, that James v. brought home from Denmark great horses, and mares; and put them in parks, that their offspring might be ready to sustain wars, in time of need.

(*r*) The very laws, which were made, during successive reigns, for protecting the tillers of the soil, from spoil, are the best proofs, of the deplorable state of the husbandmen. How could agriculture flourish, if the farmers were occupied with domestic war, throughout a period of twenty years!

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more safe. What availed the making of the best laws, if the people were not prepared to derive any advantage from them; if the rulers were not in a condition to enforce them: And if, at the end of many a year of misery, the insurrections of the Reformation, and the rebellion of the Covenant, left the nobles, and people, in a miserable state of complete exhaustion; without property, or the means of acquiring it; without habits of application, or desire of settlement.

Such was the disastrous state of Scotland, at the epoch of the Restoration. In vain did the parliament meet, to make the most salutary laws, while the government was severe, from a sense of weakness; and the populace were mutinous, from their ignorance of what they owed to themselves, and the state. The first parliament of Charles II., which assembled, at Edinburgh, in January 1661, enacted many laws upon the narrow principles of the mercantile system, which ought to have made the people industrious, and rich, if positive statute could obtain such desireable objects. An act was now passed, "for planting, "and inclosing ground:" Yet, there seems to have been no provision made, for carrying that salutary measure into real effect. A ruined people demanded a law, "for protecting debtors," and another, "for *reducing the interest of* "*money*:" These laws may have given the *debtors* some respite; but, it did not give them *capital*. As it was designed to make the people manufacturers, a law was passed "against the import of *ready made wares*;" and another, for erecting manufactories: These were, immediately, followed by various acts, for preventing the export of linen yarn, woolen yarn, and of skins; for making linen, and stuffs, and soap: Add to all those, which were also passed, a *navigation act*, and an act for *fishings*. The parliament plainly meant well: But, the populace did not concur, in those useful objects: They were not "dull sublunary lovers:" They had set their hearts on the *Covenant*, on *Conventicles*; on every thing, except their *temporal advantage*: And the preachers having an interest to delude them, left the legislators alone, to devise prudential measures of political economy (*s*).

Subsequent parliaments were not discouraged, though the populace, and their preachers, became more frantic. In the session of June 1663, *the Estates* endeavoured, to promote the rebuilding of ruinous houses in burroughs; to incite the practice of agriculture, by passing an act, for encouraging *tillage*, and *pasturage*, by making a law, to allow *the export of corn*, and to prevent the *import of strong waters*: And they enacted another law, for imposing a duty on

(*s*) See the several statutes of the first parliament of Charles II.

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the *import* of *Irish corn*, which was afterward prohibited. Domestic manufactures were again encouraged, by discouraging the introduction of English commodities; and by exempting from duty the materials of manufacture. Foreign commerce was promoted, by appointing *a council of trade*; by empowering the king, to regulate traffic, with foreign states. And, in order, that every one might have the means of engaging, advantageously, in agriculture, in manufactures, and in commerce, the *export of money was prohibited*. *Beggars*, and *vagabonds*, were at the same time denounced, as enemies to the industry, which was so much desired, and was so hard to obtain. In addition to all those legislative measures, which are so plausible in theory, markets on the *Mondays*, and *Saturdays*, were prohibited; as they might possibly interfere, with the practice of piety. Other parliaments passed other statutes of a similar tendency, before the religious delusions of James VII. brought on *the Revolution*. The legislative regulations of King William's parliament did not balance the effects of his wars, foreign, and domestic, on the political economy of a harrassed people. The progress of melioration, from all those measures of encouragement, can scarcely be traced, in the long period, extending from the Restoration to the Revolution, either on the surface of the soil, or in the practices of the people (*t*).

The true epoch of improvement, in Edinburghshire, and indeed, in Scotland, may be marked by the year 1723, when the society of improvers was formed, at Edinburgh, who gave instructions, and examples to the people (*u*). The nobility, and gentry, when they had no longer *religion*, or *politics*, to occupy

(*t*) In vain did projectors propose their discoveries, for the benefit of the dispirited husbandmen. On the 23d of October 1598, the laird of Makerston advertised, that he could make land more fruitful, *by sowing it with salt*. Birrel's Diary, 47. On the 12th of April 1725, Higgins, and his copartners, began to sell their *manure*, for improving of ground, at one shilling sterling a bushel. See the Caledonian Mercury, No. 787. In 1723, was published another edition of Lord Belhaven's *Advice* to the farmers, which contains some useful hints. The spirit of improvement was now roused, and active. In 1718, the *white* wheat of Cleaveland was introduced into Lothian. Edin. Courant, No. 99. In 1723, a new ingredient, for preparing the seed, was frequently advertised, by John Dickson: He appears to have had rivals, who were called *upstarts*. Caledonian Mercury, No. 526, 549, 553.

(*u*) The society of improvers held many meetings: They resolved, in 1725, to discourage the use of *foreign spirits*; to obtain skilful distillers; and to erect manufactories of corn, in proper places. Caled. Mercury, No. 694; Courant, No. 899. We here see the original introduction of distilleries, upon a large scale. The society published, for the benefit of the farmers, a Treatise, on *fallowing*; on *raising grass*; on *training lint*, and *hemp*. Caled. Mercury, No. 722. They promoted the linen manufacture. And, in May 1729, an ox, six feet four inches high, was sold, in the Canongate market. Courant, No. 644.

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them, found an amusement, in cultivating their domains, and in teaching the tenantry to improve their farms (*x*). The great defects of that age, were the want of proper tenures, and adequate capital. It was reserved, for other improvers, in more recent times, to supply both. And, the result has been, after various efforts, to carry up the agricultural practice of this well-tilled shire to possible perfection (*y*).

It is, however, of importance, to trace some of those means, which enabled the husbandmen, to carry forward their agricultural affairs, from inconsiderable beginnings, in a regular progress, to great perfection. The first class of men, in modern times, who distinguished themselves, as active improvers, were the nobility, and gentry, as we have just seen. The next classes of men were the learned professions; the lawyers, and physicians, of Edinburgh, and the country clergy, who turned their talents, and attention, from their proper business, to agricultural pursuits (*z*). The first person, who is recorded, as the earliest improver, in this shire, was Sir John Dick of Prestonfield, who being provost of Edinburgh, at the Revolution, transferred the sweepings of the streets to his own fields (*a*). But, this was said, without consideration: As early as 1630, Sir James Macgill had shown the benefit of manure, and the practice of obtaining it, from Edinburgh (*b*). Sir John Dalrymple of Cousland, the grandfather of the present baronet, was the first improver, who introduced the sowing of turnips, and the planting of cabbages, in the fields: He was among the first, who sowed clover, and rye-grass: And he also greatly improved the breed of horses, and cattle (*c*). Hamilton of Fala set the example of inclosing his estate, by hedge, and ditch, and by sheltering his fields, with clumps of

(*x*) Lord Belhaven, in his very erudite dedication of *his Advice*, in 1723, to the young nobility, and gentry, says, I must confess, I am very well satisfied, to see so much industry of late about the dwelling-houses of most of the nobility, and gentry, within Scotland. His lordship added a sentiment, which it would be injurious to suppress: "Husbandry enlarges a country; and makes it, "as if you had conquered another country adjacent: And, I am sure, a conquest by the spade, and "the plough, is both more just, and of longer continuance; than what is got by sword, and bow."

(*y*) Robertson's Gen. View of the Agriculture of Mid-Lothian.

(*z*) Wight's Survey of Edinburghshire, 1778.

(*a*) Stat. Acco. of Dudingston. The fact is, however, that John Reid, the Scots gardener, said, in 1683, "there is no way, under the sun, so probable, for improving our land, as inclosing, "and planting the same; therefore, I wish, it were effectually put in practice." This ingenious improver was born at Nidderie, in this shire.

(*b*) He entertained, daily, ten horses, for *carrying muck* to Wester-Drylaw, in Cramond parish, from Edinburgh, for the *gooding* of his land, besides procuring lime, at a great expence. Wood's Cramond, 97.

(*c*) Stat. Acco. ix. 282.

planting;:

planting: And this intelligent improver incited a similar spirit of rational improvement among the neighbouring gentlemen (*d*). Thomas Hope of Rankeiler, who had learned the art of farming in England, and Flanders, and was the father of the society of improvers, distinguished himself, during its existence, as a very intelligent, and active improver (*e*). But, above all, the several members of that society, residing about Edinburgh, by their example, as well as their precepts, began to give a more advantageous form to agricultural affairs (*f*). One of the first measures recommended, and enforced, by that society, to the attention of farmers, was *summer fallowing*, with a rotation of barley, wheat, and pease (*g*). There is reason to believe, that the practice of fallowing had been understood, two centuries before, though it had not been skilfully employed. The benefit of manure had been shown, by the practice of Sir John Dick: But, it was reserved for that society to recommend *marle:* Yet, few had adopted this manure, owing to the expence, and to the shortness of the leases; and they proposed this last disadvantage to the consideration of the landlords. The society next recommended the sowing of *turnips*. At the epoch of the Union, the cultivation of that useful root was confined to the gardens, for kitchen use (*h*): But, from the recommendation of the society, and the fitness of the measure, the turnip husbandry was soon transferred to the fields; as it was generally approved. There was, however, nothing said, by the society's treatise, about *potatoes*. The first cultivation of this very important root to the sustenance of life, is said, to have been transferred, from the gardens to the fields, about the year 1744 (*i*). But, the improvers strenuously recommended what

(*d*) Stat. Acco. x. 602.

(*e*) Transac. Soc. Improvers, Ded. vii.

(*f*) See their Transac. by Maxwell, 5. Among those eminent improvers, ought to be mentioned, with just praise, James Small, of Ford, in this shire, who has improved, and brought to perfection, the plough, the great instrument of the best husbandry. Stat. Acco. xiii. 626; Ib. ix. 283.

(*g*) Their *Treatise* of *fallowing*, 1724.

(*h*) Sutherland's Catalogue; the Buccleugh Household Book.

(*i*) Robertson's General View, 67, wherein the potatoe is said not to have been long before cultivated in gardens. Yet, the *Virginia potatoes* were in Sutherland's Catalogue. In the *Scots Gardener* of John Reid, 1683, there are directions for planting potatoes. It is a fact, that potatoes were not planted, in the fields, when the society published their Treatise on fallowing, in 1724: For, Wilson, the quaker, in writing to Thomas Hope of Rankeiler, on this subject, says, "if you "had, in Scotland, the method of planting potatoes, with the plough, you need not lose that "year's crop." Transactions of the Society, 154. As early as December 1720, the largest, and firmest potatoes, were brought to Scotland, from Stoughton, in England. They were sold at 2s. 8d. per bushel. Advertisements in the Caledonian Mercury, No. 616, &c. The cultivation of potatoes,

what was of equal importance to the animal world, *the sowing* of *grass-seeds*; a practice, which had recently been begun, and successfully adopted; yet, was it declined, by some farmers, who were of opinion, that every new practice brought with it great charge, and much labour, attended with some disappointments: Such objections, the improvers answered, by remarking what shows the agricultural state of those times: The farmers, in Scotland, being in use to labour their grounds, at a much smaller expence, and with less industry, than they do in England, were content with a very small return; so that they continued to labour their grounds for corn, till it was reduced to absolute sterility, which may be said of soil, when it does not render *three fold*; but, in England, grounds are regarded, as unfit for tillage, when they render less than *five fold* (*a*): Such, then, are the instructive intimations, which show at once, the misery of the old modes, and the importance of what is called *the rotation of crops*, which relieve the soil, and enrich the husbandman. We may easily suppose, that the advantage of a rotation, being once acknowledged, every one adopted such a sequence of sowing the species of corn, or vegetable, as was most suitable to the soil, or convenient to his circumstances. While the spirit of the farmers was thus roused, at the epoch of that society, in 1723, and their efforts directed to the most advantageous methods, and profitable crops, we hear little of the *means*, by which additional expences were to be defrayed. The society, instead of proposing how *capital* was to be provided, for so many projects, only intimate to the landlords, that the tenants ought to be considered, in the length of their leases, and the moderation of their terms. The *Bank of Scotland* had, however, existed, since the year 1695. It had been in operation, during eight-and-twenty years of difficult times. And, the result had hitherto been, that the bank stock had not been very profitable to the proprietors, nor beneficial to the people; owing to the inability of both, to profit from each other (*b*).

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potatoes, by the plough, in the fields, was soon after introduced; as we may learn from Maxwell's observations on the quaker's letter. Transactions of the Society, 171-2. Yet, in a Treatise, by John Fraser, published, at Edinburgh, in 1757, containing directions how to raise potatoes, he says, "the farmers have *of late* got into the method of raising the red potatoe, by the plough, in "the richest of their grounds; whence people have taken occasion (among the many assigned "causes of dearth) to say, that since potatoes became so plenty, there has never been a cheap "peck of meal." When Wight surveyed this shire, in 1778, he found the *potatoe husbandry* completely established: And, the universal conviction of its great utility to the grower, and consumer, fully settled.

(*a*) The society's Treatise on fallowing, 35-6.

(*b*) On the 5th of April 1722, the adventurers of the bank, at a general meeting, resolved, that a dividend of profits, for the year bygone, should be 2½ per cent. upon the company's capital

While the improvers of Edinburghshire had not yet learned to provide capital, for every exigency, it was important to abridge labour, and improve machinery. It is not exactly ascertained what improver it was, who first tilled with two horse ploughs instead of four. Two clergymen, Doctor Carlisle of Inveresk, and Doctor Grieve of Dalkeith, claim the merit of this practice, about the year 1768. Reflecting on the practice of the ancients; and "having observed the "wheel plough, with two horses, driven by one man, successfully used, *for* "*some years, within the park of Dalkeith*;" resolved to make trial of that method on their own farms, though of a strong clay soil (*c*). They were laughed at, by the farmers, for doing that, with little expence, which they did themselves with great: But, this laughter did not last long. When it was generally perceived, that better crops were raised, by fewer means, the practice of two horse ploughs was gradually adopted, in all the Lothians; while the instrument itself was amended, and supplied at a lower price, by Small, the plough-maker of Dalkeith (*d*). We may thus perceive, however, that this useful practice began, within the park of Dalkeith, where it may have been often seen, by the farmers, without desire of imitation. It is impossible to quit Dalkeith, without concurring, in the general applause, which is willingly paid to the present Duke of Buccleugh, for his protection of the arts, for his practices of husbandry, for his improvements of agriculture, which are as permanently useful in themselves, as they are beneficial to the public.

The city of Edinburgh partook of the general spirit: The town council endeavoured to obtain the improvement of the *Burrough-loch*, or *Common-myre*, forming a part of the Burrough-moor, lying southward of the city, for a great extent. In 1658, the Burrough-loch, with its marshes, were let to John Stratton, for nineteen years. The city, in September 1722, let the same waste to Thomas Hope of Rankeiler, on an improving lease of 57 years, paying yearly £66: 13: 4 (*e*). The Frigget waste, lying along the shore of the Forth, be-

stock. Caledonian Mercury, No. 313. On the 8th of April 1723, the same dividend of 2½ per cent. was voted by the proprietors. Ib. 470. We thus see, that the profits of the bank on its actual stock were only 2½ per cent.

(*c*) We may remember, that in the parliamentary practice, during the reigns of the Jameses, *a plough with eight oxen* was deemed the standard of a *man's means*. This plough of *eight oxen* had come down, from the agricultural days of David 1.

(*d*) See the Rev. Doctor Carlisle's Stat. Acco. of Inveresk, xvi. 12.

(*e*) Maitl. Edin. 173; MS. Contract. During recent times, an act of parliament was passed, to enable the town council of Edinburgh, to drain this Common-myre, or Hope Park, which, from an ornament, had become, owing to neglect, a nuisance.

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tween Leith, and Musselburgh, has been converted, by very different management, into a busy village (*f*). There is scarcely a parish, within Mid-Lothian, that has not shared, in the various meliorations, which the active energy, that was roused, in 1723, has universally produced (*g*). And, the general result has been, in the active progress of seventy years, to employ many people, to lay out much capital, to acquire great profit, and to yield vast advantage to this energetic district (*h*).

From the agriculture, it is natural to advert to the manufactures of Mid-Lothian, which promote, and support each other. During the earliest reigns of the Scoto-Saxon kings, their people must have enjoyed the benefit of those domestic fabrics, without which society can scarcely exist. During those times, we may perceive, in the chartularies, that this shire enjoyed handicrafts, but not manufactories; and the earliest were those, which were connected with agriculture; the manufacturing of corn into meal; and malt into ale, for ages,

(*f*) Stat. Acco. xviii. 361.

(*g*) See the Stat. Accounts of this shire, under the head of improvements.

(*h*) The intelligent writer of the *General View* of the *Agriculture of Mid-Lothian*, in 1795, states the general result, in this manner: The whole operations of agriculture were, in this shire, conducted, by 675 families of farmers, under whom were 2,346 families of *hinds*, who were in constant employment; 1,014 families of mechanics, who depended chiefly on husbandry; and 270 domestic servants: There, moreover, were 460 families of hinds, and mechanics, who were employed, by the land owners, exclusive of casual labourers, during the busy seasons.

He stated the whole capital, which was employed, in this shire, for every agricultural purpose, at - - - - - - - - - £435,000

The annual value of the whole crop - - - - - £488,100

Of this, was paid, yearly, for the rent - - -	£134,575	
for seed - - -	65,000	
for tillage - - -	65,000	
for carriage - - -	65,000	
for other charges - -	103,903	
The whole charges - -	£433,478	
The profit - -	54,722	
		488,100

In the same year, 1795, this agriculturalist gives a different view of the domestic profits of this shire, thus:

The gross produce of the *land*	£516,925;	the rent £145,750, at 30 yrs. purch.;	worth £4,372,500
of the *coal*	60,000;	20,000, at 8	160,000
of the quarries	10,000;	3,333, at 10	33,333
of the houses	156,000;	156,000, at 10	1,560,000
	£742,925	£325,083	£6,125,833

before the practice of distilling grain into spirits was known. The making of salt was very early of great importance to a people, who lived much on salted provisions (*i*). Such was the inconsiderable state of domestic manufactures, at the demise of Alexander III., which was also fatal to husbandry itself. Yet, in those ages, the catching of fish, in the rivers, and lakes, as well as the sea, was an object of active pursuit, and considerable profit, though the fishery was, in those times, carried on, rather for domestic use, than foreign traffic: Nor, beyond the limit of domestic use, has fishery ever been carried, in Mid-Lothian.

At that epoch, ages of warfare, and wretchedness, began, which did not admit of manufactures, or meliorations. During the 14th, and 15th centuries, an independent, but ruined nation, scarcely enjoyed the most common handicrafts. The industrious Flandrikins supplied the Scotish people with almost every necessary, as late as the reign of James I. (*k*). Two centuries of subsequent distractions could not give much energy to the manufactures of Mid-Lothian. And, legislation interposed her encouragements, in vain, to engage men, in those useful labours, while the people possessed neither skill, nor connection, nor capital.

How many efforts were made, by parliament, soon after the Restoration, to introduce, efficiently, various manufactures, active fishery, and numerous shipping, we have already seen. The populace turned away from *temporal* pursuits, in quest of spiritual objects: And, the popular energies evaporated in polemical contest, and fanatical ebullitions. During such a period, a progress, in the efforts of domestic economy, can scarcely be traced. A different spirit was introduced at the Revolution: And some laws were then made, which still continue to produce their beneficial effects. But, the energies of the Scotish people were turned away to distant plantation, from domestic effort; and dis-

(*i*) A *salt-pan* was granted by the charter of David I. to the monks of Holyrood. Maitl. Edin. 146. There were some salt-works on the shores of Mid-Lothian, during the 13th and 12th centuries; as we may learn from the Chartulary of Newbottle. Mary Stewart introduced some foreigners here, who brought in an improved manner of making salt; and who obtained an exclusive privilege, by act of parliament, for carrying on this work. 9th Parl. of Q. Mary, ch. 71. There are many salt-works, on the same shore, at present.

(*k*) The wools of Scotland were, in those times, *draped*, in Flanders. The Scots were supplied out of the low countries with *merceris*, and *haberdasherie*: And half of the Scotish ships were laden with *cart-wheels*, and *barrows*: So that the traffic of Scotland, in that reign, consisted of the *rudest ware*. See the Commercial Poem, which has been transcribed into Hackluyt's Voyages, i. 192.

appointment,

appointment, depression, and tumult, followed, in necessary succession. The year 1695 saw, however, established, at Edinburgh, the Bank of Scotland, with a nominal stock of £100,000 Sterling, with a real capital of £20,000 of the same money. Yet, for this sum, small as it seems to be, it was not easy to find employment, in the business of banking, at Edinburgh, at Glasgow, and at other towns, in Scotland; such was the want of skill, and circulation, of industry, and of opulence, during that uncommercial age. Yet, the African Company, at Edinburgh, attempted, at the same time, to act as bankers, by the circulation of notes, though without success. The bank endeavoured to deal in exchange; but, this practice was soon discontinued, as unprofitable: And, its whole business was now restricted to "the lending of money, which "seemed to be the proper dealings of a bank (*l*)". January 1699 is the epoch of bank notes of £1, which were found to be convenient, in Edinburgh, as well as the country: Yet, in the public markets, they were scarcely circulated; "as nothing answered there, among the common people, but *silver* money, gold "being scarcely known (*m*)." Such, then, was the commercial state of Edinburgh, and of Lothian, at the end of the 17th century. The period, which elapsed, from *the Revolution*, to *the Union*, was a time of more bustle, than business, at Edinburgh, and of more projects than execution.

The Union was a great commercial concern, as well as a speculation of politics. As the two nations were thereby incorporated, there was also to be a community of agriculture, manufacture, and trade. One of the most immediate benefits of the Union was the recoinage of the specie, upon the English principle; so as to obtain uniformity of circulation. New ports were after a while established; new custom-houses were soon settled; and the entrances, and clearances of shipping, were at length made, according to the English modes. And, the Scotish people were fully admitted into a participation of all the advantages of

(*l*) Hist. Acco. of the Bank, 5. They then *discounted some bills*, which was much more congenial to a bank, as well as advantageous to trade, and manufacture, and husbandry. Before the year 1699, there had been issued five kinds of notes; of 100l.; of 50l.; of 20l.; of 10l.; and of 5l.

(*m*) Ib. 6. The circulation of England, during that age, consisted also, in *silver coins*, without much respect to *gold*. The whole circulation of Scotland, at that period, appears, from the recoinage, at Edinburgh, in consequence of the Union, to have been of *silver coins*, as follows:

Of *foreign* silver coins	£132,080 17 Sterling.
Of *milled* Scotish coins	96,856 13
Of *hammered* Scotish coins	142,180 0
Of English milled coins	40,000 0
The whole circulation	£411,117 10

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the English commerce, and colonies. But, it was not so easy to introduce habits of business, spirit of enterprize, the conveniences of correspondence, and the benefits of circulation. And, the Union, the bank, and the recoinage, did not produce any perceivable effect on the general system of commercial affairs, much less on the manufactures of Mid-Lothian; as the people were not yet prepared, to receive, and communicate benefits. When the society of improvers arose, in 1723, they endeavoured to draw the attention of cultivators to the sowing of *lint*, and *hemp*, which they deemed so self-evidently for the advantages both of the farmers, and the manufacturers (*n*). It was found more easy to recommend, than to attract, or enforce; as the individual is always moved, by what he thinks his immediate interest. The greatest stock, which the bank had, theretofore, employed, during the pressing exigences of the most difficult times, was £30,000 (*o*): And, the usual dividend of profit, as we have seen, was only two pounds ten shillings, on every hundred pound: These facts evince, that Scotland was, in those times, without opulence, and circulation, and Mid-Lothian, without manufacture, and traffic. At length, commotion induced policy to establish, at Edinburgh, in 1727, a board of trustees, with a small fund, under parliamentary encouragement, to promote the manufactures, and fisheries, of Scotland. The effects of this establishment were not immediately perceived; but, they have at length been felt, by their magnitude (*p*): They raised

(*n*) The Improver's Treatise on the Training of Lint, and Hemp, 1724: They annexed an appendix of the several statutes, Scotish, and English, for encouraging the manufacture of linen cloth. The linen manufacture, in Mid-Lothian, was, at that epoch, scarcely in existence: For, in 1728, there were made, within this shire, only 747 yards, of the value of 198l. 17s. sterling. On the 9th of December 1726, there were public resolutions, at Edinburgh, by the nobility, and gentry, in favour of the linen manufacture. Caled. Mercury, No. 1,038.

(*o*) The Hist. Account. The bank sent out branches to Glasgow, and Berwick, to Dundee, and Aberdeen; but, they were all removed, before the year 1733; as they were found to be unprofitable. The discreet directors of the bank held as maxims: "It is a vain thought to imagine, that "a bank, in any nation, can supply all borrowers; so as to engross the whole business of lending: "2d, It is impossible to extend their credit, so as to make their notes circulate, in the remoter "parts of the nation." They might have said, in other words, that banking cannot be carried beyond the circulation of any country. Yet, John Law, having more splendid notions, some years before, insisted, that paper money could be circulated to the amount of the value of the whole lands.

(*p*) On the 3d of October 1728, the trustees advertised for persons, who would undertake to erect bleachfields. Courant, No. 547. On the 14th of November 1728, a curious machine, for dressing hemp, and flax, was finished, and much employed. Ib. 559. On the 4th of June 1729, arrived from Holland, Mr. John Lind, with some Dutch bleachers, who are to be employed by him,

raised the linen manufacture of Scotland from two millions of yards to twenty-five millions: And the same manufacture, within Mid-Lothian, from the yearly value of £199, to £35,883. The intelligent mind must supply the intermediate progress, from little to something great. In the twenty years, which elapsed from the establishment of that board, the extent, and value of the linen manufacture, experienced more than a three fold augmentation. The Royal Bank was also established, at Edinburgh, in 1727, with an invidious eye to the Bank of Scotland, which had struggled through difficult times, and supported the weakness of an uncommercial people. The contest, and competition, which ensued, between those rival banks, brought forth an impeded circulation, one of the greatest evils, which can afflict an industrious nation. But, this obstruction did not last long. The *British Linen Company* was established, at Edinburgh, in 1747, which, by bringing more capital, and enterprize, into the intercourses of manufacture, supported the weak, and energized the strong. There were now banks established, at Aberdeen, and at Glasgow. And, yet the bank of Scotland, in March 1753, divided among its proprietors, to the full amount of five on the hundred of their real stock (*q*). Such, then, were the beneficial effects of some competition, of greater industry, of more wealth, and wider circulation.

As the great want, during the infancy of traffic, is the deficiency of capital, the lending of money to the tradesman is the best encouragement. This want was now supplied, as we have seen. The incitements of the society of improvers, who were succeeded, in their principle, and usefulness, by the society of arts; the assiduities of the board of trustees; the rivalities of all those banks; the efforts of the British Linen Company; all tended greatly to prepare the people

him, in a bleacherie, newly created, at Gorgie, near Edinburgh. Ib. 641. On the 17th of the same month, notice was given, that the bleachers, who had been brought, by Mr. John Lind, from Haarlem, were pleased with the water, at Gorgie, where he has begun to bleach, in the manner of Holland: Notice was given that, at the same place of Gorgie, linens were *printed*, and *stamped*, all colours. Ib. 646. This is the *first notice* of printing, and *stamping linen*. On the 15th of July 1729, notice was given, that Mr. Spalden had finished his mills, on the water of Leith, for beating, and switching flax, the first, that were ever set up in this country; and great quantities of flax were already brought thither. Ib. No. 677. On the 1st of September, in the same year, the trustees issued notices of prizes to be given for the shire of Edinburgh; and to be contended for on the 12th, in the Burrough-room. Ib. 696. In 1728, and 1729, there were premiums given, by the trustees, for cultivating hemp, and flax. Id. There are now, in Mid-Lothian, several mills for dressing flax. And, there are extensive bleachfields, in Leswade, Glencross, in Borthwick, and in other parishes. See the Stat. Accounts of those parishes.

(*q*) Scots Mag. 1753, 157. The dividend, we may remember, in 1723, was only 2½ per cent. on the stock.

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of North-Britain, before the commencement of the present reign, how to make a proper use of the commercial establishments of their country. And, the commencement of the reign of George III. may be deemed, more than any other epoch, the true beginning of the effectual improvements, in Edinburghshire.

Whatever there may have been, in Mid-Lothian, formerly, there is now a very considerable capital employed, within it, in various commercial establishments, though this cannot be properly called a *manufacturing shire*. Yet, those manufactures, which chiefly relate to agriculture, and to life, have always abounded, in Edinburghshire: *Milling*, and *malting*, have always been here carried on to a great extent, from the days of David I. to the present (*r*). Every manor formerly had its malt-kiln, and its brewery. Maltsters formerly abounded in Edinburgh, and Leith. The maltsters of both, of the circumjacent country, and indeed the whole kingdom, were brought under the consideration of parliament, in March 1503-4. They were all required to bring their malt to open market, on market days, at particular hours: And, they were required, under penalties, for the making of a chalder of malt, to take no more that one boll

(*r*) David I. granted a miln, at Inveresk, with the manor, and the fishings, to the monks of Dunfermlin. MS. Monast. Scotiæ. The same king, who carried rural economy of every kind to the greatest extent, gave to the monks of Holyrood one of his mills of *Dene*, with the tenth of the multure of his other mill of *Dene*, and of Libertun, and of the *new mill* of Edinsburg. Maitl. Edin. 145. Robert I., in May 1325, granted to the preaching friars of Edinburgh five marks sterling, yearly, out of the firms of his mill of Libertun. MS. Monast. Scotiæ. Sir William Livingston gave the monks of Newbottle, on the 3d of March 1338-9, the privilege, by themselves, or their men, inhabiting their lands of Easter Gorgie, of grinding their corn, cultivated there, at his mill of Gorgie, paying as multure, only one firlot, in the chalder. Chart. Newbottle, 80. This being only a 64th part, was a great abatement of the usual multure, in favour of those monks, who having discovered coal, and improved agriculture, well deserved to be favoured. Many similar grants might be found in the chartularies, as to Mid-Lothian mills. In March 1482, there was a contest before the auditors, in parliament, about the *Powmill* of Dalkeith. Parl. Rec. 275. The thirlage of the country mills only applied to the *grana crescentia*, or growing corns, on the lands, within the servitude of the particular mill; but, the thirlage of the burrough mills was extended to all corn, which was brought within the limits of the servitude, for the support of the inhabitants. At Leith mills, this practice was even carried still further, by taking multure for the great quantities of flour, which was brought into that port, for the use of Edinburgh: This extortion was remedied, in 1491, by 4 Parl. Ja. IV. ch. 44. The mills of Leith were destroyed, during the siege, in 1560. In 1572, the mills about Edinburgh were destroyed, by the king's party. Bannatyne's Journal, 333. The water of Leith is remarkable, for its many mills.

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of bear (*s*). Such, then, were the enmities between the sellers, and buyers, of what were deemed the necessaries of life, which the parliament was obliged to pacify, or to paliate, for preventing the mischiefs of tumult.

In addition to those objects of profit; to the linen trade, which has never been of great value, after every effort of incitement; there now exists, more than ever, a woolen manufacture (*t*). During the reign of James III., there was a domestic manufacture of blankets, which covered the beds of the farmers of Edinburghshire (*u*). And, there was even then some export of woolen cloth (*x*). Such was the woolen manufacture, which has existed here, from the earliest times to the present. Even in the reign of James VI, there were *Flemings*, at Edinburgh, who were engaged as manufacturers (*y*). In 1601, some *Flemings* were brought to Edinburgh, for carrying on the *woolen* manufacture (*z*). The same manufacture exists even now, though to no great importance,

(*s*) Parl. Rec. 494. In November 1526, the parliament took into consideration the complaint of the oppression, which was committed, by the malt-makers of Leith, by raising the prices of grain to an exorbitant rate. The provost of Edinburgh, the justice clerk, and others, were appointed to call the maltmen before them; to bring them before an assize of the country; and if convicted, to punish them, according to law. Ib. 571. We thus see, that the maltsters of that age, gave as much suspicion, and offence, as the distillers of the present. In June 1535, the maltsters of Leith were again accused of extortion, for selling their malt, at exorbitant prices: They were again regulated: And they were now treated as oppressors of the king's people. Ib. 603. A similar statute was also then made, for correcting the extortion of cordwainers, smiths, baksters, brewsters, and all other craftsmen, who sold victual, and salt. Ib. 606. In December 1567, the parliament prohibited the maltsters, from choosing a deacon, or acting as a craft, or corporation. 1 Parl. Ja. VI. act 29. In 1593, a duty of 20s. a-ton, to the king, was imposed on *beer imported*. Parl. 13 Ja. VI. ch. 179.

(*t*) As far back as March 1458, the fabric of woolen was regulated by parliament: And it ordered, that no *dyer* should be a *draper*; nor buy cloth, and sell it again. Parl. Rec. 41. To remedy the evil experienced, by the matting of woolen cloth, it was directed, in November 1469, that woolen cloth should be measured by the *rig*, and not the *selwich*. Ib. 155. The importation of English cloth was prohibited. Ib. 176. In 1477, the town council of Edinburgh appointed the market-place, for the *linen*, and woolen cloth. Maitl. Edin. 14. In January 1476, the Websters of Edinburgh were erected into a corporate body, by a charter, from the town council. Ib. 307. In February 1521, that charter was confirmed, with this additional privilege, of receiving, from every country weaver, who wrought for the people of Edinburgh, one penny a-week, for the support of their altar of St. Soverane, in St. Giles's kirk. Ib. 308.

(*u*) Parl. Rec. 248.

(*x*) Maitl. Edin. 9.: Major, l. i. c. vi., takes notice of a woolen manufacture near Leith; whence, the best clothes in Scotland had their name.

(*y*) Unprinted Act, 11th Parl. Ja. VI., a ratification to the *craftsmen Flemings*.

(*z*) Maitl. Edin. 55.

in Edinburgh, at Inveresk, and at Stow (*a*). There are iron works, in the vicinity of Edinburgh, and at Cramond, which are carried to a great, and useful extent (*b*). Leather, in great abundance, is manufactured, at Edinburgh (*c*). The making of glass, at Leith, has long been there made; and is carried on to great perfection, and profit (*d*). Here, also, are made sope, candles, and sugar, with abundant profit to the tradesmen, and benefit to the public (*e*). Cotton mills have been erected in this shire (*f*). Near Edinburgh, cottons, shawls, cassimers, have been introduced, with good success (*g*). Paper-making, which was introduced here, in pretty early times, has been carried up, in this shire, to great value (*h*): And, the printing of books is now executed, at Edinburgh, with accuracy, and elegance, at charges sufficiently cheap (*i*). Coach-making, which was first introduced here, in 1699, has been cultivated into elegance; and has been carried the length of exportation, for the use of other countries (*k*). Some other manufactures, both laborious, and scientific, are carried on, at Edinburgh, and at Leith, with benefit to the undertakers, and advantage to the public (*l*). Breweries, which are so ancient, and distilleries, that are so modern, are equally conducted here, with great emolument to the parties, and benefit to the people (*m*). There is a very busy scene of various manufacture, at Inveresk, of cloth, of sope, of starch, of pottery, of malt, and ale, and spirits, and of salt, which was probably made here, in early times (*n*). In Colington parish, also, there are various manufactories, which have augmented the wealth, and increased the people of this district (*o*). The proprietors of salt-works, and the salters, have undergone many regulations (*p*). Along the coast of Musselburgh, there are great quantities of salt manufactured (*q*). In Dudingston parish, there are six pans, which make annually

(*a*) Stat. Acco. vii. 138; xvi. 13; and Arnot's Edin. 590-1.
(*b*) Roberts. Survey, 189; Wood's Cramond, 89. (*c*) Arnot's Edin. 595.
(*d*) Robertson's Survey, 185. (*e*) Id.
(*f*) Ib. x. 422. (*g*) Stat. Acco. vi. 593-4—6.
(*h*) Ib. v. 223; xiv. 359; vi. 595; x. 279: Inquis. Special. Edin. 117; Courant, No. 738.
(*i*) Arnot's Edin. 599. (*k*) Id. (*l*) Ib. 600-1. (*m*) Id.
(*n*) Ib. xvi. 13—15. (*o*) Ib. xix. 580.
(*p*) 5th Parl. Ja. vi. ch. 56. No person could hire a salter, without a testimonial, from their last master: And the proprietors of salt-pans were empowered to seize vagabonds, and other beggars, and to oblige them to work. 18th Parl. Ja. vi. ch. 2. During the zealous years 1640, and 1641, the assembly, and parliament, concurred to reprobate, and restrain the working of salt-pans, on a Sunday. Salt-works were declared to be free; and to be deemed public manufactures. Parl. i. Car.. ii. ch. 27.
(*q*) Stat. Acco. xvi. 15.

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18,000 bushels (*r*). The profit of those establishments is considerable, and employs many people. Above all, there are, at Leith, manufactures of iron, which is very old here, and of shipping to a great extent, with sail-cloth, and cordage, in abundance (*s*). In every kirk-town, within this shire, there are domestic manufactories, of greater, or less, accommodation to the people, and benefit to the workmen: Yet, is not Mid-Lothian considered as a manufacturing shire; because it has neither a great woolen, nor linen, nor cotton manufacture, whatever it may have of iron, in all its varieties. There is another kind of business, at Edinburgh, which, though it does not employ many hands, is yet the cause of many hands being employed: It is *banking*, of which Edinburgh is the great scene; and which, when prudently managed, facilitates circulation, and supplies capital, the mighty means of rousing to many enterprizes, and putting in motion so much labour.

Mid-Lothian, whether we regard its agriculture, its manufactures, or its commerce, must be deemed, in a very prosperous state. It had some trade, and some shipping, in very early times. It had the kings, and abbots, for its traders (*t*). The port of Inverleith was granted, by David I., to the abbey of Holyrood. This confluence of Leith water, which contributes so much to the use, and ornament, of the city, and the shire, continued, during the middle ages, dependant, and inconsiderable. Edinburgh, as we may infer from its charters, acquired, during those ages, a monopoly of the traffic, within the compass of Mid-Lothian, according to the narrow maxims of uninformed times. The magistrates of the city were ambitious of domination over Leith; and after many a struggle obtained it. The whole trade of import, comprehending groceries, and

(*r*) Stat. Acco. xviii. 368. From those works, is the city of Edinburgh supplied, by women, who bring it on their backs, from the makers, to the consumers: About 50 of those salt-women reside in Inveresk parish; and 40 of them, in Dudingston parish. Ib. xvi. 23; Ib. xviii. 368.

(*s*) Ib. vi. 570; Arnot's Edin.; Roberts. Survey, 187—9.

(*t*) We may trace, in the chartularies, the kings, and nobles, and bishops, and abbots, carrying on trade, for their domestic supply, perhaps. In April 1457, George de Fawlaw, the *king's merchant*, was appointed, by James II., one of his commissioners to treat with the English. Rym. xi. 398. In 1459, there were several grants to John Dalrymple, *the king's merchant*, for his services, at home, and abroad. Scotstarvit's Calendar. In April 1448, John de Dalrymple, baillie of the burrough of Edinburgh, was one of the Scotish ambassadors, for whom passports were granted. Rym. xi. 213. James III. had his ship, which was taken, by a vessel, belonging to the Duke of Glocester: And, in April 1475, the English ambassador, Doctor Leigh, was instructed to give complete satisfaction to the Scotish admiral, for that ship. He was also directed to give satisfaction, for a ship belonging to the laird of Luf, which had been captured by Lord Gray. Those instructions remain, in Vesp. c. xvi. fo. 118.

merceries, and of exports, consisting of the rude produce of the soil, were now conducted through Leith, according to the mean motives of monopoly, and the interested legislation of the burroughs. The merchants of Edinburgh, however, upon some memorable occasions, merit the praise of liberality: When the state was in danger, under James III., they interposed their credit: And, when the Revolution was to be accomplished, they offered to furnish the means, upon slight security. In more modern, and opulent, and refined times, the import trade of this shire consists of all that is necessary, and luxurious; and its exports comprehend all the produce of the soil, and all the manufactures of skill, and diligence (*u*). When Berwick ceased to belong to Scotland, owing to the treacheries of Angus, and Albany, Leith became, perhaps, the chief port, while Edinburgh equally assumed the consequence of the metropolis (*x*). During the mild tyranny of Oliver Cromwell, Leith was allowed to be the principal port of North-Britain (*y*); as the chief custom-house was then established in its neighbourhood. The *Restoration*, and the *Revolution*, did not add many shipping to the port of Leith, though the progressive gains of a century added a great number (*z*). The augmentation of the numbers of shipping may, perhaps, be thought satisfactory proof of a progressive increase of trade. In 1717, the limits of this port were again set forth, according to those of 1656 (*a*). The traffic of this port employed, of shipping to carry it on, during

(*u*) See the custom-house details, in Arnot's Edinburgh.

(*x*) When the English came into the Forth, with a hostile fleet, in 1544, they perceived Leith, to be a rich town, comparing it with the rich towns of England. In September 1547, after the battle of Pinkie, the English found 13 ships in Leith harbour, and such a quantity of wiaes, wainscot, and salt ware, as could not be carried away. Patten, 78. In 1549, Leith was regarded, by Beague, 65, as *the emporium of commerce*, in Scotland. In that age, Leith was certainly deemed of great importance. See its law suit with Edinburgh, in 1697. Fountainhall, i. 742-59-65.

(*y*) Tucker's MS. Report; In 1656, Leith, however, only owned 3 vessels of 250 tons; 11 of 20; being in all, 14 vessels, bearing 970 tons.

(*z*) Gent. Mag. 1752, 477; and Register of shipping. Of vessels, there belonged to Leith,

In 1692	-	-	1,702 tons.
In 1744	-	-	2,285
In 1752	-	-	5,703
In 1787	132 ships	-	14,150
In 1792	168	-	18,468
In 1802	157	-	18,241
In 1808	160	-	20,022

(*a*) The date of that re-establishment is the 25th of July 1717: And, its limits were again assigned, from the Frigget burn, on the east, and Cramond water, on the west; and its extent is six

during the year 1800, 110 vessels, bearing 11,585 tons: And, the value of the cargoes, which were transported by those shipping, are estimated, at upwards of half a million. The confluence of the Esk was probably an earlier port, than even Inverleith (*b*). David I. gave the port of Inveresk, which comprehended Musselburgh, to the monks of Dunfermlin (*c*). Robert I. confirmed to those monks their ancient privileges, within this port, and added more (*d*). But, Musselburgh, and Inveresk, with the Frigget burn, are now included, within the inconsiderable port of Preston-Pans. And, the shipping, and business, of this district, are now absorbed, by the carrying trade of Leith, which is every year acquiring more activity, and greater extent, from the augmented numbers of its traders, and the vast increase of their capitals. The whole Forth, in one sense, may be considered, as the port of Edinburgh, though this estuary be divided into many districts, for the convenience of admitting the ships to their entrance, at the customhouse (*e*). The intelligent mind must fill up the intervenient progress, from the reign of David I. to the present, throughout so many ages of warfare, and debility, to our own times of vigour, and prosperity (*f*).

§ VIII. *Of*

six miles along the Forth; comprehending, as creeks, Craigentinnie, Newhaven, Royston, Muirhouse, and Cramond. A Custom-house Report.

(*b*) David I. granted to the monks of Dunfermlin "omnes rectitudines de omnibus naves, que "in portu de Inveresk applicuerint." MS. Charters.

(*c*) Monast. Scotiæ. Pope Gregory confirmed, in 1234, to the monks of Dunfermlin, "*burgum* "et *portum* de Musselburgh, cum omnibus libertatibus suis; et Inveresk." Id.

(*d*) Roberts. Index, 20. Robert III. confirmed to the same monks "totam novam magnam "custumam nostram," within their lands of Dunfermlin, Kirkaldy, Musselburgh, and the Queen's Passage.

(*e*) It may gratify a reasonable curiosity, to be informed that, in 1808, there were 6,617 ships, which navigated, in the Forth; carrying 462,681 tons.

(*f*) See the Commercial Tables, in this volume, ch. I. The whole excise, according to the three years average, ending with 1802, which was paid by the city of Edinburgh, with a part of Edinburghshire, was 308,635l. The same excise, which, during the same period, was collected from the city of Glasgow, with a part of Lanerkshire, and all Dunbartonshire, was 125,412l. These statements show the relative consumption of each of those cities, and districts. We shall have a different view of the several means of the same cities, and districts, from the following facts: The *commercial* assessment on Glasgow, in 1800, was 30,735l. 18s. 6d.; The commercial assessment on Edinburgh, in the same year, was 7,263l. 15s. 6¾d.: And these commercial assessments evince how much more capital is employed in commercial enterprizes, at Glasgow, than at Edinburgh; and, it is the contrast of both, which supplies the instruction of those curious facts. In the

§ VIII. *Of its Ecclesiastical History*]. The Roman legionaries, who delighted to dwell along the salubrious shores of Mid-Lothian, as well as the Romanized Britons, probably, enjoyed the religious benefits of the Christian dispensation. The successive settlers, in the same land, the Pagan Saxons, and the Christianized Scots, witnessed many changes, in the ecclesiastical polity of this pleasant country.

The Saxon colonists of Mid-Lothian derived much religious instruction, as well from the pious efforts of the worthy Baldred, as from the wider excursions of the excellent Cuthbert (*g*): Yet, legend itself does not pretend, that the people of Edinburgh, or its vicinage, received any of the comforts of instruction, from the peregrinations, or the miracles of St. Giles.

The epoch of the bishoprick of Lindisfarn is 635 A. D. It undoubtedly comprehended Edinburgh: And we know, that the Northumberland Ceolwulf annexed to the same bishoprick the monastery of Abercorn, and other places, lying westward of that ancient burgh (*h*). But, the abdication of the Northumbrian authority over Lothian, equally put an end to the episcopal jurisdiction of the Northumbrian bishops.

When the Scotish kings obtained undisputed authority over the utmost bounds of Lothian, the bishop of St. Andrews, naturally, assumed the ecclesiastical

the year, which ended with July 1802, the whole public money, which was remitted, through Edinburgh, to London, was

For the excise	£833,000	0	0 Sterling.
For the customs	190,000	0	0
For the stamps	157,078	18	8
For the post office	520,289	2	7
	£1,790,185	13	4
Exclusive of what were paid for bounties, on corn imported	170,000	0	0
	£1,960,185	13	4

And, it is again, by contrasting this great sum with the small amount of the Scotish revenues, on which the estimates of *the Union* were made, in 1706, that we clearly discern how much every district of Scotland had increased, during the intervenient period, in agriculture, in manufacture, in commerce, and in opulence.

(*g*) The district of Baldred extended, as we have seen, to *Eskmuthe*; and the diocese of Cuthbert comprehended, within its ample bounds, the whole of Lothian, during the Saxon times: And, we may determine, with regard to the influence of Cuthbert, from the number of churches, which were dedicated to his respected name; as St. Cuthbert's, at Edinburgh, and other parishes, throughout the southern shires.

(*h*) Lel. Col. xiii. 181; Ang. Sacra, i. 698-703; and with those authorities concur Simeon of Durham, and Bromton.

jurisdiction,

jurisdiction, throughout its whole extent, which seems to have been relinquished to him, without a rival. And, we may see Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, exercising episcopal authority over the whole churches, "in *Lothonie*," as early as 1127 A. D.; when John, the recent bishop of Glasgow, witnessed that exercise of his undisputed power (*i*). Under the superintendance of the bishop of St. Andrews, the Lothians continued, till the religious zeal of recent times introduced unstable innovations. In 1633, a period unpropitious to prelacy, that part of the episcopate of St. Andrews, lying southward of the Forth, and comprehending Stirlingshire, Linlithgowshire, Edinburghshire, the constabulary of Hadington, Berwickshire, and Lauderdale, was erected, in an evil hour, into the see of Edinburgh (*k*).

When the Scotican establishment was reformed, by the liberal spirit of David I., the churches of Mid-Lothian were, probably, placed under the subordinate authorities of the deans of Lothian, and Linlithgow. Under them, the various churches of this shire were severally placed, as we may learn, from the ancient *Taxatio* (*l*). Of old, the *archdeacons*, and *deans*, of *Lothian*, were persons of great authority; as we may indeed learn, from the chartularies, wherein we distinctly see them, acting in the scene, very conspicuous parts (*m*).

This

(*i*) Smith's Bede, 769.

(*k*) The charter of erection is, in Keith's Bishops, 20.

(*l*) There were, in *decanatu* de *Linlithgow*:

	Mercas.
Ecclesia de Penicok	20
Ecclesia de Pentland	12
Ecclesia de Lessewade	90
Ecclesia de Mallavill	20
Ecclesia de Wymet	20
Ecclesia de Dodingston	25
Eccles. S^ti Ægidii de Edin.	26
Eccles. S^ti Cuthberti sub castro	160
Ecclesia de Gogyr	12
Ecclesia de Halis	60
Ecclesia de Ratheu	70
Ecclesia de Kelleleth	50
Ecclesia de Newton	15
Ecclesia de Kaledour cler.	30
Ecclesia de Kaledour com.	40

In *decanatu Laudonie*:

	Mercas.
Ecclesia de Muskilburg	70
Ecclesia de Cranstoun	60
Ecclesia de Creichtoun	30
Ecclesia de Fauelaw	6
Ecclesia de Locherwer	40
Ecclesia de Kerynton	18
Ecclesia de Kocpen	20
Ecclesia de Klerkyngton	8
Ecclesia de Maisterton	4
Ecclesia de Heriet	30
Ecclesia de Monte Laudonie	12

In *decanatu de Merske*:

Ecclesia de Waedale	70

(*m*) Chart. Kelso, 27—285. John of Leicester, the cousin of William, the lion, was archdeacon of Lothian, in 1203. Ib. 142. He was elected bishop of Dunkeld, in 1211. Keith's Bishops, 48. And dying, at Cramond, in 1214, he was buried, in Inchcolm. Fordun. William de Bosco, who was chancellor to Alexander II., was archdeacon of Lothian. Keith's Bishops, 141.

Walter

This dignitary seems to have gradually given way to an *official*, or deputy, for executing the archdeacon's jurisdiction, or as the delegate, to whom the bishop generally committed the charge of his spiritual authority. After the reign of James III., the archdeacon of Lothian seldom was seen. And, John Cameron, who rose to be bishop of Glasgow, appeared, as early as 1422, in the character of *official of Lothian*. Nicolas Otterburn, a canon of Glasgow, acted as the same official, under James II., from whom he was a frequent envoy (*n*). John Otterburn, who is said to have divorced the Duke of Albany, from his first wife, in his character of official of Lothian, certainly acted, in that office, from 1467 to 1473 (*o*) He was, no doubt, succeeded, by the celebrated William Elphinston, in 1474, as official of Lothian (*p*), who rose, from this situation, to be bishop of Aberdeen. The *official of Lothian* was present, on the 19th of September 1513, in the general convention at Stirling, when he was chosen one of the council, which was to assist the queen (*q*). The officials of Lothian, as they generally resided, at Edinburgh, became extremely useful, in the public conventions. Under all those influences, the ecclesiastical affairs of Mid-Lothian continued to be fitly managed, till the Reformation placed them under the popular regimen of presbyteries, and synods.

The age of David I. was a period of piety, when the founding of religious houses was deemed a munificent act. The worthy David had seen this spirit, and that practice, during his residence, at the splendid court of Henry I. And, when he ascended the Scotish throne, he perceived, how much the same policy might benefit such subjects as his, who were ruder, from ancient habit, and more various, from recent colonization. Near his castle, and town of Edwinsburgh, he dedicated, for canons regular, whom he brought from St. Andrews, a religious house, to Mary, and to *All Saints* (*r*). To that noble endowment, many

Walter Wardlaw, who was secretary to David II, and employed, in his confidential negotiations, was archdeacon of Lothian, in 1361; he was consecrated bishop of Glasgow, in 1368: And, he died a cardinal, in 1389. Keith, 145-6. That eminent ecclesiastic was followed, as archdeacon of Lothian, by some considerable men, who rose high, in the Scotican church, and state.

(*n*) Rym. xi. 213.

(*o*) Parl. Rec. 152—61—74; and see before, 268-9.

(*p*) Parl. Rec. 211; and before, 269. The *officials of Lothian* seem to have sat in parliament, in virtue of their office; and were generally chosen on the committee of causes. See the Parl. Rec. throughout.

(*q*) Ib. 525.

(*r*) The foundation charter of David I. has been transcribed, though not very accurately, into Maitland's Edinburgh: This ample charter, was confirmed by Robert I., and by David II., in 1343,

many additions were made, of lands, and churches, in several shires, during the long progress of the religious spirit. And, in the *ancient Taxatio*, the whole lands of this abbey, which was called Holycross, or *Holyrood*, were assessed at £88. The abbot, and canons, were invested with as large a jurisdiction, as the bishop of St. Andrews, or the abbots of Dunfermlin, or Kelso. They were endowed with the privilege of sanctuary, which remains to this day, annexed to the palace of Holyrood (*p*). They were empowered to build a burrough adjoining to Edinburgh, which now forms the well-known suburb, called the Canon-gate (*q*). They were enabled to trade, in any town, or to send their ships to any country (*r*).

The abbey of Holyrood, connected as it was with the capital, with the parliament, and with the king, has been always a place of note. Fergus, the lord of Galloway, one of its earliest benefactors, retired, in 1160, from the infelicities of life, to this abbey, where he died, in the subsequent year: His son, Uchtred, was also a benefactor to the same canons. In 1206, John, the bishop of Candida Casa, found refuge here, from a censorious world; as we

1343, when he added a donation of the king's chapel, and declared the abbot of Holyrood to be his principal chaplain: The foundation charter was further confirmed by Robert III., in 1391. Hay's Vindication of Elizabeth More, 125.

(*p*) Birrel, in his Diary, often mentions the *Girth-cross*, at the foot of the Canongate, near the abbey. This cross was the limit of the sanctuary. Maitl. Edin. 154. The precinct of the palace forms still a sanctuary, for debtors, the limits whereof are described, in Maitland, 153.

(*q*) Abbot Robert, who flourished, under Alexander III., granted a charter of privileges to the people of the Canongate. Maitl. Edin. 147.

(*r*) "Anº 1128, cepit fundari ecclesia Sanctæ Crucis de Edeneshurch." Chron. St. Crucis; Chron. Mailros. Alwin was the first abbot, who resigned his charge, in 1150, and died in 1155, when he must have been aged. The seven-and-twentieth, and last abbot, was Robert Stewart, the natural son of James V., by Euphemia, the frail daughter of Lord Elphinston. In this charge, he appears to have been placed very young: And, in that age, the king's bastards, as the last corruption of a corrupt age, were introduced into the greatest bishopricks, and the richest abbeys. This abbot of Holyrood, who was known, in the court of Queen Mary, by the name of Lord Robert, became, in 1559, a protestant, and one of the reformers: And, in 1561, he married Lady Jane Kennedy, of the house of Cassilis. In November 1563, the queen settled a considerable revenue on him, out of her thirds, of the revenues of his abbey, for the education of his three lawful children, and two natural sons. This grant was ratified, by the parliament of April 1563, in which he sat, as abbot of Holyrood. Parl. Rec. 751—5. In 1569, he exchanged his abbey, for the temporal estates of the bishoprick of Orkney, with Adam Bothwell, the bishop, who was empowered to grant them. Adam, and his son, were commendators of Holyrood, the estates whereof were converted, by the impolicy of James VI., into a temporal lordship, by the title of Holyrood-house. Crawford's Peer. 185.

may learn from Fordun. Adam, the abbot of Holyrood, had his full share, both of the honours, and wretchedness of the succession wars (*s*). The monastery was plundered by Edward II.'s army, when it retired from Lothian, in August 1332 (*t*). Edward Baliol held his parliament, in the church of Holyrood, in February 1333-4 (*u*). When the Duke of Lancaster sought refuge, in Scotland, during the year 1381, he found hospitable entertainment, in Holyrood abbey (*x*). During the furious inroad of Richard II., in 1385, he burnt the monastery of Holyrood (*y*). When Henry IV. advanced to Leith, in 1400, he assured the monks of Holyrood, that he would not injure the house, wherein his father had found refuge (*z*). Robert III., when he came to Edinburgh, resided sometimes in the castle, and at other whiles, in the abbey (*a*). James I., with his queen, while at Edinburgh, resided in Holyrood abbey (*b*): And, herein was she delivered of male twins, on the 16th of October 1430. James II., one of those twins, upon succeeding his father, was crowned, in this abbey, on the 25th of March 1437 (*c*): He was married therein, to Mary of Guelder, in June 1449; and, he was buried, in the same abbey, in August 1460: So that James II. was born, crowned, married, and buried, in the abbey of Holyrood: He seems to have had a house, in Edinburgh, wherein he generally dwelt, while he sojourned, in the metropolis. James III. resided in Holyrood abbey, while he gladdened Edinburgh with his presence (*d*).

But, James IV. seems to have been the first of the Scotish kings, who here built a palace, which was near, but distinct, from the abbey: And, in this palace, he certainly received Margaret of England, on his marriage, in August

(*s*) There is a writ of Edward II., dated the 8th of April 1310, directing his chamberlain, in Scotland, to settle accounts with the abbot, and canons of Holyrood: He was to estimate what corn, cattle, victual, and other goods, had been taken, from the canons, by the constables of the castles of Edinburgh, and Stirling, and the keeper of the Pele of Linlithgow; and to allow them the value, which was to be deducted, from 148 marks, that were due the king, from the abbot and canons, for the fee-firm of the lands of Carse. Rot. Scotiæ, 81. They rented the Carse of Stirlingshire, for a fee-firm rent of 60l. sterling, a-year.

(*t*) Fordun, xiii. c. 4. (*u*) Rym. iv. 592. (*x*) Fordun, xiv. 46.

(*y*) Bower, xiv. 50. (*z*) Bower, xv. 2.

(*a*) It was in the abbey, that he granted the remission to Albany, and Douglas, for his son, Rothsay's death. Parl. Rec. 137.

(*b*) Parl. Rec. 29-73. (*c*) Parl. Rec. 29-73.

(*d*) He was married to Margaret of Denmark, in the abbey, on the 13th of July 1469. MS. Chron. at the end of Wyntown.

1503.

1503 (*e*). In April 1506, the palace seems to have been damaged by fire (*f*). During the inroad of the Earl of Hertford, in May 1544, the abbey of Holyrood, and the adjoining palace, were burnt, by the English army (*g*). After the battle of Pinkie, in September 1547, the protector Somerset sent two commissioners, Boham, and Chamberlayne, to suppress the monastery of Holyrood (*h*). In the abbey church, there were, before the Reformation, various altars, at which chaplains performed, according to their several endowments (*i*). The reformers, on the 29th of June 1559, spoiled the abbey, and damaged the palace of Holyrood (*k*). Queen Mary, on her return, took possession of the palace, on the 19th of April 1561; in the abbey church, she was married to Lord Darnley, on the 29th of July 1566. And, on the 15th of May 1567, the same queen married James, Earl of Bothwel, in the hall of the palace (*l*). But, on the 18th of June 1567, two days after the queen's imprisonment, the Earl of Glencairn spoiled the chapel of Holyroodhouse (*m*), as we have seen. At the suppression of this abbey, it enjoyed the greatest revenue, which any of the religious houses, in the southern shires, possessed (*n*).

(*e*) Lel. Col. iv. 290—6. On the 16th of February 1505-6, the king, in parliament, ratified his gift of 20 marks, from the great customs of Edinburgh, for the maintenance of a chaplain, to sing in the chapel, within his palace of Holyrood, and for his fee, in keeping the palace. Parl. Rec. 523; and MS Donations.

(*f*) On the 17th of April 1506, James IV. granted a charter to the Earl of Huntly, in which he recited, that the earl's title-deeds had *been lately consumed*, by fire, in his lodging, within the royal palace. Gordon's Hist. Gordons, i. 408. James V. built an addition to the palace; and is said to have inclosed the King's Park.

(*g*) Expedition, 7-11: Both are said to have been soon repaired. Arnot's Edin. 253.

(*h*) They found, that the monks had fled; but the church, and a great part of the house, were well covered with lead: They pulled off the lead, and *took down* the *two bells*: And, according to the statute, did hereby somewhat disgrace the house; and the monks, as they had fled, were put to their pensions, at large. Patten's Expedition, 82. Thus, did the protector execute the English law upon the unoffending abbey!

(*i*) Two of those altars were consecrated to St. Andrew, and St. Catharine. Maitl. Edin. 154. Another was dedicated to St. Anne, by the taylors of Edinburgh. A fourth altar was founded, by the cordwainers, to St. Crispin, and Crispinian, whose statues were placed on it. Dalzell's Cursory Remarks, 17.

(*k*) Lesley, 551. (*l*) Birrel, 9. (*m*) Keith, 407.

(*n*) The revenue of the abbey of Holyrood, which was returned, at the Reformation, was 2,926l. 8s. 6d. in money; in victual, 26 chalders 10 bolls of wheat; 40 chalders 9 bolls of bear; 34 chalders 15 bolls 3 firlots 3½ pecks of oats; and, 4 chalders of meal: There were, moreover, belonging to it, 501 capons, 24 hens, 24 salmon, 3 swine, and 12 loads of salt, which were due, as services. Books of Assumption; and Books of Assignation: The revenues of two only of its cells are mentioned; St. Mary's isle, at 307l 11s. 4d., without any statement of victual; Blantyre, at 131l. 6. 7½d. in money, without any return of victual.

In after times, the abbey church was fitted up, and used as the parish church of the Canongate. In 1617, James VI. ordered this chapel to be repaired: And, for this useful end, he sent some carpenters from London, with directions to set up in it the portraits of the apostles. Rumour was now busy, to inform the populace, that graven images were to be set up, and worshipped. A ferment ensued: And the bishop of Galloway, as *dean of the chapel*, wrote the king, that the discontinuance of his purpose would allay the fermentation. The king, in an angry mood, lamented, that prejudice could not distinguish between ornament, and image; between the incitement to devotion, and the adoration of an idol (*q*). After this ferment had been merged in much greater ferments, Charles II. ordained the abbey church to be set apart, in future, as a chapel royal; and directed, that it should no more be used as the Canongate church. It was now elegantly fitted up, and appropriated, as a chapel, for the sovereign, and the knights of the order of the thistle, with the useful decoration of an organ (*r*). But, this attempt at splendour, in the chapel royal, was ruined, at the Revolution, by the zeal of insurgency (*s*). The palace, which had been dilapidated, during the grand rebellion, was ordered to be rebuilt, by Charles II., under the architectural genius of Sir William Bruce (*t*). By the act of Union, the palace of Holyrood was specially appointed, as the appropriate place, for the meeting of the Scotish peers, to choose their representatives, in the united parliament.

David I., actuated by similar motives, also founded, on the Esk, in 1140, a monastery, at Newbotle, for Cistercian monks, who were brought, from Melros (*u*). The place derived its name, from the Saxon *botle*, villa, domi-

(*q*) Spottiswoode, 530. On the 28th of June 1633, there passed an act, concerning the dissolution [dis-annexation] of the abbey of Holyrood. Unprinted Act.

(*r*) On the 12th of July 1687, the key of the chapel of Holyroodhouse was ordered to be given to the knights of the order of the thistle. Fountainhall, i. 466.

(*s*) Arnot's Edin. 254. Maitland, in his Hist. of Edin., 156—60, has transcribed the monumental inscriptions, in the abbey church. By unskilfully attempting to put a stone roof on this chapel, of a weight heavier than the walls could bear, was "crushed down, with a heavy fall," the ancient fabric.

(*t*) See delineations of this palace in Slezer, and Maitland, and a description, in Arnot, 305. In the Edinburgh Courant, No. 639, there is a notice of Alexander Hamilton, writer to the signet, as baillie of the royal palace, and privileges of Holyrood, who succeeded his father, Lord Pencaithland, in 1729, in this singular office.

(*u*) Chron. Mail.

cilium:

cilium: And, it was probably called Newbotle, by some Saxon settler here, in contradistinction to Eld-botle, or Old-botle, in East-Lothian (*x*).

The endowment of this house was less abundant, than that of Holyrood. David I. granted to the monks the whole manor of Newbotle, except the lands, which were held of him, by Robert Ferrers (*y*). He gave them the district of Mor-thwaite, which, by various mutations, is now called Moor-foot, on the South-Esk. He gave them the lands of Buchalch, on the Esk (*z*). He conferred on them a salt-work, at Blackeland, in Lothian, and the right of pannage, and the privilege of cutting wood, in his forests (*a*). The munificent David also assigned them the patronage of several churches, and the benefit of some revenues. The example of so good a prince was followed, by his grandson, Malcolm, by the Countess Ada, the widow of Earl Henry, and by William, the lion, who granted them the lands of Mount-Lothian; and, with some special services, he confirmed the grants of David I., and of Malcolm IV. The first abbot of Holyrood, the bountiful Alwin, relinquished to the monks of Newbotle the lands of Pettendriech, on the Esk. His example was followed, by various other persons of equal piety, in giving lands in the country, tofts in the towns, and churches in several shires. Alexander II., who delighted to dwell at Newbotle, gave them various donations; and the monks, in return, gave Mary, his wife, a grave (*b*). Pope Innocent, in 1203, by a bull, confirmed all their possessions, and privileges; and, by another bull, he prohibited all persons, from extorting teinds from their lands, which they held, or cultivated (*c*). In 1293, William de Lindsay gave the monks an annuity of £20 Sterling, which he received from Symonstoun, in Kyle, and which he directed to be distributed in specified modes, that exhibit the manners of a rude age (*d*). And, David II. gave the monks a charter, enabling them to hold

(*x*) Several places, in England, are named *Newbotle*: There are two, in Northampton, one in Durham, one in Rutland, exclusive of several on *the wall*, near Newcastle.

(*y*) Chart. Newbot. 12. (*z*) Ib. 27-28-11.

(*a*) Ib. 28. He gave them another salt-work, in the Carse of Calender, in Stirlingshire, with some lands, and easements of pasturage, and of wood-cutting. Ib. 182.

(*b*) Ib. 129: He gave them all those rights, for the salvation of his predecessors, for his own, and for the salvation of Mary, his spouse, "que corpus suum apud Newbotle sepeliendum "reliquit." Id. And they acquired much property, and many privileges, by purchase.

(*c*) Ib. 243-4.

(*d*). The grant directed that, on St. Andrew's day, 104 shillings sterling, should be given, yearly, to the monks "ad pitancias," a small portion of meat and drink, extra, on some festival; and that two shillings should be distributed every Sunday among the monks, to amend their usual diet, for their solace; and that the abbot should be bound, under a penalty, to bestow certain charities on the poor of Hadington, and Ormiston, on stated days. Chart. Newbotle, 195.

their

their lands, within the valley of Lothian, in a *free forest*, with the various privileges, which belonged to a forestry (*e*).

The first abbot of Newbotle was Radulph, who came, with the monks, from Melros, in 1140. The eighteenth abbot was John, who had to sustain the difficult transactions of the disputed succession to Alexander III. He sat in the great parliament of Brigham, in March 1290 (*f*). In July 1291, he swore fealty to Edward I., in the chapel of the Mayden castle (*g*) John again swore fealty, with his monks, to Edward, in 1296; and thereupon obtained writs, to several sheriffs, for the return of his property (*h*). In January 1296-7, Edward directed his treasurer, Cressingham, to settle with the abbot, for the *firm*, due by the abbey of Newbotle, for his lands of Bothkenar (*i*). Whether Abbot John witnessed the accession of Robert Bruce, is uncertain. In 1385, the monastery of Newbotle was burnt, during the furious inroad of Richard II. (*k*): And, the monks were employed, during forty years, in re-edifying their house (*l*). Patrick Madour, who was abbot, in April 1462, had the merit of collecting the documents, which form, at present, the Chartulary of of Newbottle; and, he had the spirit, in October 1466, to institute a suit, in parliament, against James, Lord Hamilton, "for the spoliation of *a stone of* "*lead ore*," taken from the abbot's lands of Fremure, in Clydesdale; and the lords auditors found, in the abbot's favour (*m*). Andrew, the abbot, in May 1499, granted his lands of Kinard, in Stirlingshire, to Edward Brus, his well-deserving armiger, rendering for the same sixteen marks, yearly (*n*): And, in December 1500, he gave to Robert Brus of Bining, and Mary Preston his spouse, the monastery's lands, called the abbots lands of West-Bining, in Linlithgowshire; rendering for the same four shillings, yearly (*o*). James Hasmall, was probably the last abbot, in whose time, the monastery was burnt, during the Earl of Hertford's invasion (*p*). Mark Ker, the second son of Sir Andrew Ker of Cessford, becoming a protestant, in 1560, obtained the vicarage of Linton; and, in 1564, was made the first commendator of Newbottle (*q*). He was succeeded by his son, Mark, who had a reversion of the commendatorship,

(*e*) Regist. David II. l. i. 178. (*f*) Rym ii. 471. (*g*) Ib. 572.

(*h*) Prynne, iii. 653; Rym. ii. 723. (*i*) Rot. Scotiæ, 38. (*k*) Bower, l. xiv. 50.

(*l*) In September 1419, there was a transaction with Edward de Crichton, in which the rebuilding of the monastery is mentioned. Chart. Newbotle, 5.

(*m*) Parl. Rec. 143. (*n*) Chart. Newbotle, 307-8-9. (*o*) Ib. 310.

(*p*) Printed account of that expedition, p. 11. The abbot was present in the parliament of November 1558. Parl. Rec. 279.

(*q*) Keith, x.; Hist. 305. In 1581, he obtained a ratification of parliament, for the abbey of Newbotle. Unprinted Act. He gave in the following statement of the revenues of the abbey:

In

commendatorship, which was confirmed to him. In 1587, he obtained, from the facility of James VI., a grant of the whole estates of the monastery, as a temporal barony; and this was ratified, in the parliament of 1587 (*r*). In October 1591, the barony was converted for him into a temporal lordship, by the title of Lord Newbotle, which was ratified, by the parliament of 1592 (*s*). In this manner, then, were the pious donations of ancient times converted into private property. The abbey was changed into a commendatory, which was again transformed into a barony; and this was erected into a lordship, that was elevated to an earldom, by the grants of the king, and the ratifications of parliament (*t*).

In Edinburgh city, and shire, there were other pious donations, which met a similar fate, when piety assumed a different fashion; and when zealots were more active to destroy, than to save. In 1230, Alexander II. founded, in Edinburgh, a convent of Black friars, of the order of St. Dominick; and were called, in ancient charters, the *Fratres Predicatores*, the preaching friars. This house, which stood on the site of the present High School, is called, in their foundation charters, *Mansio Regis*, which intimates, that the king had dwelled, in this royal mansion, when he occasionally resided, at Edinburgh. Alexander II. granted those monks 10 marks "de firmis burgalibus de Edin-"burgh (*u*)." Robert I. gave them an annual rent of five marks, from his mill of

In money, 1,334l. Scots; in victual, 12 bolls of wheat, 15 bolls of bear, 5 chalders 10 bolls of oats. Col. Books of the Thirds; and Books of Assumption. There was a more accurate specification given in, as follows: In money, 1,413l. 1s. 2d. Scots; in victual, 99 bolls of wheat, 53 bolls 2 pecks of bear, 250 bolls 2 firlots of white oats. From this, several disbursements are claimed; particularly, 240l. Scots paid to six aged, decrepid, and recanted monks. Books of Assumption. Mark Ker died, in 1584, an extraordinary lord of the Court of Session.

(*r*) Unprinted Act.

(*s*) Unprinted Act. He was created Earl of Lothian, in 1606; and died, in 1609. Crawford's Peer. 269.

(*t*) The monastery of Newbotle was surrounded, by a wall, which remained entire, to our own times; and which is usually called *Monkland Wall*: But, the buildings of the abbey have been long obliterated, by the erection, on their site, of the modern mansion of the Marquis of Lothian, that is called Newbotle abbey; This stands on a level lawn of 30 acres, which is washed by the South-Esk, and is adorned by ancient trees. Stat. Acco. x. 216.

(*u*) MS. Book of Donations: And, he granted to them the lane, which, from their name, has been called *the Blackfriars Wynd*. The English have preserved, from the Saxon, the verb, to wind; "to move round;" to "proceed in flexures;" and Milton speaks of "a rock *winding* with "one ascent;" but, they have not, like the Scots, a *wind*, for a lane, or alley. We also learn, from

of Liberton (*x*). They obtained, from James III., an annual rent of twenty-four marks, from the lands of Gosford, in East-Lothian (*y*). From a variety of pious persons, the Black friars obtained many donations, which were confirmed, by James III., in 1473 (*z*). It was, in the house of those Black friars, that Bagimont, in 1275, assembled the Scotish clergy (*a*). The house of the Black friars was burnt, in 1528: It was almost rebuilt, when the reforming insurgents demolished it, in 1559. The magistrates of Edinburgh asked, and received, from Queen Mary, a grant of this monastery, with its revenues, and pertinents, for the pretended purpose of erecting on its site an hospital, for the aged poor, which was never built; and which was dispensed with, by the regent Murray (*b*).

The *Gray friars* were introduced, by James I., who built for them a convent, in Edinburgh: And, it is said, to have been so magnificent, that the foreign leader of *the Observantines* could scarcely be prevailed on, to settle them, in their appropriate house: But, they were at length fully settled here, in 1446. The Gray friars continued a distinguished seminary of useful learning, till it was reformed, by the insurrection of 1559 (*c*).

The *Carmelites*, or White friars, who were introduced into Scotland, in 1260, acquired an establishment, at Edinburgh, under James V. John Malcolm, the provincial of the order, obtained, from the magistrates, the lands of *Greenside*, at the foot of the Calton, with the church of the Holyrood, at this place, for the purpose of establishing a convent: And, that grant was confirmed, on the

from Spottiswoode, 487, that the *Vennel*, crossing the Blackfriars Wynd, was also granted by the same king to the Black friars. The palace, belonging to the see of St. Andrews, stood at the south-east corner of the Blackfriars Wynd. Maitl. Edin. 169.

(*x*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ.

(*y*) MS. Donations. In 1473, John Laing, the king's treasurer, and bishop elect of Glasgow, granted them the annual rent of certain tenements, in Edinburgh, "pro sustentatione lampadis in "Choro." Id. Spottiswoode, 487.

(*z*) MS. Donations.

(*a*) See Caledonia, i. 688-9: And, Lesley, 356, by a strange hallucination, placed the same event, in 1512. Yet, the 4th Parl. Ja. IV. ch. 39, directed benefices to be rated, according to "the auld taxation of Bagimont."

(*b*) Maitl. Edin. 182, speaks indignantly of such deceptive pretences: The magistrates were, by the regent, allowed to lease the site of the Black friars on ground-rent. The revenues of the Black friars house became considerable. Their rental contains 234 articles of their rents. The grants, which were given to them, and the anniversary obits, which were made, in return, for lands, and benefactions, were no fewer than 97. Maitl. Edin. 182.

(*c*) Spottiswoode, 499. That convent stood on the south side of the grass market, with fine gardens, annexed: The magistrates of Edinburgh, in 1562, with the queen's consent, converted those gardens into a spacious cemetery. Maitl. Edin. 23-4.

13th

13th of April 1578 (*e*). Here, a colony of *Carmelites* was settled. After the Reformation had exploded such establishments, John Robertson, a beneficent merchant, settled on the same site a hospital, for leprous persons (*f*).

There seem to have never been many *nunneries*, in Edinburgh. There was a convent of Cistertian nuns established in St. Mary's Wynd, by the uncertain piety of the 12th century (*g*). On the south side of Edinburgh, near the city wall, a convent of nuns was dedicated to St. Mary of Placentia: And, the place of its foundation was called from it, by corruption, *the Pleasance* (*h*). On the burrough-moor, there was a convent of Dominican nuns, which was founded by Lady Saint Clair of Roslin, the Countess of Caithness, in the 15th century; and dedicated to Saint Catherine of Sienna, the reformer of such nuns. They obtained some lands, in the vicinity, and some tenements, in Edinburgh (*i*). There was a priest, who was attached to this convent (*k*). The place where this convent stood was called *Siennes*, and by corruption *Sheens*. The poet Lyndsay, in his Satire of the Three Estates, alludes to the honest, and industrious lives of those nuns; and he sends Chastity to their convent, as a proper asylum. After the Reformation had involved such establishments, in discredit, the magistrates of Edinburgh seized the revenues of the worthy nuns. And, Dame Christian Ballenden, the prioress, was thereby induced to apply to the queen; in order to oblige them to pay Beatrice Blackader, an aged sister, the small portion of victual, which had been allotted, for her subsistence; being the rent of a tenement, which her father had granted to the convent, and was now appropriated by the magistrates (*l*).

Collegiate churches, in the proper sense, are but modern. In 1466, the magistrates of Edinburgh procured a charter from James III., for erecting their ancient church of St. Giles into a collegiate form: And its establishment consisted of a provost, a curate, sixteen prebendaries, a sacrist, a bedel, a minister of the choir, and four choiristers, which was the largest collegiate establishment, in Scotland, except the chapel royal, at Stirling. For the support of

(*e*) MS. Donations. (*f*) Maitl. Edin. 214.

(*g*) Spottiswoode, 516. The lane, where the convent stood, was from it called St. Mary's Wynd; being consecrated to the Virgin.

(*h*) Maitl. Edin. 176. (*i*) MS. Donations. (*k*) Id.

(*l*) Arnot's Edin. 251; and Maitl. 24, vent their indignation, at that specimen of uncharitableness. The revenues of this convent, which were given in, at the suppression, were, in money, 219l. 6s. 8d. Scots; in victual, 8 bolls of wheat, 6 bolls of bear, and one barrel of salmon. Books of the Collectors of the Thirds: In the roll, and rental of small benefices, *the priory of the Scheynes* is stated at 800 marks.

those officers, were allotted the whole revenues of the numerous altars, and chapelries, that pious people had founded, within this church, through several ages. To the king was reserved the nomination of the dean, or provost of this collegiate establishment, who was to enjoy the tithes, and other revenues of St. Giles's church, with the adjacent manse; and the provost had the right of choosing a curate, who was to be allowed, yearly, 25 marks, with a house adjoining (*m*). William Forbes, the provost of this college, was obliged, in 1482, to institute a suit, in parliament, against the magistrates, for recovering his salary of 220 marks. The lords auditors, on seeing the obligation of the magistrates, with the king's confirmation, ordained them to pay the provost's salary, on pain of imprisonment, in Blackness castle (*n*). Gawin Douglas, the celebrated translator of Virgil, enjoyed this rich endowment, under James IV. and James V., before he was raised to the bishoprick of Dunkeld. In 1546, Robert Crichton, the provost of St. Giles's, was prosecuted, in parliament, for purchasing of the pope the bishoprick of Dunkeld (*o*). Mary of Guelder, the widowed queen of James II., founded, near Edinburgh, in 1462, on the north, a collegiate church, for a provost, eight chaplains, two choiristers, or singing boys; and an hospital adjoining, for thirteen poor persons. For the support of this collegiate establishment, she assigned, by apostolic authority, the various churches, and revenues, of the house of Soltre. Her foundation was confirmed, in the same year, by James, bishop of St. Andrews (*p*). Mary, the foundress, died on the 16th of November 1463; and was buried, in her own foundation (*q*). Sir Edward Boncle was the first provost of the Trinity College; and he was soon obliged to apply to parliament, for enforcing the payment of his rents, in Teviotdale (*r*). James IV., in 1502, granted to the provost, and prebendaries, of this collegiate church, the lands of Powis, and Camestoun, with a *walk-mill*, in Stirlingshire (*s*). The provost of the Trinity College sat in the parliament of June 1526; and was appointed one of the auditors of causes (*t*). In 1567, the whole of this establishment was granted, by the regent Murray, to Sir Simon Preston, the provost of Edinburgh; and was by him given to the magistrates: And, they were diligent to purchase of

(*m*) Maitl. Edin. 271, where the stipends of the several members of the collegiate church are specified, for the illustration of manners.

(*n*) Parl. Rec. 285.

(*o*) Ib. 693. The simoniacal offence of Crichton was a breach of an act of parliament against such purchases of the pope.

(*p*) Maitl. Edin. 207—10. (*q*) Lesley, 314. (*r*) Parl. Rec 174—256-7.

(*s*) MS. Donations. (*t*) Parl. Rec. 557.

Robert

Robert Pont, the last provost, his rights, in the collegiate establishment, which were confirmed by King James, in 1587 (*u*). On the site of the university of Edinburgh, stood of old a collegiate church, which was consecrated to the Virgin; and called the church of St. Mary *in the field.* The age of this foundation, and the piety of the founder, are equally forgotten. It had a provost, eight chaplains, and two choiristers. Two additional chaplainries were endowed, under James v.; one by James Laing, a burgess of Edinburgh; and the other by Janet Kennedy, the Lady Bothwell (*x*). In 1562, the magistrates applied to the queen, for the place, kirk, chambers, and houses of the kirk in the field; to build a school. The queen assented: And, they purchased, in 1563, the right of the provost, Penycuick; and, in 1581, they acquired other rights, when they obtained a charter, for erecting the college (*y*). In the meantime, at *Kirk of field*, was acted one of the most extraordinary tragedies, that any age, or any country, has witnessed. In a lone house, standing at the Kirk in the field, in the night, between the 9th and 10th of February, 1567, was Darnley, the husband of Queen Mary, assassinated, by Earl Bothwell, who was encouraged to perpetrate so odious a deed, by the unscrupulous faction, who then domineered, in Scotland (*z*).

In this shire, without the contaminated walls of Edinburgh, there were other collegiate establishments. At Corstorphin, Sir John Forrester, who was appointed master of the household to James I., in 1424, and chamberlain of Scotland, in 1425, founded, near the parish church of Corstorphin, a chapel, which he dedicated to Saint John, with three chaplains, whom he endowed, for performing divine service in it. This establishment, he enlarged, in 1429, to a collegiate church, for a prior, six prebendaries, and two singing boys. For their support, he assigned various rents, tithes, and churches. This foundation was confirmed, by a bull of Eugene, by a charter of Bishop Wardlaw of St. Andrews, in 1429, and by a charter of Bishop Kennedy, in 1440 (*a*). Sir John Forrester died, in 1440, and was buried, in the choir of his collegiate church (*b*). In 1384, Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith founded, near his castle, a chapel, which he endowed with the lands of Lochurd, and forty shillings out

(*u*) Maitl. Edin. 211. Pont had, for the assigment of his provostry, 300 marks, and an annuity of 160l. Scots. The revenues, which were reported, at the suppression, were 362l. 6s. 8d. Scots. Ib 210.

(*x*) MS. Donations, and Spottiswoode, 525. (*y*) Maitl. Edin. 23—356.

(*z*) Birrel's Diary, 7. (*a*) Sir Lewis Stewart's Collections.

(*b*) Crawford's Officers of State, 311. The revenue of this establishment, which was given in, after the Reformation, was only 122l. 13s. 4d. Scots. Books of the Col. of the Thirds.

of the lands of Kirkurd, in Peebleshire (*b*). In 1406, Sir James Douglas, with the consent of Bishop Wardlaw of St. Andrews, enlarged this establishment into a collegiate church, for a provost, and several prebendaries, on whom he settled a competent endowment (*c*). Alexander Gifford, the parson of Newlands, founded two chaplainries, in the church of Dalkeith. These foundations were confirmed, by the king's charter, in 1504 (*d*). At Roslin, in 1446, was founded a collegiate church, by William Saint Clair, the Earl of Orkney, and Lord of Roslin, for a provost, six prebendaries, and two choiristers, or singing boys: And, he endowed it with various lands, and revenues. It was consecrated to Saint Matthew the apostle. He here erected a splendid chapel, which is still admired by every eye, for its elegant design, and excellent workmanship (*e*). After all his efforts, and a vast expence, he left Roslin chapel unfinished. It was founded on a height, which was called from it College hill; and which forms the northern bank of the Esk. Some additions were made to the endowment, by the succeeding barons of Roslin: In 1523, Sir William Saint Clair, granted some lands, in the vicinity of the chapel, for dwelling-houses, and gardens, and other accommodations, to the provost, and prebendaries. In his charter, he mentions four altars, in this chapel; one dedicated to Saint Matthew; another to the Virgin; a third to Saint Andrew; and a fourth to Saint Peter (*f*). The commencement of the Reformation, by tumult, was the signal for violence, and spoliation. The provost, and prebendaries, of Roslin felt the effects of this spirit. They were despoiled of their appropriate revenues: And, in 1572, they were obliged to relinquish their whole property,

(*b*) Dougl. Peer. 490.

(*c*) Sir Lewis Stewart's Collections. In May 1453, James Douglas, "prepositus de Dal-"keith," had a safe conduct, to go into England, with Earl Douglas. Rym. xi. 326.

(*d*) MS. Donations. After the Reformation, the revenues of this collegiate church was given in, at only 36l. 13s. 4d. Books of the Col. of the King's Thirds.

(*e*) The founder succeeded his father Henry Saint Clair, Earl of Orkney, in 1420. As admiral of the fleet, he conveyed the Princess Margaret to France, in 1436. He was chancellor of Scotland, from 1454 to 1458: And, he was made Earl of Caithness, in 1455. In 1470, he resigned the earldom of Orkney to the king; and obtained, in return, various lands in Fife. Having in 1459 settled the barony of Newburgh, in Aberdeenshire, on William, his only son, by his first wife, Lady Margaret Douglas; he, in 1476, settled the barony of Roslin, and his other estates in Lothian, on Oliver Saint Clair, his eldest son, by his second marriage; and he transferred the earldom of Cathness, to William, the second son of his second marriage. The eminent founder of Roslin chapel died soon after this settlement, which deranged his estates, and degraded his family. Robertson's Index, 151.

(*f*) Hay's Ms. Mem. ii. 350.

which,

which, indeed, had been withheld from them, during many revolutionary years (*g*). Beneath this chapel, was the burial place of the barons of Roslin, a spacious vault, said Slezer, in 1693, so dry, that the bodies have been found in it entire, at the end of eighty years. Ten barons of the family of Roslin had been here buried before the Revolution. They were of old, says Hay, buried in their armour, without any coffin; the late baron being the first, that was buried in a coffin, against the opinion of the Duke of York, who was then, in Scotland, and of several antiquaries; but, his widow would not hearken to such a proposal; thinking it beggarly to be buried after that manner (*h*). There were other eminent personages, who were collaterally connected with this respectable family, buried in that silent vault. This chapel, of which a nation may boast, was defaced, by the same ungoverned mob, that pillaged the castle of Roslin, on the night of the 11th of December 1688 (*i*). Roslin chapel, however, is frequently visited; and has been often delineated (*k*). The ingenuous curiosity, perhaps, the piety, of the Countess of Sutherland, and Marchioness of Stafford, led her, lately, to visit this celebrated chapel; of which she has given several very picturesque sketches (*l*).

The chancellor of Scotland, William, Lord Crichton, in December 1449, with the consent of his son, converted the church of Crichton into a collegiate form, for a provost, eight prebendaries, and two singing boys: And with the assent of the bishop of St. Andrews, the founder assigned to this establishment the whole revenues of the churches of Crichton, and Locherwart, a competent provision being made, for the perpetual vicars, who were to serve in those churches: Sir Peter Crichtoun, the parson of Locherwart, gave his consent: And the foundation was confirmed, by James, bishop of St. Andrews (*m*).

The

(*g*) Hay's MS. Mem. ii. 350. The collegiate officers, who signed that deed of resignation, were, Dom. Johannes Robeson, Præpositus de Roslin, Johannes How, Vicarius Pensionarius de Pentland, Henricus Sinclair Prebendarius, and William Sinclair Prebendarius, and William Sinclair of Roslin, knight. Id. (*h*) Hay's MS. Mem. ii. 548—50.

(*i*) Ib. 477. The castle, after standing the several shocks of *the Reformation*, and *the Revolution*, was at length resigned to time, and chance. The chapel was, in the last century, repaired, by General Saint Clair; and has since been renovated, by his successors.

(*k*) In Hay's MS. Memoirs, their are some views of it, which were drawn with the pen, and are said to be more descriptive than those of Slezer, in his *Theatrum Scotiæ*, 1693. In Grose's Antiq. of Scot. i. 43-47, there is a *good view*, but his historical account is erroneous.

(*l*) Views, &c. taken in 1805, and etched in 1807, which her ladyship had the condescension to present her friends.

(*m*) Sir Lewis Stewart's Col. 2; Miscel. Col. of Charters, 215—24. In 1597, Gideon Murray of Elibank, the provost of Crichton, applied to the lords of Council and Session, requiring

John

The provost of Crichton was chosen, in October 1513, one of the council, who was to assist the queen dowager, in the government (*n*). The parliament of April 1567, ratified to David Chalmers, *the provost of Crichton*, a grant of several lands, in Ross-shire (*o*). The parliament of August 1568, attainted the same provost of Crichton, and others, for supporting the queen's rights (*p*).

The parish church of Restalrig was, by James III., erected into a collegiate church, for a dean, and canons; it was consecrated to the Trinity, and the Virgin; and he annexed to his foundation the parish church of Laswade, with all its revenues, and pertinents: This foundation was confirmed by a bull of Innocent, in 1487 (*q*). John Fraser, master of arts, the first dean, and canon of Glasgow, was clerk of the rolls, and registers, in 1492, and 1497. James IV., in October 1511, confirmed a grant to Thomas Dibson, the dean of Restalrig, of two acres of land, lying adjacent to the south side of the church of Restalrig, paying to John Logan of Restalrig, thirty-six shillings yearly (*r*).

There

John Arthur, advocate, to produce the Register of St. Andrews; in order to obtain from it a copy of the foundation charter of Crichton. The lords granted a warrant, as prayed, for whatever person might have the Register of St. Andrews to bring it into court: And, they ordained Sir Walter Scot of Branksholm, the patron of the provostry of Crichton, and the parishioners, to appear, for their several interests. Upon the appearance of these several parties, and *the production of the Register*, the Lords declared it to be an *authentic Register Book of the bishoprick of Saint Andrews*; and directed the said foundation charter, and confirmation thereof, to be transumed. Miscel. Col. of Charters, 215. There was a ratification, in the parliament of June 1617, to Sir Gideon Murray, of the provostry of Crichton. Unprinted Act.

(*n*) Parl. Rec. 529. After the Reformation, the revenue of the collegiate church of Crichton, was given in, at 133l. 6s. 8d. Books of the Col. of the Thirds.

(*o*) Parl. Rec. 753.

(*p*) Ib. 807-8. On the 26th of January 1564, David Chalmers of Ormond was appointed a senator of the College of Justice, in the room of the bishop of Ross. He was obliged to flee to France, from the fury of triumphant faction. He published several books of no great value on Scotish antiquities. Lord Hailes's Notes on his Cat. of the Lords of Session, p. 6. On the 21st of June 1586, David Chalmers was restored to his seat on the bench, in consequence of the act of pacification. Id.

(*q*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ.

(*r*) MS. Donations. In October 1512, James IV. confirmed an annual rent of 20l. from the king's new works, in Leith, for an additional prebendary: And, he empowered the abbots of Holyrood, and Newbotle, to erect into a new prebendary the chapelry of St. Tridnan's isle, founded in the collegiate church of Lestalrig, by James Ross, the bishop of Ross: And, the king further granted the parsonage of Bute, with all its revenues, to be equally divided into six free prebendaries: In this manner, then, was this collegiate establishment raised to a dean, and eight prebendaries. James V., in October 1515, added to this college two singing boys: And, the endowment was enlarged, by the grant of the 10l. land, in the parish of Strabrock, which was called,

There were respectable men, connected with this collegiate establishment. Patrick Covyntre, the dean of Restalrig, was one of the Scotish ambassadors, who went to England, in February 1516 (*s*). In June 1526, the dean of Restalrig was present in parliament; and chosen one of the auditors of causes (*t*). Thus useful to the state were the able men, who thus appear, at the head of the collegiate church of Restalrig.

Such, then, were the collegiate churches of Mid-Lothian. The *templars* had their principal establishment, in this shire. The *knights of the temple* were introduced into Scotland, by David I., the munificent founder of so many fanes. He gave those knights, with other possessions, *Balantrodach*, on the South-Esk, where they made their chief seat; and it was called, "domus templi de "Balantrodach (*u*)." From David I., and his successors, those famous

called, Kirkhill, and by the addition of some rents, and tenements, in the Canongate. This charter, in 1515, specifies the functions of the several members of this establishment, with the provision allotted to them. The dean was to have the parsonage of Laswade, with the ten pound land of Kirkhill, for a glebe, and a manse, and also a yard lying adjacent to the college; and for all those provisions, he was bound to slate the college, and to provide windows, lights, chalices, and other ornaments, with books; and maintain two singing boys, in the church of Laswade. The first prebendary was required to make a descant, and play on the organ; and was to have for his salary 20l. yearly, from the king's work, in Leith, with a chamber, a yard, and *a singing school*: And he was also required, to sustain two boys, daily, in the choir, who should sing, light the candles, and sweep the church; and to those, the dean was required to pay 8l. yearly: The second prebendary, or sacrist, was to enjoy the one sixth of the parsonage of St. Mary of Rothsay, in Bute, with 4l. from the dean, a chamber and a yard; and he was required to attend daily on the church; and to keep the jewels, ornaments, books, chalices, and keys; and four times, a-year, to give an account thereof to the dean, and chapter; to wash the ornaments of the altar, at his own charge; and to keep two boys, for ringing the bells, lighting the candles, sweeping the church, and also for *singing*: And, so, of the functions, and salaries, for the other prebendaries. MS. Monast. Scotiæ; and MS. Donations. It is very seldom, indeed, that we have such a detail of the establishment of a collegiate church; of the several officers, with their duties, and provisions.

(*s*) Rym. xiii. 532.

(*t*) Parl. Rec. 558. The revenue of this establishment was given in, after the Reformation, in money, 93l. 6s. 8d. Scots; in victual, 53 bolls 2 firlots 1½ peck of wheat, 108 bolls of bear, 373 bolls 3 firlots 3 pecks of oats, and 12 bolls 3 firlots 1½ peck of rye. Books of the Col. of the Thirds. In 1592, there was a disannexation of the deanry of Restalrig. Unprinted Act.

(*u*) Chart. Aberdon, 43. The place has been long distinguished by the name of *Temple*, which has supplanted the ancient appellation of Balantrodach. The knight, who presided over this establishment, was stiled "magister domus Templi, in Scotia." Ib. 46. And, he was also called "magister militii Templi, in Scotia. Rym. ii. 724.

knights

knights obtained many lands, various revenues, and important privileges (*x*). In consequence of these grants, they formed, in various parts of Scotland, establishments, which were all subordinate to the chief one, at Balantrodach (*y*). "Brianus, preceptor templi, in Scotiæ," swore fealty to Edward I., in Edinburgh castle, in July 1291 (*z*). "John de Sautre, maister de la chivalerie de "templi, en Escosse," swore fealty to Edward, in August 1296 (*a*). Edward immediately issued writs to the sheriffs of almost every shire, in Scotland, commanding them to restore the Templars' property (*b*): And the universality of those precepts evinces the wide extent of their establishments, throughout every district (*c*).

But, the period of the existence of the Templars soon after arrived. In 1312, a general council was held, by Pope Clement V., at Vienne, in France, wherein this order, for whatever crimes, was suppressed; and their estates, and pro-

(*x*) In 1236, Alexander II. granted a charter to the knights of the Temple, confirming the donations of his predecessors, and by private subjects, of lands, *men*, revenues, churches, and other property, to be held, with ample jurisdiction: And, he granted, that they should be free "de miseracordiis" [arbitrary amercements] and "ab omni *Scotto*, et *Gildo*, et omnibus auxiliis "regum et vicecomitum et omnium ministrorum eorum, et wapenthak et exercitibus, placitis, et "querilis, warda, et relevis, et de omnibus operibus castellorum, portuum, clausurum, et omne "carriagio, finagio, et navigio, et domum regalium edificatione, et omnimode operatione." The king prohibited any of their woods, from being taken for the said works, or any of their arms, men, or other things, for furnishing castles. He gave them the liberty to cultivate the woodlands, which they had within his forests. He exempted them from all toll, in fairs, at the passage of bridges, roads, and seas, throughout his whole kingdom. And he gave to them, and their men, various other privileges, exemptions, and special protections, for themselves, their lands, and goods. This instructive charter of Alexander II. is transcribed into the Chartulary of Aberdon, 29-34. During the 12th and 13th centuries, the popes gave the Templars several bulls of protection, and exemption from ecclesiastical dues, and rights. Ib. 24-26.

(*y*) They had an establishment, at St. Germains, in East-Lothian. They had another at Ogerstoun, in Stirlingshire, which they had obtained from the favour of David I. They had one at Inchinnen, in Renfrewshire. They had one at Culter, on the Dee, in Kincardineshire. They had another at Aboyne, in Aberdeenshire, the church whereof they obtained, from Radulph, the bishop of Aberdeen, from 1232-1248. Chart. Aberdon, 305. They had another, at Tulich, in Aberdeenshire. And they enjoyed several others, in almost every shire, within Scotland.

(*z*) Rym. ii. 572. (*a*) Prynne, 656. (*b*) Rym. ii. 724.

(*c*) In addition to their chief seat at Balantrodach, the Templars had a small establishment, in this shire, at Mount-Hooly, on the burrough-moor of Edinburgh. In digging the cemetery of this establishment, several skeletons were found, lying cross-legged, with their swords, by their sides, in the manner of the Templars. Maitl. Edin. 176; Arnot, 251. The Templars had a number of houses in Edinburgh, and in Leith, on which they placed, conspicuously, the cross of their order.

perty,

perty, were transferred to the rival order of St. John of Jerusalem (*d*). On that striking event, the knights of St. John took possession of their estates, which they long possessed. The knights of St. John of Jerusalem had their principal establishment, at Torphichen, in West-Lothian. These knights, also, in their turn, were suppressed, when their whole lands were converted into a *temporal lordship*, which was granted, by Queen Mary, in January 1563, to Sir James Sandilands, the preceptor of the same knights (*e*).

The *preceptory* of St. Anthony of Leith was founded, in 1435, by Robert Logan of Restalrig; and was confirmed by Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrews (*f*). The canons of St. Anthony were introduced, during the reign of James I.: And, they were brought from St. Anthony of Vienne, in France, the seat of the order. They followed the rule of St. Augustin: In Scotland, they had only one establishment, at Leith (*g*). In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood, in the reign of James V., the preceptory of St. Anthony, at Leith, was taxed at £6: 13: 4. The same preceptory appears in a tax-roll of the archbishoprick, in 1547 (*h*). The canons of St. Anthony had a church, a cemetery, a

(*d*) Spottiswoode, in his Account of the Religious Houses, 480, informs us, that he had seen a folio MS, containing an enumeration of all the lands, and revenues, which belonged to this order: That MS. belonged to Patrick Murray of Deuchar.

(*e*) From the similarity of those orders, and the union of their establishments, the *knights of the Temple* have been generally confounded with the *knights of St. John*. The patroness of the former was the Virgin Mary: The patron of the latter was St. John. The two orders, and their several chiefs, in Scotland, are clearly distinguished, in the several submissions, which they made to Edward I., in 1291, and in 1296. Rym. ii. 572; Prynne, iii. 724-5.

(*f*) Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Col. No. 6. The church of Hales, in East-Lothian, which belonged to the monks of Holyrood, was given to the *canons* of St. Anthony, at Leith, and confirmed to them by a charter of Kennedy, the bishop of St. Andrews, in 1445: The bishop's charter mentions, that the church of St. Anthony, at Leith "edificari cepit per Jacobum primum "Scotiæ regni." Ib. No. 5.

(*g*) Spottiswoode, 425. By a charter of Humbert, the chief of the order, in 1446, it appears, that the canons of St. Anthony, at Leith, did not live very peaceably together. Ib. 426. They seem to have been a sort of religious knights, but not *Templars*: The only document, in which they are called *Knights Templars*, is the charter of James VI., in 1614; giving away their establishments, and revenues; And this idle mistake of an ignorant clerk is wildly repeated, in Arnot's Edin. 255.

(*h*) The seal of the convent is preserved in the Advocate's Library; Whence, it appears to have borne Saint Anthony, in a hermit's mantle, with a book, in one hand, and a staff in the other; and at his foot, is a sow, with a bell about her neck. Over his head, there is a T, which the brothers wore on their black gowns: The legend is; S. COMMUNE PRECEPTORIÆ SANCTI ANTHONII PROPE LEICHT. Arnot's Edin. 255. Lyndsay, the satirist, laughs at St. Anthony and his sow; One of the relicks of his Pardoner is, "The gruntil of Sanct Anthony's sow—quilk "bare his haly bell." See Lyndsay's Works, 1806.

monastery, and gardens, at Leith, on the south-west corner of the alley, which was named from them *Saint Anthony's Wynd.* Besides various lands, tenements, and rents, about Edinburgh, and in Leith, they were entitled to a Scotish quart, from every tun of wine, which was imported into Leith, and Edinburgh (*i*). In 1482, Sir Alexander Haliday, the preceptor, was heard before the auditors, in parliament, with regard to the teinds, the rents, and other rights of the church of Hales (*k*). In 1488, Thomas Turing, a burgess of Edinburgh, founded a chaplainry, in the church of St. Anthony, for the maintenance whereof he gave certain rents, in Leith, amounting to £10 yearly (*l*). At the Reformation, this preceptory was suppressed; and, in 1614, it was granted, with all its rights, to the kirk session of South-Leith, for endowing *King James's hospital,* at Leith (*m*).

In the King's Park, on the declivity of Arthur's Seat, there was a beautiful chapel of Gothic architecture, consecrated to St. Anthony: And, there was a hermitage, adjoining to it, wherein a succession of anchorets, who here rested their weary age, lived remote from all the pleasures of a guilty world (*n*).

The charity of elder times, in addition to all those *religious houses,* founded various *hospitals,* in this shire, which mark the people's piety, and exhibit the religious manners, of successive times. At the west end of the Grayfriars, in Edinburgh, there was of old a *maison dieu,* which, having fallen into decay, was refounded, under James v., when the hospital, and its chapel, were dedicated to Mary Magdalene (*o*). At the head of Bell's Wynd, in Edinburgh, there was, anciently, a hospital, with its chapel; but, the piety of the founder is forgotten, while his property has been appropriated: This *maison dieu* still remains, and is known, by the unmeaning name of the *Clamshell turnpike* (*p*).

(*i*) The provost of the city, and the preceptor of the canons, had their rights to care for, and their wrongs to settle, with regard to this duty on wine, Maitl. Edin. 12. After the Reformation, the magistrates obtained a grant of that duty, and farmed it.

(*k*) Parl. Rec. 288.

(*l*) MS. Donations. James IV. confirmed this liberality of Turing on the 17th of January 1488-9. Id.

(*m*) Maitl. Edin. 489—95. (*n*) Maitl. Edin. 152; Arnot 255.

(*o*) Michael Macquean, a citizen of Edinburgh, contributed much to the restoration of this charity: And his widow also gave 2,000l. Scots, for this worthy end: She further granted, for its support, the rents of some tenements, amounting to 138 marks Scots: And, by her will, in 1547, she bequeathed her donations in trust to the corporation of hammermen, in Edinburgh. Maitl. Edin. 189. Hugh Lord Somerville gave to this hospital a rent of 40l., and another of 20l., by two several charters, in 1541, from his barony of Carnwath. MS. Donations.

(*p*) Spottiswoode, 531; Arnot, 246.

Near

Near the head of St. Mary's Wynd, there was of old a hospital, with its chapel, which was consecrated to the Virgin; but when, or by whose piety, it was founded, is unknown. Its revenues failed, owing to mismanagement, before the end of the 15th century (*q*). In 1479, Thomas Spence, the bishop of Aberdeen, founded, in Leith Wynd, a hospital for the reception of twelve poor men: And, it was dedicated to the Virgin; and was from this circumstance called the *hospital of our lady.* At the Reformation, the magistrates of Edinburgh acquired this hospital, with its revenues, from Mary Stewart, under her general grant of March 1567: And, in 1619, they converted this hospital into a work-house, which they called *Paul's work*; a name, that it still retains (*r*). In the Canongate, near the abbey of Holyrood, was founded, in 1541, St. Thomas's hospital, by George Crichton, the bishop of Dunkeld, who had been abbot of Holyrood. His foundation was intended for the maintenance of seven poor old men: And, he established two chaplains to perform service, at the altars of St. Andrew, and St. Catharine, within the abbey church: For the support of those establishments, the worthy bishop granted the lands of Lochflat, in Edinburghshire, with their pertinents, from which were yearly to be paid £8, as a ground rent, to the abbot and canons of Holyrood, and various other sums, amounting to £8 : 1 : 8, for expences, and for alms to thirty poor persons, at the celebration of the founder's anniversary. The patronage, he settled on himself, and a series of heirs of the name of Crichton (*s*). In 1617, the patron, and beadmen, disposed of this hospital, with its pertinents, to the magistrates of the Canongate, who converted it into a hospital, for their poor, by the same name of *St. Thomas*; yet, have its revenues been completely embezzled (*t*). On the site of the Citadel, at North-Leith, there was of old a

(*q*) In 1499, the chaplain's salary was only 16s. 8d. sterling; and the paupers were chiefly supported by voluntary contribution. Arnot, 247.

(*r*) Ib. 247. (*s*) Maitland, 154.

(*t*) Ib. 155. The detail of the constitutions of the hospital of St. Thomas's may illustrate the manners of the age, preceding the Reformation: The beadmen were required to rise about eight of the clock; and say fifteen *paternosters*, the same number of *ave marias*, and three credos in deum patrem; in honour of God, the Virgin, of St. Andrew, and St. Catharine: They were also required to sit, and pray before the altars, for the soul of the founder, and the other persons, who were specified, in the foundation. On Sundays, and festivals, it was required of the beadmen, as often as they entered the church, for divine service, to put on their *red gowns*; and at high mass, sit before the altar of the chapel; and there repeat fifty *ave marias*, five *paternosters*, and one *credo*; and in time of Vespers, it was expected of them, that they should say two *rosarys*: They were required to walk, in their red gowns, at all public processions; and it was expected, that they should leave their gowns to their successors, and not beg under pain of ejection.

hospital, and a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas; and from this foundation, St. Nicholas's Wynd, in this town, derived its name (*u*). There was a hospital, and chapel, dedicated to St. Paul, in Edinburgh; and there was, in the chapel, an altar, and chaplainry, consecrated to the Virgin; of which Sir William Knolls, the preceptor of Torphichen, claimed the patronage, before the privy council, in 1495 (*x*). In 1396, Sir James Douglas founded, near the chapel of Dalkeith, a hospital for six paupers: And, for the support of the whole, he granted, with the king's consent, £6 : 13 : 4 sterling from the lands of Easterhope-Kaillie, £4 sterling from the lands of Newby, in Peebles-shire, and £3 : 6 : 8 sterling from Morton, in the barony of Dalkeith (*y*). Various hospitals of a less religious, but perhaps of a more useful sort, and charity houses, have been more recently established, in Edinburgh, and Leith; but, as they belong not to the religious establishments, they fall not within the plan of this inquiry (*z*).

The ancient regimen of a *bishoprick*, and *archdeaconry*, and a *deanry*, gave way, at the Reformation, to a synod, a presbytery, and even a superintendency: John Spottiswoode, of the house of Spottiswoode, the minister of Calder, was the first superintendant of Lothian (*a*): Yet, it was not till May 1581, that some fifteen, or sixteen ministers of the circumjacent kirks, with a lay elder, from each congregation, were constituted the presbytery of Edinburgh. Before the year 1593, the churches of Lothian had been formed into five presbyteries; consisting of Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Linlithgow, Hadington, and Dunbar: And these five, with the presbyteries of Peebles, and Biggar, formed the synod of Lothian, and Tweedale (*b*).

At the dawn of record, the appropriate church of Edwinsburgh is obscure. In David I.'s charter to Holyrood, we see the church of the Holy Cross, on the east of *the burgh*, or *castellum*, St. Cuthberts, on the west, and the chapel of the castle. The town certainly existed, however; and it even then had a kirk,

(*u*) Maitland, 498. (*x*) Parl. Rec. 472.

(*y*) Foundation charter, belonging to the Earl of Morton, in Macfarlane's MS. Collections.

(*z*) They may be seen, however, in Maitland's Edin., and Arnot, and more recent accounts of that metropolis.

(*a*) He seems to have been appointed to this charge, in July 1560. He sustained the burden of this charge, during twenty years, without satisfaction, or profit: He died on the 5th of December 1585, aged 76; and was the father of the worthy archbishop. Spots. Hist. 344.

(*b*) The presbytery of Edinburgh now contains two-and-twenty parishes, including the ten of Edinburgh.

which,

which, in elder times, was dedicated to St. Giles (*c*). But, the burgh of Edwin had not the honour, like Linlithgow, and Hadington, of being the seat of the archdeacon, or dean; and in the *ancient Taxatio*, we may see "Ecclesia de "Sancti Ægidii de Edenburgh, in decanatu de Linlithgow:" The reason of such neglect, or degradation, may have been, that the abbot of Holyrood was too near to admit of the easy residence of an archdeacon, or dean, in Edinburgh.

The burgh of Edwin, according to its narrow limits of ancient times, formed only one parish, even as low down, as King James's reign. The church of this urban district, was originally consecrated to St. Giles, who flourished, according to the Benedictine chronologists, in the sixth century (*d*). Why the founders of Edinburgh church chose St. Giles for a tutelary guardian, it is idle to ask, and vain to inquire. In the *Analecta* of Mabillon, wherein there is an English Calendar of the seventh century, St. Giles does not appear. Under James II., an arm of St. Giles was brought to Edinburgh, by Preston of Gorton, which was thankfully received, and honourably requited (*e*). In the 12th century, there was, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, a farm, which was called *St. Giles's grange*; and which David I. conferred on the monks of Holmcultram (*f*). This had probably been the appropriate grange of the parson of St. Giles's church. As the *parish church* of the town of Edinburgh, St. Giles's church is often mentioned, from the 12th to the 16th century: And, as the parish did not extend into the country, beyond the walls, it appears, in those times, to have been of little value (*g*). In 1384, the Scotish barons met,

(*c*) The town, and its parish, were then co-extensive: And, their circumscribed limits consisted of the Nor-loch, the Castle-hill, the Cowgate, and St. Mary's Wynd.

(*d*) L'Art de Verifier les Dates. His festival was the 1st of September. His constant companion was a *hind*. In the Lives of the Saints, published, at Leyden, 1519, there is a print of St. Giles, sitting with *his hind*. The *hind* of Giles is one of the heraldic supporters of the Edinburgh arms, to the present times: Yet, is the city *motto*, "Nisi dominus frustra."

(*e*) Arnot's Edin. 268. On the 1st of September 1558, the festival of St. Giles, a protestant mob raised a tumult, in the midst of which, the sanctity of St. Giles was violated, and his images broken, and his arm derided. In June 1562, the magistrates directed the portraiture of St. Giles to be cut out of the city standard, as *an idol*, and the thistle, as more emblematical of rude reform, to be inserted. Maitl. Edin. 23.

(*f*) Fordun, l. xi. c. 21. In 1512, Sir John Crawford, one of the prebendaries of St. Giles's college, granted 33 acres of land, in the burrough-moor, to a chapel, which he had built, at Saint Geilie grange. MS. Donations. This is the place, that is called, in modern maps, *Giliegrange*.

(*g*) In the ancient *Taxatio*, it was rated at only 26 marks.

in

in St. Giles's church; and resolved on war with England (*h*). In 1385, St. Giles's church, and the town, were burnt, by Richard II. (*i*). It was probably damaged, rather than destroyed; and it was soon repaired (*k*). The advowson of St. Giles's church appears to have been always in the king: And, in December 1393, Robert III. granted to the monks of Scone the right of patronage, in the church of St. Giles, and every other right, which he, or his predecessors had, in the same church (*l*). During the 14th, the 15th, and the 16th centuries, it was the practice, at Edinburgh, as in other considerable towns, to appropriate the penalties, which were imposed for faults, to the use of St. Giles's church. The domestic companies, or *crafts*, used to impose fines, for the breaches of their bye-laws, which were made payable to the use of St. Giles's church. And, thus a fund was gradually established, for the useful objects, of repairing the church, and its chapels, and supporting the vicar.

Before the reign of James III., many altars, and chaplainries, were founded, by persons, and corporations, and were consecrated to their favourite saints (*m*). Besides the endowments of the founders, for those altars, and chaplains, many persons gave private donations, which were occasionally granted by well-meaning

(*h*) Lord Berners, fo. 317. St. Giles's church became the frequent place, for the solemn meetings of the general councils, and the *Three Estates*.

(*i*) Bower, l. xiv. c. 50.

(*k*) In November 1387, there was an indenture between the provost of Edinburgh, and several masons, for building, and vaulting, five chapels, with altars, on the *south side* of the parish church of Edinburgh. Maitl. Edin. 270. This is one of the very earliest specimens of the Scoto-Saxon language: "Alsua it is accordyt, yat ye foresayde communitie shall gyf to ye foresayde masounys, "for the foresayde werk, as it is before spokyn, sex hundreth mark of sterling, of the payment "of Scotlande."

(*l*) Chart. Scone, 95. This grant of Robert III. was confirmed, in 1395, by Walter, the bishop of St. Andrews. Ib. 98. In the same year, both those grants were confirmed by a bull of Benedict. Ib. 99-124. From this epoch of degradation, St. Giles's church was served by a *vicar*, while the monks of Scone drew the parsonage dues. In 1451, John Methven, a doctor of laws, was *vicar* of Edinburgh, and clerk of the rolls, and registers. Rym. xi. 287. From 1454 to 1459, Nicolas Otterburn, the *vicar* of Edinburgh, was a frequent ambassador, and clerk of the rolls, and registers. Ib. 349, 404, 423. There is a remarkable charter of James II., in 1452; entailing the lands of Barntoun on George Earl of Cathness, and his heirs, and *assigns*, and his *natural* daughter; with this proviso, that he, or his assigns, should cause to be paid, to his bastard daughter, Janet, on a particular day, between the rising, and setting of the sun, in the *parish church* of St. Giles, in his burrough of Edinburgh, upon the high altar of the same, three hundred marks, usual money. Hay's Vindication of Eliz. More, 6.

(*m*) Maitl. Edin. 271, has transcribed a long list of a thousand altars, and chapels, which piety had founded, in St. Giles's church, and fanaticism demolished: In 1513, Walter Chepman, the early printer, endowed a chaplainry, with 20 marks, which he dedicated to St. John.

individuals.

individuals (*n*). When St. Giles's church was made collegiate, in 1466, the revenues of those altars, and chaplainries, were allotted, for the new establishment. Besides all those chaplainries, in St. Giles's, there were, in Edinburgh, various other chapels, and oratories (*o*). In 1559, all those altars were demolished, and the chaplainries were disused (*p*). After this ancient church had been thus despoiled, it was, mechanically, divided into various apartments, which were set aside, for different purposes; either for preaching; for the administration of justice; for teaching; for a prison; for a work-house; for the town clerk's office; and for other purposes of less importance, and dignity. The principal division, which had been formed out of the choir, was fitted up, in 1663, and called the *New Church:* In it were erected the seats for the king, for the magistrates, for the judges: And, from such appropriations, it was denominated, afterward, the *High Church.*

On the first distribution of the protestant preachers, in July 1560, one only was allowed to Edinburgh, which, in fact, was at that epoch merely one parish: And, Knox himself was the appropriate minister. He soon obtained a colleague, in so populous a charge. And, after experience had shown, that these were too few, for so many people, and so much duty, two more were added; and four continued to be the number, who administered to the good people of Edinburgh, throughout the 16th century: And, they preached, in two of the divisions of St. Giles's church, which were called, the *New Church*, and *St. Giles's Church.* It was the policy of King James, while he continued, in Scotland, to have Edinburgh divided, into four parishes; but, without accomplishing his object; as he seems not to have known how to obtain his end. The town council, in October 1583, ordered Edinburgh to be divided into four quarters; corresponding to four parishes (*q*). The ancient rights of the parish had been abolished; and it seems not to have then occurred, amidst the anarchy of the times, that an act of parliament was the legal mode of establishing new parishes, with new privileges. The order of the town council remained unexecuted. And, when the guilty magistrates obtained the king's pardon, for the treasonous riot of 1596, it was stipulated, as one of the articles of reconcilement, that the four ministers, who had hitherto lodged together, in St. Giles's church-yard, should

(*n*) MS. Donations; Roberts. Index; and Maitland.

(*o*) Maitl. Edin. 185, 189, 206; Arnot's Edin. 245-6—248.

(*p*) The magistrates of the town, on that occasion, appropriated the jewels, and other valuables. Maitl. 272-3. They took down St. Mary's bell, and the brazen pillars of St. Giles's church, which were converted into money. Id.

(*q*) Maitl. 42.

live,

live, separately, in their several divisions (*r*). The year 1598 may be deemed the epoch of the division of Edinburgh into *four parishes*, though they were not formally established, for some years (*s*). In 1620, four new ministers, which had been often promised, were added to the four old ones, that were supposed to be insufficient (*t*). The town council was either unable, or unwilling, to provide stipends, for so many ministers (*u*). And, it was not till 1625, after the accession of Charles I., that the reiterated wishes of James VI. were carried into effect, by the pious solicitude of his son. In September 1625, the city council passed an ordinance, dividing Edinburgh, with the West Port, the Cowgate, and the head of the Canongate, as annexed, by a late act of parliament, into four parishes; with two ministers to each district; so that the town should have eight ministers, exclusive of the principal of the college (*x*). Here, then, was a great object well effected; and thenceforth, the magistrates of the town became patrons of its ministers.

(*r*) Maitl. Edin. 53. The four ministers houses, in St. Giles's church-yard, which now forms the Parliament Square, were given to the king: But, for what purpose, is not obvious.

(*s*) Birrel's Diary. On the 20th November 1598, the Lord's supper was administered, in all the four several parish kirks of Edinburgh. Id. The four churches were, St. Giles, New Church, Trinity College Church, and the Tolbooth Church. Maitl. 24.

(*t*) Spottiswoode's Hist. 541. In the parliament of 1621, an act passed, ratifying diverse infeftments to the town of Edinburgh, for sustentation of the *college*, *ministers*, and *hospitals*: And another passed, disjoining the parts, lying within the ports of Edinburgh, from *St Cuthberts*, and *Holyroodhouse*. Unprinted Acts, 1621, Nos. 48-49. Here, then, is business: Revenues are provided; and the urban parishes are enlarged, by disjoining certain parts of the circumjacent parishes of St. Cuthbert, and Holyrood. But, nothing was said of the right of patronage, which remained *in the king*.

(*u*) Calderwood, 815, breaks out into indignation, on that occasion, at the magistrates ambition, and avarice, and malice, which prevented them, from providing stipends, for *honest men*, and *godly professors*. He might have said, in few words, that the magistrates continually dissipated their revenues on the frivolity of feasting, or the baseness of corruption.

(*x*) Maitl. Edin. 277. In that ordinance, there was an express proviso, that the magistrates should resort to the *High Church*, called *St. Giles*; And further regulations were made for effecting that desireable measure, in presence of the ministers, and *the archbishop of St. Andrews*. The king directed his privy council to ratify that ordinance; giving the right of patronage to the magistrates. And, in November 1625, the privy council passed an act, ratifying the whole measure. Ib. 279. The historians of Edinburgh do not inform us what churches were then assigned to those four parishes: But, they pretty plainly appear to have been: 1-2, Two of the divisions of St. Giles's church; 3, The Trinity Church, which had been fitted up some time before; and 4, The Old Gray Friars Church, which the magistrates had built, in 1612, in the midst of the cemetery, which had been laid out, in 1562, on the site of the Gray friars convent, and gardens.

When

When the ill-fated episcopate of Edinburgh was established, in 1633, St. Giles's kirk was erected into the cathedral church of this see, with the usual privileges. The principal minister of St. Giles's church was constituted the *dean* of the diocese of Edinburgh: And, the chief ministers of the other three churches were to be three of the twelve prebendaries (*y*). This establishment was torn down, in 1638; was re-established, in 1662, by parliament; and, in 1689, was finally abolished, by the Revolution (*z*).

When zeal, in its progress, made every

> " One speak much of right, and wrong,
> " Of justice, of *religion*, truth, and peace,
> " And judgment from above;"

the *four* parish churches were found insufficient, to accommodate the people of Edinburgh: And, the common council, in 1641, resolved to divide the town into six parishes (*a*). Yet, amidst a thousand distractions, and infinite waste, it required more than twenty years to carry that necessary measure into full effect (*b*).

The zeal of 1699 discovered, that those six churches were insufficient to accommodate the augmented numbers of the religious people of Edinburgh: And, a *seventh* parish was laid out, by the name of the *New North Church* parish (*c*): The

(*y*) Charter of Erection, in Keith. In pursuance of this establishment, Charles I, in October 1633, wrote the magistrates, to remove the partition walls, within the church; and to make it altogether fit for a cathedral: But, there is reason to think, that they did not comply. Maitl. Edin. 281.

(*z*) Lauchlan Shaw's MS. Hist. of the Scot. Church. (*a*) Maitl. Edin. 141, 281.

(*b*) The building of the *Tron Church* was begun, in 1641; divine service was performed in it, in 1647; but, it was not quite finished till 1663. Its proper name was *Christ's* Kirk; but, the ancient *tron*, standing near the site, as we may see, in the old maps of Edinburgh, the popular voice over-ruled the consecration to God. Maitl. Edin. 110. The building of this church, which has since been new-modelled, to accommodate the transverse street, by the North, and South Bridges, cost 36,000l. In 1641, the magistrates began to build another church on the Castle hill; but, finding other employment for their revenues, they pulled down what they had built. Dame Margaret Ker, Lady Yester, now came to their aid: She bequeathed the magistrates 15,000l., for building a new church, which was finished, in 1655; and she gave 5,000l., for supporting the minister of it. Maitl. Edin. 181, who describes the limits of Lady Yester's parish. And, in this manner, were the magistrates enabled, in 1662, to complete the establishment of six churches, which they had projected, in 1641. In 1663, such had been the changes of revolutionary times, the magistrates enlarged, and new-modelled the stipends of their twelve ministers. Maitl. 141.

(*c*) Maitl. 180, describes it, as containing " all the *Lucken*-booth Row, and other closes, " wynds, and streets:" And he, in order to show his antiquarian learning, informs his reader, that

The *north-west* compartment of St. Giles's church, which had been a prison, was now fitted up as a church, by the name of Haddo's Hole; as one Haddo had been herein long confined, for whatever crime, of treason against the covenant, or the king. The historian of Edinburgh gives vent to his indignation, at the irreverent names, which were appropriately given to its churches (*d*). There is certainly nothing very promotive of devotion, in the names of the *Tolbooth* kirk, *Haddo's Hole*, or the *Tron*: Sarcasm has said that, under the ancient regimen, ignorance supposed the *paternoster* to be a saint: It may be suspected of the fanaticism of 1641, without much uncharitableness, that the folly, which could substitute the name of *the Tron*, for *Christ Church*, might suppose *some saint* to be couched under the consecration to *Jesus Christ*. When the increased population of the *New Town* required an additional place of worship, the magistrates, with great propriety, dedicated this church *to St. Andrew*; their city being the *domicil* of all Scotsmen, in foreign parts: In whatever quarter of the globe, Scotsmen reside, the name of *Saint Andrew* collects them into a society; promotes their sociability; incites their charity; and inspires their patriotism.

Edinburgh has always been the pious seat of many *chapels*. Though *the Revolution* abolished the *temporal* rights of episcopacy, it did not take away its *spirituality*. And, in 1709, James Greenshields, clerk, opened a chapel, in Edinburgh, wherein he administered to several persons, who were of the English church. The presbytery of Edinburgh, the magistrates of Edinburgh, and the Court of Session, concurred, in thinking his conduct punishable, as illegal. He appealed to the supreme judicatory of the Peers, in parliament, who reversed

that the Flemings, who usually brought woolen cloth, which they called *Lacken*, gave this name to the row of shops, where the *Lacken* was sold: And yet, *Lucken*, in the Saxon, means shut; covered booths, in contradistinction to the open booths, of the street.

(*d*) Maitl. Edin. 179-80, describes the new parish of *Haddo's Hole*. There was a new parish laid out, in 1722, with an additional church, which was called the *New Gray Friars Church*; and, in the subsequent year, Edinburgh was divided into *nine* parishes. Ib. 188. And, St. Giles's church was now formed into four places of worship: 1st, The High Church, or New Church; 2d, The Old Church; 3d, The Tolbooth Church; and 4th, Haddo's Hole, or the Little Church: In addition to all those services, the *aile* of St. Giles's church, which is venerable for its antiquity, and dignified by its retrospections, is fitted up for the annual meetings of the General Assembly of the Scotican church, with a throne, for the royal representative. When St. Andrew's church was erected, in the New Town, the *ten* parishes of the present times were established, though without precluding the new arrangements, which an augmented population, and sound piety might thereafter dictate.

the

the sentence of the magistrates, and the decree of the College of Justice (*e*). It is not easy to express how much true charity was now extended, by this reversal. In 1722, the chief baron, Smith, endowed a chapel, at the foot of the Gray Friars Wynd, for those, holding communion with the church of England (*f*). In 1771, was founded, in the Cowgate, a capacious chapel, for the English communion, which was properly ornamented, and even painted, by Runciman. Arnot delights to describe this elegant chapel, with its altar, its organ, and its spire, which is accommodated, by the bell, which had belonged to the chapel royal of Holyroodhouse (*g*). Before the year 1802, a great variety of other chapels were erected, in this metropolis, which shows the progress of its population, of its opulence, and its freedom of thought, as well as its universal charity (*b*).

In

(*e*) Robertson's Cases, 15. This adjudication was immediately followed, by the 10th Anne, ch. 7, to prevent disturbing the episcopal communion, in Scotland.

(*f*) Arnot's Edin. 287. An intolerant populace did not regard this chapel with a favourable eye: And, they demolished several of its windows. Caledonian Mercury, No. 347. In December 1723, the episcopal ministers of several meeting-houses were brought before the magistrates, for not being qualified according to law, and not praying for the king. Ib. 577. Two other episcopal chapels were built, in 1747. Arnot, 284. And before 1750, there were settled five other chapels; a Roman Catholic chapel, a French chapel, and several meeting-houses of Independents, and Quakers. Maitl. Edin, 215.

(*g*) Arnot, 284—6.

(*b*) The subjoined detail, not only shows the numbers of churches, and chapels, in Edinburgh, but the comparative wealth of their several congregations; being an extraordinary collection, which was made, on the 3d of January 1802, for the Charity Work-house, in the following

Churches:				Chapels:			
In St. Andrew's Church	£63	9	3	New Episcopal Chapel	£37	7	8½
The High Church	29	4	5	Charlotte Chapel	27	4	6
Lady Yester's Church	28	5	5	Relief Meeting	24	14	9
The Tron Church	23	17	11	The Tabernacle	15	5	11¼
The Tolbooth Church	23	12	7¼	Lady Glenorchy's Chapel	14	8	9½
The New North Church	19	5	9	Peddie's Congregation	12	12	8
The New Gray Friars Church	14	7	3¼	Nicholson's Street Meeting	12	3	0
The Old Gray Friars Church	14	1	0	Hall's Meeting	10	10	6
The Old Church	8	3	8½	Baptist Congregation	10	1	11
The College Church	3	17	6½	Drummond's Chapel	6	18	0
	£228	8	4¼	Independent Meeting	4	6	0
	177	8	4	Universalist's Society	1	14	6¾
	£405	16	8¼		£177	8	4

In the castle of Edinburgh, even before the accession of David I., there was an appropriate chapel, which was probably built, by Margaret, the pious queen of Malcolm Canmore (*i*). In 1291, many persons swore fealty to Edward I., "in capella castri puellarum (*k*)." Robert II. granted to St. Margaret's chapel, in the castle, an annuity of £8, out of the customs of Edinburgh (*l*). The chapel of the castle formed a conspicuous object in the ancient maps of Edinburgh. In August 1704, Walter Smith, clerk, the minister of the castle, petitioned the parliament, "craving payment of £75 Sterling, owing to him, "for his stipend, free of poundage, and invalid money:" But, he was remitted to the committee of public accounts, for his debts, and to the treasury, for what might become due (*m*). This chapel seems to be extra-parochial; having its own district, with peculiar privileges (*n*).

The church of St. Cuthbert is, unquestionably, ancient, perhaps, as old as the age, which followed the demise of the worthy Cuthbert, towards the end of the seventh century. It is older than record in Scotland. It had several grants, before the charter of Holyrood (*o*). St. Cuthbert's church, with its parish, and its kirk-town, and all its rights, were granted, as we have seen, by David I., to the monks of Holyrood: He also granted to them the two chapels, which belonged to St. Cuthbert's church; *Crostorphin*, with two bovates, and six acres of land; and the chapel of Libertun, with two bovates of land, and all its rights: And he moreover conferred on those monks the tithes of all the fishings, which belonged to St. Cuthbert's church on the Forth,

There was a Gaelic chapel founded on the south side of the Castle-hill, in 1767, and finished, in 1779. Arnot, 283. A Roman Catholic chapel was built, in 1778, and burnt, in 1779. Ib. 288; Edin. Guide, 32-3.

(*i*) David I. granted to the monks of Holyrood, as we know from his charter, *ecclesiam castelli*, with all its rights.

(*k*) Rym. ii. 569—71.

(*l*) Robert III., on his accession, in 1390, confirmed that grant. Regist. Rob. III. Rot. x. 9.

(*m*) Minutes of the 25th August 1704; and the unprinted acts of that date.

(*n*) Maitl. Edin. 142—65.

(*o*) Macbeth of Libertun, who flourished early in David I.'s reign, granted to the church of St. Cuthbert the tithes, and oblations of Legbernard, a church, which cannot now be traced. Chart. St. Crucis. David I., soon after his accession, granted to St. Cuthbert's church, "juxta "castellum," the whole land, under the same castle, viz. "a fonte qui oritur juxta angulum gardini "reg. per *viam*," which went to the same church; on the other side, from the castle, to another way, which is under the castle, towards the east. MS. Col. of Charters from the Autograph. This description seems to be imperfect; yet, the limits of St. Cuthbert's parish surrounded almost the whole town, and included the burrough-moor.

including

including Newhaven (*p*). At that epoch, St. Cuthbert's, as it was the oldest, was the most extensive parish, in the lowlands of Mid-Lothian. At that period, St. Cuthbert's was the most valuable church, in Scotland, except Dunbar. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of St. Cuthbert "sub castro," in the deanry of Linlithgow, was rated at 160 marks. Yet, from that epoch, St. Cuthbert's, from being a mother church, with subordinate chapels, and other rights, became a vicarage (*q*). Besides the high altar, there were in St. Cuthbert's church several other altars, which had been consecrated to various saints, by pious votaries, with appropriate chaplains (*r*). St. Cuthbert's church had of old other chapels, belonging to it: It had St. Mary's chapel, at the foot of Chapel Wynd: On the burrough-moor, it had St. John's chapel, and St. Rogue's chapel: This last had a cemetery, to which leprous persons were sent, from Edinburgh, during the prevalence of the plague: And, in 1532, the magistrates granted to Sir John Young, the chaplain, four acres, in the burrough-moor, for keeping in repair the chapel, and praying for the souls of those, who were buried, in its cemetery: St. Rogue's chapel, and its pertinents, were converted, after the Reformation, into private property, by those men, who could deride the piety of their fathers, and had little other pretensions to religion, than grimace, and zeal (*s*). At Newhaven, there was a chapel, which also belonged to St. Cuthbert's, and served for the worship of the fishers, while the monks of Holyrood enjoyed the tithes: In 1606, Newhaven, and North-Leith, were formed into a separate parish, by dilapidating St. Cuthbert's. In 1633, this very ancient church, and its patronage, were conferred on the bishoprick of Edinburgh (*t*); but, when this episcopate ceased, at the Revolution, the patronage returned to the crown.

(*p*) Chart. of Holyrood, in Maitl. Edin. That grant of David I. was confirmed, by several charters of the bishops of St. Andrews.

(*q*) In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James v., the vicarage of St. Cuthbert's, in the deanry of Linlithgow, was taxed at 6l. 6s. 8d. The same vicarage appears, in the Tax Roll of the archbishop of St. Andrews, 1547.

(*r*) MS. Donations. In October 1487, William Towers of Inverleith, granted an annuity of 14 marks, for supporting a chaplain, to officiate at St. Anne's altar, in St. Cuthbert's church. Id. In January 1489, Alexander Currier, vicar of Hadington, granted various rents from tenements, in Edinburgh, to support a chaplain, to officiate, at the Trinity altar, in the same altar. Id.

(*s*) Arnot, 250, expresses his indignation at the improvidence, and impiety, of allowing the private appropriation of a burial ground, which might have been made so commodious to the city, for the same necessary purpose.

(*t*) Charter of Erection.

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The *Canongate* parish is of very recent establishment. This suburb did not exist, at the foundation of Holyrood abbey: The *canons* were empowered to settle here a village: And, from them, the *street* of this settlement was called the Canon*gate*, from the Saxon *gaet*, a way, or street, according to the practice of the 12th and 13th centuries, in Scotland, and in England. The immunities, which the canons, and their villagers, enjoyed, from David's grant, soon raised up a town, which extended from the abbey to the Nether-Port of Edinburgh; and the townsmen performed their usual devotions, in the church of the abbey, till the Reformation reversed all this regimen. In the room of the abbot, was now introduced, by the king's grant, a *commendator*, who enjoyed some of his privileges, and held, as a trustee, all his property. The temporal superiority of the Canongate was now transferred, by the facility of James VI., to the Earl of Roxburgh, who sold it, in 1636, to the magistrates of Edinburgh: And, this bargain was confirmed by the charter of Charles I., in 1639 (*u*). In this manner, then, did the *Canongate*, as it was was already a suburb, like Leith, and other districts, become the dependency of Edinburgh; having resident magistrates, who were annually appointed, by the town council of Edinburgh. Amidst this scramble, for patronage, the abbey church of Holyrood continued to be used, as the parish church of the Canongate, with appropriate ministers (*x*). In 1672, however, the privy council, in pursuance of the king's order, directed the abbey church to be used in future, as the chapel royal (*y*): Yet, was it still enjoyed by the parishioners, for divine service: And, it was not till 1687, that James VII. directed them to be excluded; and this chapel to be appropriated to the *Order of the Thistle* (*z*). Owing to a pious bequest of Thomas Moodie, a merchant, in Edinburgh, a fund had existed almost forty years, for building a parish church: But, amidst the public distractions, and private mismanage-

(*u*) Maitl. Edin. 148. In 1633, the bishop of Edinburgh was invested with the patronage of the abbey church; and the parson of Holyrood was created, by the act of erection, one of the prebendaries of the new episcopate: When this establishment was cast down, in 1638, the magistrates of Edinburgh acquired the patronage of the abbey church, and obtained an act of confirmation, from the rescinded parliament of 1640.

(*x*) In 1640, the magistrates obtained a parliamentary ratification of the patronage of the abbey church. In 1663, the parliament passed an act, concerning the stipends of the Canongate ministers. Unprinted Act.

(*y*) Arnot, 253.

(*z*) Fountainhall gives an account of that appropriation, i. 466: The inhabitants of the Canongate, whose church, this was not, of old, were ordained to go to Lady Yester's church; and the French minister, and his congregation, were sent to the High School: "So this, he adds, is the "first *protestant* church taken away from us." If James VII. had done nothing worse than this!

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ment, that trust had remained unexecuted (*a*). The Canongate parish has two ministers: The patronage of the first belongs to the king; and of the second, to the magistrates, the kirk-session, the heritors, and deacons of the eight incorporated crafts of the Canongate (*b*).

The influx of Leith water into the Forth, was called of old *Inver*-leith; which has been abridged to Leith, like other towns, in Scotland, having similar names: And, a consideration of the Gaelic name carries the mind back to Celtic times, before the consecutive accessions to the throne of Malcolm Canmore's children. The *inver*, or issue of Leith, was a port, and had a fishery, even before David I. became king. At that epoch, the port, and one half of the fishery of Inverleith, with the village of Newhaven, and the adjacent fields, which were all included in St. Cuthbert's parish, were conveyed by David I. to the canons of Holyrood (*c*). North-Leith, with the Castle-hill, lying on the southern side of the river, were parochially attached to the abbey church, where the inhabitants long performed their devotions. Under James IV., Robert Ballenden, the abbot of Holyrood, endowed a chapel, in North-Leith, which he dedicated to St. Ninian, for the convenient worship of the people: And, he gave them an additional convenience, by building a bridge of three arches, that connected the northern, and southern sides of the port. This endowment, which comprehended some benefactions to the poor, was confirmed by James IV., in January 1494 (*d*). This chapel was subordinate to the abbey church of Holyrood, till it was converted into a parish church, in 1606. The patronage of old belonged to the abbots; and afterward to the commendators of Holyrood. From John Bothwell, the commendator of Holyrood,

(*a*) In 1649, Moodie bequeathed to the magistrates of Edinburgh 20,000 marks, for building a church. In 1672, the people of the Canongate, foreseeing their want of a church, informed the king of Moodie's legacy, and of its fitness, for building them a church. Maitl. Edin. 142. In 1681, that sum, and its accumulations of interest, were placed, by parliament, at the king's disposal. Unprinted Act. And, the whole was now assigned, by James VII., to the original purpose of the pious Moodie, by building a church, in the Canongate, wherein the old rights of individuals should be preserved. In pursuance of that direction, ground was purchased; and a church was built, in 1688-9, at the expence of 43,000 marks Scots. It was built, in form of a cross; and on the front were placed, in obvious allusion to the ancient legend, the figures of the head, and horns, of a stag, with a cross erect. Maitl. Edin. 142—60. We may easily suppose, that these emblems were set up, before the Revolution; since, "they figured the nature of the times deceased."

(*b*) The greater part of the area, and lofts, of the Canongate church, belongs either to the incorporated trades, or to various noble families, who were formerly connected with the king's household. Stat. Acco. vi. 566.

(*c*) Charter of Holyrood, in Maitland.

(*d*) MS. Donations; Maitl. Edin. 497.

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the people of North-Leith purchased St. Ninian's chapel, with the chaplain's house, the tithes, and other pertinents, belonging to it. They now rebuilt the chapel, and the chaplain's house; and they obtained, from the parliament of 1606, an act, erecting the district belonging to it, into an appropriate parish (*e*); and investing in the kirk-session, the revenues, for the minister's stipend, which was then settled at 800 marks Scots; and which was afterward augmented to double the amount (*f*). In 1630, Newhaven, with the adjacent lands, and the chapel, were annexed to the parish of North-Leith, which since 1606, comprehended little more than the town (*g*). In 1633, the parish of North-Leith, thus enlarged, was annexed to the episcopate of Edinburgh. George Wishart was minister of North-Leith, at the epoch of the Covenant; and refusing to adopt what he could not approve, was imprisoned as a felon, and deprived of his charge. He retired into countries of more charity, where he became chaplain, first to the great Montrose, and afterward to the queen of Bohemia: And, returning to England, at the Restoration, he obtained the rectory of Newcastle, and soon after the bishoprick of Edinburgh (*h*). The magistrates of Edinburgh, who were studious to purchase every right, within their reach, bought from the Earl of Roxburgh the superiority of North-Leith, with its dependencies (*i*): And, they wrested from the people, the patronage of the church, which was theirs, by purchase, and possession (*k*). When the bishoprick of Edinburgh was restored, in 1662, the magistrates of Edinburgh were deprived of what they had usurped. And, in 1689, when episcopacy was abolished, the parishioners were restored to their right of patronage, which they still enjoy (*l*).

The

(*e*) Unprinted Act. (*f*) Maitl. 498; Unprinted Act, 1640.

(*g*) The place was called *Newhaven*, in contradistinction to the old haven of Leith, when James IV. established a dock-yard here, for building ships. In April 1508, Sir James Cowie formally resigned the chaplainry of Newhaven to the king. And the magistrates of Edinburgh, fearful of some evil, from that establishment, purchased it from the king. Maitl. 500.

(*h*) Keith, 39. He was consecrated bishop, in 1662, and died, in 1671. Id.

(*i*) Maitl. 148.

(*k*) The violence of the magistrates was ratified in the reprobated parliament of 1640, whose conduct was congenial with their own. Unprinted Act, 1640.

(*l*) When Cromwell built the Citadel at North-Leith, he deprived the parishioners of their burying-ground. John Ray, when he came to Leith, in 1661, saw the Citadel, which Cromwell built, on the site of the cemetery, at the expence of 100,000l. There were three forts advanced above the rest, and two platforms: The works round about were faced with free-stone, towards the ditch; and were almost as high as the highest buildings within. Ray's Itinerary, 195. Upon its demolition, the Duke of Lauderdale, knowing the passion of the magistrates of Edinburgh for pre-eminence,

The parish of Restalrig, which is merely a corruption of *Lestalric*, is not so ancient as the former; at least, it does not appear in the ancient *Taxatio*. The meaning of the name, which seems to be Saxon, is as obscure, as the origin of the parish. At the demise of William, the lion, this district of *Lestalric* was possessed by a family of the same name (*m*). There were undoubtedly a church, and parish of Lestalric, lying between Dudingston, and Leith, at the demise of Alexander III. (*n*). During the reign of Robert I, a family of the name of Logan obtained a right to Restalrig, with its pertinents (*o*). And, the Logans continued to be the barons of Restalrig, till the year 1604, before they became forfeited, for their participation, in Gowry's conspiracy (*p*). The patronage of the church of Restalrig was confirmed to Thomas Logan, in 1435, by William,

pre-eminence, procured a grant of the site of the Citadel, with the privileges of a burrough of barony. The magistrates, perceiving the danger of such a neighbour, purchased his right, at an exorbitant price. Maitl. 499.

(*m*) In 1214, Thomas de *Lestalric* granted some tenements, in Leith, which he describes, as lying southward of the *High Street* between Edinburgh and Leith. Chart. Inchcolm, 16. This *street* seems to be the same, as the road, which is now called Leith *Walk*.

(*n*) In 1291, Adam of St. Edmunds was *parson* of *Lestalric*: And, he had a writ to the sheriff of Edinburgh, to deliver him his lands, and rights. Rot. Scotiæ, 6. The same Adam, the parson of the church of Lestalric, swore fealty to Edward, in 1296. Prynne, iii. 656. And, he had a precept for delivery of all his rights. Rot. Scotiæ, 29. John de Lestalric was then baron of Lestalric. Prynne, iii. 654.

(*o*) In 1398, Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, knight, sold to the magistrates of Edinburgh some ground, lying between the river and the houses of South-Leith, for the convenience of lading, and unlading their ships, and the use of a passage, or road, between Edinburgh, and Leith, through his barony of Restalrig; and he gave them, also, the right of erecting granaries for corn, and of keeping shops, for the sale of commodities, in the town of Leith. Such is the origin of the rights of Edinburgh, in South-Leith. In 1555, the queen regent purchased from Robert Logan of Restalrig the superiority of the town, and *links*, of South-Leith: And, the inhabitants of the town of South-Leith advanced 3,000l. Scots of the price; on an engagement, however, that she would erect South-Leith into a royal burrough: And, this the regent queen, in some measure, carried into effect. Maitl. Edin. 486. She even erected a house, for her residence, at Leith: And she thus attracted several nobles to follow her example. Ib. 496. But, the Reformation darkened all their prospects; And, the siege of Leith, in 1560, ruined all. In 1566, Queen Mary, amidst her distresses, borrowed 10,000 marks of Edinburgh, and *mortgaged* the *superiority* of Leith, for the repayment. Ib. 27. When the queen was dethroned, in 1567, the town council of Edinburgh, taking advantage of the existing anarchy, took possession of Leith, by an armed force. Ib. 31. After a thousand oppressions, the magistrates of Edinburgh, by watching occasions, at length obtained a complete title, to the superiority of Leith. See Maitland, throughout.

(*p*) Arnot's Crim. Trials, 46-60; Unprinted Act, 20th Parl. Ja. VI.

bishop of St. Andrews (*q*). A collegiate establishment was made in this parish of Restalrig, by James III., improved by James IV., and completed by James V. But, this collegiate erection seems not to have interfered with the parsonage, which remained entire, till the Reformation (*r*). The first general assembly of the reformed church, which met, without authority, at Edinburgh, in December 1560, ordained the kirk of Restalrig, to be utterly destroyed, as *a monument of idolatry*: And, the parishioners were ordered to perform their future devotions, in Leith chapel (*s*). It was the chapel of *the Virgin*, in Leith, to which the parishioners of Restalrig were thus transferred, by that violent decree of a fanatical assembly (*t*). The revenues of the chaplainries were now appropriated as a stipend, for the officiating ministers of Restalrig parish (*u*). Robert Logan, the profligate baron of Restalrig, sold this barony, in 1604, to the first Lord Balmerino, the secretary of state (*x*.) In 1609, the parliament divested the church and parish of Restalrig of their legal rights, which were conferred on Mary's chapel, in Leith, with the whole revenues, and pertinents; and South-Leith was now made a separate parish; and the patronage of the new church was declared to belong to the patron of the old (*y*). The church-yard, which surrounds

(*q*) Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Collections.

(*r*) In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood, under James V., the *rectory* of Restalrig, in the deanry of Linlithgow, was taxed at 20l. Scots: The rectory of Restalrig also appears, in the Tax Roll of the archbishoprick of St. Andrews, 1547.

(*s*) Keith's Hist. 499.

(*t*) This chapel had been founded a century and a half before. And, it had been enriched, by many donations. MS. Col. of Donations. In 1490, Peter Falconer of Leith granted an annuity of 13 marks, for supporting a chaplain, at St. Peter's altar, in the Virgin Mary's kirk. Id. In 1499, Gilbert Edmiston of Leith granted a rent of 12 marks, to St. Barbara's altar, in the same kirk. Id. The choir of this chapel was destroyed, by the English invaders, under the Earl of Hertford, in 1544.

(*u*) Maitl. 487. In 1593, the people of Leith added another minister, at their own expence. Id.

(*x*) Dougl. Peer. 65. Robert Logan of Restalrig, who was concerned in Gowry's conspiracy, 1600, seems to have died a bankrupt, about the year 1607. He sold, in 1596, his estate of Nether-Gogar, to Andrew Logan of Coatfield. In 1602, he sold his lands of Fastcastle, to Archibald Douglas. His barony of Restalrig he sold to Lord Balmerino, in 1604: And, his lands of Quarrel-holes, he disposed of, in 1605. Douglas Peer. 65, who quotes charters, in the Pub. Archives.

(*y*) Unprinted Act, 1609, No. 5; Maitl. 488. The patronage of this parish was acquired, in 1604, by Lord Balmerino; and his descendant forfeited it, in 1746: The patronage of the first minister now belongs to the king, after so many forfeitures; and the patronage of the second belongs

surrounds the ancient church of Restalrig, continues to be the cemetery of the parish: And, many pious christians, who do not conceur, in thinking the ancient fabric to have been an idolatrous fane, continue to bury their dead among their respected progenitors (*z*).

The ancient parishes of Corstorphin, and Gogar, form the present parish. *Corstorphin* is a mere corruption of *Crostorphin*; as appears from the original orthography of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries. The change of *Cros*, for *Cors*, is very common, in the vulgar practice of Scotish topography. It obtained, doubtless, that name from *a cross*, which may have been erected, in memory of some person, having the dignified name of Torfin. But, it is not easy to connect it, by historical retrospection, with *Torfin*, the grandson of Malcolm II., the son of Sigurd, one of the reguli of Cathness, who fell at the battle of Clontarf, near Dublin, in 1014 A. D. In the 12th century, the manor of Crostorphin had a chapel, which was subordinate to the church of St. Cuthbert. This chapel had then a glebe of two oxgates, and six acres of land: And, it was granted by David I., with St. Cuthbert's church, to the canons of Holyrood (*a*). Crostorphin remained a chapelry, during the reign of Alexander II. (*b*). It was disjoined, from St. Cuthbert's; and erected into a separate parish, by the bishop of St. Andrews. The parish church of Crostorfin, with its lands, and tithes, continued to belong to the canons of Holyrood, till the Reformation altered the old regimen. Under James I., Sir John Forester founded a chapel to St. John, in the church-yard of Crostorphin: And, this he formed into a collegiate church, in 1429, which became the parish church, after the Reforma-

belongs to the kirk-session, and incorporated trades. In 1750, there was, in South-Leith, a chapel of the church of England, wherein those performed their devotions, who prefer a *service book* to extemporary prayers. Maitl. 495.

(*z*) Maitl. 503. In 1720, Alexander Rose, the last bishop of Edinburgh, who witnessed the suppression of his church, in 1689, was interred amid the ruins of the church of Restalrig. Keith, 41.

(*a*) Chart. of Holyrood.

(*b*) In that reign, David, the king's marshal, granted to the canons of that house, the meadow, called *Hardmedwe*, which lay, within the limits of Salchtun, in exchange, for two acres of land, belonging to the chapel of Crostorfin, which were between his corn-land. Macfarlane's MS. Collections. The Marshals continued to hold the lands of Crostorfin, at the end of the 13th century. Thomas le Marshal of *Crostorfin*, swore fealty to Edward I, in August 1296. Prynne, iii. 660. Sir David Marshal forfeited those lands, under David II., who granted them to Malcolm de Ramsay: From him Crostorphin passed to Sir William More of Abercorn, who sold the same property, in the reign of Robert II., to Adam Forrester, whose descendants held Crostorfin till the recent reign of Charles II.

tion (*c*). The church of Gogyr is older than that of Crostorfin. It was, however, of less extent, and of little value. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Gogyr, in the deanry of Linlithgow, was rated at 12 marks. The canons of Holyrood early acquired the church of Gogyr, which was confirmed to them, by David bishop of St. Andrews, in 1240 (*d*). In 1296, Andrew, the parson of Gogyr, swore fealty to Edward I.; and, by a writ to the sheriff of Edinburgh, was restored to his revenues (*e*). Gogyr seems, however, to have been detached afterward from Holyrood abbey: For, in Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James v., the rectory of Gogyr was taxed, at £5:6:8; and none of the monastic churches were taxed, in that Roll. In 1429, the tithes of Upper-Gogyr were granted, by Sir John Forester, to the collegiate church, which he founded, at that time, in Corstorphin; and Gogyr was one of the prebends of his collegiate establishments (*f*). After the Reformation had thrown down such erections, the parishes of Corstorphin, and Gogyr, were united; and the college church of Corstorphin became the parish church (*g*). In 1633, an act was passed, uniting certain lands to the kirk of Corstorphin; and another, for disuniting the prebends from the collegiate church (*h*). At that ill-omened epoch, the church of Corstorphin, and its pertinents, were annexed to the bishoprick of Edinburgh; but, upon its final abolition, in 1689, the patronage was granted to Sir James Dick, whose descendants enjoy it.

The name of the parish of Liberton, which was anciently written *Libertun*, is obviously of Saxon original, though its real etymology be somewhat doubtful: It is, probably, a corruption of *Leper-tun*, which, perhaps, may derive some support, from the consideration, that of old a hospital existed at Upper-Liberton, where the church stands; whence the place may have been called *Spital-town* (*i*). At the epoch of record, *Libertun* was a chapelry, subordinate to the church of

(*c*) In 1477, William Chalmer, the vicar of Kirkurd, granted some lands, in the manor of Corstorphin, and various annual-rents, for supporting a chaplain, to officiate at *St. Ninian's* altar, in Corstorphin church: This endowment was confirmed, in 1477, by James III. MS. Donations.

(*d*) Register of St. Andrews. (*e*) Rym. ii. 724.

(*f*) Charter in Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Collections.

(*g*) It is still the parish church: And it is a respectable building of Gothic architecture, in the form of a Jerusalem cross. The arms of the founder are exhibited on various parts of the church; and several monuments of this family are placed in niches, within the church: The figures sculptured in stone are as large as life, and are executed with skill: The male figures are represented, in armour, and the female figures in the costume of the age. The roof of this church is formed of large flag-stones, which are supported by strong arches. Stat. Acco. xiv. 448—50.

(*h*) Unprinted Act, of that session.

(*i*) Transact. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 293.

St. Cuthbert;

St. Cuthbert; and there belonged to the chapel a glebe of two oxgates of land: And, this chapel was probably dedicated to the Virgin; as there is a spring, in the vicinity, which is called *our Lady's well:* The earliest notice of this chapel has been, mistakingly, carried back to the age of the renowned MacBeth; by confounding MacBeth of Liberton, who flourished under David I., with MacBeth, who fell, at Lumphanan, in December 1056; by mistaking a grant of MacBeth of Liberton to the church of St. Cuthbert, for a grant of his to the chapel of Liberton (*k*). With St. Cuthbert's church, David I. granted the chapel of Liberton to the canons of Holyrood: He gave them, also, thirty cart-loads of brushwood, from his woodlands of Liberton; and to these grants he added the tenth of the multure of his mill of Liberton (*l*). At that epoch, Upper-Liberton, where stood the chapel, belonged to MacBeth, while Nether-Liberton, the mill, and other demises, were held by the king (*m*). At the request of the abbot of Holyrood, the chapelry of Liberton was disjoined from St. Cuthbert's church, by the bishop of St. Andrews, some time after the year 1240 (*n*). The church of Liberton, thus constituted, continued with the canons of Holyrood till the Reformation. As the rectory belonged to those canons, before that epoch, the cure was served by a vicar (*o*). There were, in this parish, of old, two chapels, which were subordinate to the church: The most ancient was St. Catharine's chapel, near which there is a remarkable spring, called the Oily Well, and dedicated to St. Catharine: In former times,

(*k*) Arnot's Edin. 5, fell into those mistakes; and he was followed, by the Rev. Thomas Whyte, in his account of this parish, for the Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 298. MacBeth held a considerable part of the lands of Liberton, during David I.'s reign; and he had the honour of witnessing some of David's Charters. Diplom. Scotiæ, fol. xvi.; Chart. Newbotle, No. 11; Dalrym. Cal. 429; Chart. Holyrood: Those charters leave no doubt, whether MacBeth of Liberton flourished, under David I.

(*l*) Chart. of Holyrood. The mill of Liberton came down, from David I. to Robert I., who granted from it five marks sterling, yearly, to the preaching friars of Edinburgh. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 68.

(*m*) In August 1296, Alan de Libertoun, and David de Libertoun, the tenants of the king, in Edinburghshire, swore fealty to Edward I. Prynne, iii. 656. This notice, with others of a similar kind, evince the import of the terms, "tenants of the king," in this roll: They were tenants of the king, in his demesn, and not his tenants in chief: And, we have just seen, that the king's demesns, in Libertoun, descended to Robert Bruce.

(*n*) There are several notices of the parson of Libertoun, in the long reign of William, the lion, in the Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 299, by the Rev. Thomas Whyte: But, these, and other intimations, unhappily apply to Libertoun, in Lanerkshire.

(*o*) There belonged to the vicarage of Liberton a husband-land, in the manor of Gilmerton. Inquisit. Special. 1607, iv. 93.

St. Catharine's

St. Catharine's well was resorted to by persons having cutaneous complaints, with some salutary effects (*p*). Around the chapel was a consecrated burying-ground. After the Reformation, St. Catharine's chapel became a ruin; and was completely demolished, early in the last century, by some sacrilegious person, who was remarked, by the neighbouring people, not to have afterward prospered (*q*). Near that holy site, there is a mansion, which continues to bear the name of St. Catharines. The other chapel, in this parish, was dedicated to the Virgin, by Wauchope of Nidderie, the lord of the manor, in 1389. The descendant of the founder, re-endowed this chapel, with a manse, and glebe, for the chaplain; reserving the patronage to his family: And, James IV. confirmed this endowment (*r*). At the Reformation, this chapelry, and its revenues, were annexed to Liberton church. Nidderie chapel was demolished, at the Revolution, by the same zealots, who defaced the chapel of Holyrood (*s*). After the Reformation, the patronage of the church of Liberton was enjoyed, incidentally, by the commendators of Holyrood; and was granted, in 1607, to John Bothwell, the last of the commendators, as a pertinent of his temporal barony (*t*). The church of Liberton, in 1633, was constituted a prebend of the bishoprick of Edinburgh: But, upon the ultimate abolition of episcopacy, the patronage of the church of Liberton devolved on the king, who conceded a share of the forfeiture to the descendants of the original founders of Nidderie chapel (*u*).

The name of *Dudingston* parish was written, in the charters of the 12th and 13th centuries, *Dodinestun*. It appears to have obtained this designation, like other districts, from the name of *Dodin*, whose *tun* it was, during the

(*p*) Of the supposed miracles of St. Catharine's well, Boece delighted to tell. The nuns of the Sheens, on the burrough-moor, made an annual procession to St. Catharine's chapel, and well. When King James returned to Scotland, in 1617, he visited the *Balm Well* of St. Catharine; and caused it to be inclosed with a stone wall, with a door, and steps, for the accommodation of the afflicted patients. But, in 1650, this charitable building was demolished, and the well choaked up, by Cromwell's soldiers, who did not regard its medicinal use.

(*q*) Trans. Antiq. Soc. 324. (*r*) Ib. 368; MS. Donations.

(*s*) Of the chapel, there remains now only the burial-place of the family of Nidderie Marishal. Trans. Ant. Soc. 345.

(*t*) Crawford's Peer. 185.

(*u*) Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin., where may be seen an elaborate account of this parish, with some mistakes. Under the insidious toleration of James VII., a dissenting meeting-house was established, at Craigmiller; but, it was crushed by the Revolution. On the 22d of May 1685, Little of Liberton's lady was imprisoned, for harbouring *conventicklers*; but, on his entering into prison, for her, she was liberated. Fountainhall, i. 363.

reigns

reigns of David I., and Malcolm IV. (*x*). This parish had been settled, in prior times, though its more ancient name cannot now be known. During the reign of William, the lion, the monks of Kelso acquired the church, and lands of Dodinston; but, from whose bounty, cannot be accurately told, since the chartulary is silent. As those lands lay at some distance from Kelso, the abbots let them, on the most advantageous terms (*y*). Within the barony of Dudingston, the abbots appointed their baron-baillies, who executed their jurisdiction, within their proper limits (*z*). The church of Dudingston appears to have been of moderate value: And, in the ancient *Taxatio*, it is rated at 25 marks. During the reign of Robert Bruce, the monks valued the rectory, according to the established use, at £20 a-year (*a*). The rectory continued to belong to the monks of Kelso, till the Reformation: And, the cure was served, by a vicar (*b*). After the Reformation, the patronage of Dudingston church, with the manor, passed through successive proprietors, to James Earl of Abercorn, who purchased it, in 1745, from the Duke of Argyle; and formed here an elegant seat. In 1630, the estate of Prestonfield was disjoined, from the parish of

(*x*) In those early times, there lived several persons of the name of *Dodin*. Chart. Kelso, 39, 272; Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 24. Dodin gave to the monks of Kelso the church of Linton-Roderick, in the presence of Herbert, the bishop of Glasgow. Chart. Kelso, 433. Dodin, who gave his name to Dodingston parish, cannot be exactly ascertained: Yet, "Hugo filius Dodini de "Dodines-tun" appears, in a charter of William de Vetereponte to the canons of Holyrood, during the reign of William, the lion. Dalrymp. Col. Pref. lxvii. And, Dodin of Dodinestun lived under Malcolm IV.; as we see him a witness, in a charter of Simprin. Chart. Kelso, No. 272.

(*y*) Abbot Henry, from 1208 to 1218, at the end of the long reign of William, granted to Regenald de Bosco the lands of Easter-Dodineston, with the half of the peatery of Camberun; rendering for the same 10 marks, yearly. Chart. Kelso, 453. Abbot Herbert confirmed to Thomas, the son of Reginald, the same lands, and peatery, for the same annual-rent; he performing to the king "forinsecum servitium." Ib. 241-454. Abbot Hugh granted to Emma, the widow of Thomas, the custody of her son, and heir, till he should arrive at lawful age, for which she paid twenty pounds of silver, "quas nobis paccavit unacum maritagio sui ipsius libere." Ib. 455. During the reign of Robert I., Abbot William granted to Sir William de Tushelaw, the half of the manor of Wester-Dodinston, for which he was bound to pay 12 marks of yearly rent, Ib. 547. From this manor, in that reign, the monks were paid 24 marks of silver. Ib. 26. In 1466, Abbot Allan granted to Cuthbert Knighston a part of the lands of Dodinston, in fee, for the yearly rent of four marks. Ib. 491.

(*z*) In the Chart. Kelso, 544, there is a deputation to Sir Simon Preston, knight, by Abbot Patrick, as baron-baillie.

(*a*) Ib. 31.

(*b*) In August 1296, John Comhale, the vicar of Dodinestun, swore fealty to Edward I.; and received, in return, a restitution of his revenues, from the sheriff of Edinburgh. Rym. ii. 724.

St.

St. Cuthbert, and annexed to Dudingston (*c*). The parish church stands, at West-Dudingston, at the south-east base of Arthur's Seat. It is a very ancient fabric: And its arches, and ornaments, when examined, with antiquarian eyes, may seem to be as antique, as the days of Dodin.

The name of the parish of *Cramond* is merely a corruption of the British *Caer-amon*, the fort on the Amon (*d*): And, the site of the Roman station, and the place of the modern town, which are both the same, are on the eastern bank of the Amon river, at its influx into the Forth. David I., when he was studious to introduce English barons into Scotland, granted one half of the manor of Cramond, with the church, to Robert Avenel: And, among his other liberalities, Avenel transferred both to the bishop of Dunkeld (*e*). Nether-Cramond, whereon stood the church, at the mouth of the Amon, was, from that transfer, called Bishop's Cramond; while the other half of this manor, which long remained in the crown, was known by the name of King's Cramond. The bishops of Dunkeld had a residence, at Cramond: And, in 1210, Richard de Prebenda, the bishop, died here; and was buried, in the neighbouring monastery of Inchcolm, to which he had granted 20 shillings a-year, from the church of Cramond (*f*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Cramond does not appear among the churches, in the deanry of Linlithgow; as it was rated with the churches within the bishoprick of Dunkeld. It continued a mensal church of the bishops of that diocese, till the Reformation dissolved such connections. The cure was served by a vicar; and he was appointed, by the bishops, who drew the parsonage tithes, while the vicar enjoyed the small tithes. In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James v., the vicarage of Cramond was taxed at £4, among the extra-benefices of the bishoprick of Dunkeld. In the church of Cramond, there were of old two altars: The one was consecrated to

(*c*) In 1631, the presbytery of Edinburgh ordained an aile to be added to the church of Dudingston, at the expence of the proprietor of Prestonfield, for the use of himself, and his tenants. Stat. Acco. xviii. 366.

(*d*) In the charters of the 12th and 13th centuries, that name is written *Caramond*. Chart. Inchcolm; Dalrymp. Col.

(*e*) Dalrymple's Col. 397. Robert Avenel died, in 1185. Chron. Mailros.

(*f*) Chart. Inchcolm, No. 3; Fordun, l. viii. c. 75. In 1256, the dean and chapter of Dunkeld confirmed the pious donation of bishop Richard. Chart. Inchcolm, No. 17. In 1357, John, the bishop of Dunkeld, issued a precept to Thomas, the perpetual vicar of Cramond, directing him to pay the monks of Inchcolm 40 shillings sterling from the revenues of his church. Ib. 4. In addition, the monks of Inchcolm had a rent of 23s. 4d., from the mills of Cramond. Inquisit. Speciales, xvii. 94. The abbey of Inchcolm became thus the convenient burial-place of the bishops of Dunkeld.

Columba,

Columba, the patron saint of Dunkeld; and the other was dedicated to the Virgin: And both were endowed with lands, and rents, for the support of an appropriate chaplain (*g*). After the Reformation had exploded such chaplainries, Sir Thomas Hamilton, the first Earl of Hadington, acquired a right to the lands, which had thus been conferred; and which descended to his heirs (*h*). At the Reformation, the bishop of Dunkeld received from the church, and demesns of Camond, 58 chalders of victual (*i*): At the Revolution, the bishops of Dunkeld received only £100 Scots, from the same church, and lands (*k*): Such had been the dilapidations of the intermediate period (*l*)! Alexander Douglas of Edinburgh appears to have acquired the bishop's manor of Nether-Cramond, during James VI.'s reign: He sold it, in 1624, to James Inglis, who, upon Douglas's resignation, obtained it from the superior, Bishop Lindsay, with the consent of his chapter (*m*).

Colington parish was of old called *Hales*, or in the modern form *Hailes*, which is still the name of an estate, in this parish: The mansion of Hailes, where the ancient church stood, is about half a mile north-west, from the village of Colington. The name of this district, as well as the appellation of *Hailes*, in East-Lothian, is derived from the Celtic *Hales*, a moor, or hillock: And Hale, in this sense, is still retained, in the Cornish (*n*). The plural form of the word arose, from there having been two places, East-Hale, and West-Hale, in this

(*g*) In 1478, Alexander Currour, the vicar of Dunsyre, made various donations of lands, and rents, to the chaplain of Columba, for his support, and his dwelling. James III. confirmed his grants, in 1478. The patronage of both those altars was acquired by the Moubrays of Barnbougle. Wood's Cramond, 73.

(*h*) Inquisit. Speciales, xv. 140; xvi. 1; xviii. 202.

(*i*) MS. Rental of that see. (*k*) MS. Rental.

(*l*) In 1589, Sir James Elphinston, a lord of session, secretary of state, and the first Lord Balmerino, procured from Bishop Rollock a lease of the tithes of Cramond, for two terms of 19 years each, for payment of 260 marks Scots yearly. The folly, and fraudulence of such a contract, need not be mentioned. This Lord Balmerino was tried, and convicted of a treasonous breach of trust, as secretary of state, in 1609. Spottiswoode's Hist, 507—11. In 1631, Bishop Lindsay of Dunkeld made an ineffectual attempt, to reduce, by law, that improvident lease. Durie's Decisions, 585. This fact explains the cause of the second Lord Balmerino's enmity to the bishops, which induced him to raise sedition against the king, for which he was tried, and convicted, pardoned, and rebelled. Nalson, i. 4. The last Lord Balmerino, following the example of his fathers, fell under the axe of the law, on Tower-hill, in 1746.

(*m*) Dougl. Baronage, 264: Inglis then obtained the lands of Nether-Cramond, the manor-place, the harbour, with the privileges thereunto belonging. For other particulars of this parish, see Wood's Cramond.

(*n*) There is in Cornwall a village, named *Hale*: And see Borlase's Cornwall, and Pryce's Archaiologia.

parish, and South-Hale, and North-Hale, in East-Lothian. The lands, and church, of Hale, in Mid-Lothian, were granted by Ethelred, one of the sons of Malcolm Canmore, to the monks of Dunfermlin; and his grant was confirmed by his younger brother, David I. (*o*). The church of Hales seems to have been withdrawn from the monks of Dunfermlin, and given to the canons of Holyrood, who obtained a confirmation from David, the bishop of St. Andrews (*p*). The church of Hales was afterward given to the canons of St. Anthony, in Leith; and this gift was confirmed to them by Bishop Kennedy, in 1445 (*q*). In December 1482, the preceptor of St. Anthony, at Leith, had a suit in parliament against John, Lord Carlyle, for the tithes, and rents, which appertained to the kirk of Hales (*r*). It continued, probably, with the canons of St. Anthony, till the Reformation. The church of Hales appears to have been always of great value: And it was rated, in the ancient *Taxatio*, at 60 marks. As the rectory was monastic property, the cure was of old served by a vicar. Though the church of Hales ceased to belong to the monks of Dunfermlin, they continued superiors of the lands of East-Hales, till the Reformation. The family of Crichton held those lands of the monks of Dunfermlin, for payment of a certain feu-duty: On the forfeiture of William, Lord Crichton, in 1484, the lands of Hailes reverted to the abbot, as superior, who held them, three-and-thirty years (*r*). In 1506, Abbot James granted the estate of Hailes to Thomas Forester (*s*). The name of this parish has been changed, in modern times, to *Colington*; as the parish church stands, at the village of this name, on a flat, round which the water of Leith winds its circular course: And the town of Colington obviously obtained its modern appellation, from some person, called Colin, whose tun it was (*t*). The present parish church was built, in 1773; and its manse, in 1784.

(*o*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ. The grant of David was confirmed, by the bishop of St. Andrews. Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Col. And it was confirmed by a bull of Gregory, in 1234. MS. Monast. Scotiæ.

(*p*) Reg. of St. Andrews, 33. We are assured, by Fordun, l. viii. c. 62. William, the bishop of St. Andrews, withdrew from the monks of Dunfermlin, the presentation of the vicarage of Hales; "quia quadam vice dum pernoctaret ibi, deficit sibi potus vini ad collationem suam in "camera sua."

(*q*) Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Col. No. 5. (*r*) Parl. Rec. 288.

(*r*) Parl. Rec. 307. (*s*) Chart. Dunfermlin, 37.

(*t*) The name was formerly written Colintoun: In 1609, Sir James Foulis of Colintoun was served heir to his father, Sir James, in the barony of Colintoun, comprehending the brew-lands of Colintoun, with the corn, and *fulling* mills, the lands of Swanstoun, Dreghorn, Bonalay, Baddis, Pilmure, and Oxengangs. Inquisit. Speciales, iv. 282.

The

The parish of *Currie* was of old called *Killeith*, or *Killeleith*, as it was variously written. It plainly obtained this Celtic name, from the Gaelic *cill*, signifying a church, or chapel, which was prefixed to the name of the water of *Leith*, on which stood the ancient church (*u*). There is still a hamlet, that is named *Killeith*, on the eastern side of Leith water, near Currie. The church of Killeith was early of considerable value; as in the ancient *Taxatio* it was rated at 50 marks. The parsonage of Killeith was of old the appropriate benefice of the *archdeacon* of Lothian; and thus continued till the Reformation. In 1296, William, archdeacon of Lothian, and parson of the church of *Killeith*, swore fealty to Edward I., who commanded the sheriff of Edinburghshire to restore him to his property (*x*). Currie appears to have become the name of this parish, during the 15th century; yet, was the old name occasionally used, as we have seen, till recent times. Archibald Whitlaw, the archdeacon of Lothian, and secretary of state to James III., and his successor, granted an annual rent of 12 marks, from a tenement, in Edinburgh, for supporting a chaplain to perform divine service, in the *parish church of Currie:* And this endowment was confirmed by James IV., in 1493 (*y*). As archdeacon of Lothian, Whitlaw was more than two-and-twenty years rector of the church of Currie. In 1584, James VI. granted to the newly founded college of Edinburgh, the *parsonage*, and the *vicarage* of Currie, with the tithes, church-lands, glebe, and their pertinents, anciently called *the archdeaconry of Lothian:* And this grant he confirmed to the city of Edinburgh, in March 1603 (*z*). The town council of Edinburgh, owing to those grants, still enjoy the patronage of the church of Currie. The village of Currie, where the church has stood for ages, is situated on both the sides of the river Leith, which here runs, in a deep channel, between steep banks. The name is, merely, the Gaelic *Cuiré*, signifying a deep hollow, which, in fact, is here formed by the river: The Gaelic *Cuiré*, and *Coiré*, thus signifying a hollow, are found in many local names; which, in the vulgar use, have acquired the corrupted forms of *Currie*,

(*u*) In 1609, Sir James Foulis of Colintoun was served heir to his father, in the barony of Colintoun, particularly in the church-lands, and glebe of the parish church of Currie, alias *Kelleleith*, with common of pasture in the lands, and moor of *Killeleith*, within the parish of Currie, and diocese of St. Andrews. Inquisit. Speciales, iv. 282.

(*x*) Rym. ii. 724. (*y*) MS. Donations.

(*z*) Maitl. Edin. 244—54. The annexation of the parsonage of Currie to the college of Edinburgh was ratified by the parliament of 1592. Act, No. 159. In 1636, Charles I. confirmed the whole archdeaconry of Lothian to the city of Edinburgh, for the use of the college. Maitl. Edin. 261.

and *Corrie*. Those considerations, with regard to the names of Kil-leith, and Currie, carry the mind back to the Gaelic times, which succeeded the epoch of 1020, when the Scotish people acquired the predominancy here. The parish church, which stands upon a height, above the village of Currie, is a modern edifice, which contributes to give picturesque beauty to the site.

The parish of Ratho, from the name of the baronial residence of old, has the honour of a British name: The British *Rhath*, of which the plural is *Rath-au*, signifying a cleared spot, a bare place, a plain: And, in ancient charters, the name is written *Rathew*, and *Ratheu* (*a*). The ancient church of Ratho was consecrated to the Virgin; and near it, there is a copious spring, called *our lady's well* (*b*). This church was early of considerable value: And, in the ancient *Taxatio*, it is rated at 70 marks. Ratho was a rectory, of which the patronage appears to have belonged to the lord of the manor of Ratho, which was of considerable extent (*c*). The baron of Ruthau, during the Scoto-Saxon period, cannot be easily ascertained. He probably forfeited his estate, during the succession war, which made so many changes of property. In 1315, the barony of Ratho, and other estates, were granted by Robert I. to the Stewart of Scotland, in marriage with the king's daughter, Marjory, who brought the Stewart's family the Scotish crown (*d*). On the accession of Robert II. to the throne, in 1371, the barony of Ratho, with its pertinents, and the other estates of the Stewarts, were settled on the king's eldest son, and heir, as the prince, and Stewart of Scotland (*e*): And, the whole estates of the Stewarts were formed, on the 10 of December 1404, into a principality, with regal jurisdiction (*f*). Charles II., as prince, and Stewart of Scotland, granted several charters to his vassals, in the barony of Ratho, and Ratho-*myre* (*g*). Ratho remained an independant parsonage, of which the prince was patron,

(*a*) See Owen's Dict. in vo. *Rath:* In the Gaelic, and Irish, *Rath* has originally the same meaning; and, secondarily, denotes a fenced dwelling, a village, a place of security, a fort.

(*b*) Stat. Acco. vii. 260.

(*c*) In 1296, Richard, the parson of Ratheu, swore fealty to Edward I. Prynne, iii. 661. In 1349, Richard Small, the rector of Rathau, witnessed a charter of Sir William Douglas. Hay's Vindication, 59. In 1351, Richard Small, the rector of Ratheu, witnessed another charter, at Dalkeith. Regist. Dav. II. No. 156.

(*d*) Roberts. Index, 9. The original charter is in the Register-house.

(*e*) Chart. in the Pub. Archives; published in Robertson's Index, and in Hay's Vindication.

(*f*) There is a copy of this charter, in Carmichael's Tracts; and in the MS. Monast. Scotiæ; as, indeed, there was once a copy in the Register, and among Hadington's Collections.

(*g*) Regist. Cha. II. No. 108, 245, &c.

even

even down to the reign of James II. (*g*). In 1429, on the establishment of the collegiate church of Corstorphin, the tithes of Ratho parish were granted, for supporting its prebendaries (*h*). In this manner, then, did Ratho church become a parsonage, under the provostry of Corstorphin (*i*). The Reformation, undoubtedly, introduced a very different regimen. The church is ancient: It stands a little north of the kirk-town, and west of Rathohouse, more than half a mile

The present parish of *Kirknewton*, consists of the parishes of Kirknewton, and East-Calder, which were united about the middle of the eighteenth century. Kirknewton obviously derived its name, from the hamlet of Newton, where the church was built, on purpose to distinguish the kirk-town from the neighbouring village of East-Newton. This parish did not exist, at least under this name, at the epoch of the ancient *Taxatio*. During the reign of James IV., the parsonage of Kirknewton was of some value: In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the rectory of Kirknewton was taxed at £5 : 6 : 8 (*k*). Kirknewton continued a separate parish, till the year 1750. The two villages of East, and West-Calder, derived their names from the stream of the *Calder*, which divides them; and a little below mixes its waters with the Amon. There are many riverets of this name, both in North, and South-Britain: And, they all, probably, derived their British name, from the shrubberies on their banks. The church of East-Calder was dedicated to St. Cuthbert. The manor of Calder was by Malcolm IV. granted to Rudulph de Clere; and from him, it became known by the name of Calder-*Clere*, to distinguish it from Calder-*Comitis*, the adjoining manor. At the accession of William, the lion, Rudulph granted to the monks of Kelso the church of *Caledour*, and its rights, upon condition, that they allowed him to have, within his court, a private chapel, without detriment to their mother church: This intimation seems to show, that the patronage of the rectory was then in the monks (*l*). He granted, afterward, to the monks, and to St. Cuthbert's church of Calder, the tenth of the multure of his mill of Calder (*m*): And, those grants of the liberal Rudulph, were con-

(*g*) Alexander Lauder, a son of Sir Alan Lauder of Halton, was rector of Ratho, during the reigns of James I. and James II.; and was consecrated the bishop of Dunkeld, in May 1440; but died on the 11th of October, in the same year. Bower, l. xvi. 26.

(*h*) Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Col. 24. (*i*) Keith, 285.

(*k*) The same rectory appears in the Tax Roll of the archbishop of St. Andrews, 1547.

(*l*) Chart. Kelso, 345. (*m*) Ib. 346.

firmed

firmed by William, the lion, and Richard, the bishop (*n*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Calder-Clere was only rated at 30 marks. In the rental of Kelso, during Robert I.'s reign, the monks considered the church of Calder, which they held, "in rectoria," to be worth, yearly, £26 : 13 : 4, according to ancient use (*o*). The church of Caledour-Clere continued with the monks of Kelso, and was served by a vicar, till the Reformation exploded such establishments. The barony of Calder-Clere became forfeited, during the succession war; and was granted, in 1306, by Robert I., to James Douglas of Lothian, the progenitor of the Earls of Morton (*p*). After the Reformation, the Earl of Morton, who was now baron of Calder-Clere, acquired the advowson of the church, and with it the right of the monks to the tenth of the multure of the mill of Calder (*q*). At the epoch of presbyteries, the parish of Calder-Clere was attached to the presbytery of Linlithgow. It continued thus annexed till about the year 1750, when the parishes of Kirknewton, and Calder-Clere, were united; and when both were annexed to the presbytery of Edinburgh. The patronage of the united parish was now declared to belong, by turns, to the Duke of Buccleugh, and the Earl of Morton, the two patrons of the separate parishes. A new church, and manse, were built, for the united church, in a central situation: And to this new church was given the name of Kirknewton, as the appropriate name of the united parish. Thus much, then, with regard to the parishes, and churches, within the presbytery of Edinburgh.

Let us now proceed to an investigation of the same objects, within the presbytery of *Dalkeith*, which comprehends *fifteen* parishes. Dalkeith is also the name of a parish, as well as the seat of a presbytery. And, this distinguished name is, no doubt, derived from its *confined* location, by the confluence of the North, and South-Esk. Dal-*caeth*, in the Celtic, literally,

(*n*) Chart. Kelso, 13-450: And the same grants were confirmed by successive bishops, and priors of St. Andrews; as we see, in the same chartulary.

(*o*) Chart. Kelso, 31.

(*p*) Roberts. Index, 7. Robert I. confirmed this manor to William Douglas, the heir of James of Lothian. Ib. 43.

(*q*) In 1541, the barony of Calder-Clere was confirmed, by James V., to James Earl of Morton, who died, in 1553, without the advowson of the church. In 1564, James, his successor, the well-known Morton, who fell under the axe of the law, after committing a thousand crimes, obtained from the queen, whom he dethroned, a confirmation of all his lands, with the barony of Calder-Clere, and the advowson of the churches, and chapels. Parl. Rec. 763. In 1606, William, Earl of Morton, was served heir to his grandfather, in his various estates, including the barony of Calder-Clere, with the advowson of the churches. Inquisit. Speciales, iv. 308.

signifies

signifies the *confined* dale (*r*). The parish of Dalkeith appears not in the ancient *Taxatio*; as it did not then exist. Its origin is obscure, and modern. As the manor of Dalkeith had, from the grant of David I., belonged to the opulent family of the Grahames, we may easily suppose, that they had a chapel belonging to their court. In 1377, Robert II. confirmed a charter of Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith, granting the lands of Quylt, and Fethan, in Peebles-shire, for the support of a chaplain in the chapel of Dalkeith. In 1406, Sir James Douglas enlarged the chapel of Dalkeith into a collegiate church; as we have seen. And, we perceive, in Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the *Prepositura* de Dalkeith, in the deanry of Hadington, is taxed only, at £3 : 6 : 8 (*s*). We are thus led to recollect its collegiate form; and to perceive, that there was no parish church of Dalkeith till after the Reformation, that introduced a different regimen (*t*). The advowson of the chapel must have been always annexed to the manor. Throughout the Scoto-Saxon period, the Grahames enjoyed the manor of Dalkeith, with the advowson of the chapel. John Grahame of Dalkeith resigned the whole manor, with its pertinents, to William Douglas, the heir of Sir James Douglas of Lothian, in marriage, with his daughter *Margaret*, during the reign of David II. (*u*). Such, then, was the nature, and the epoch, of the transfer of Dalkeith, from the Grahames, to a very different family. The Douglases of Lothian sprung from the original stock, in Douglasdale, in the person of Archibald de Douglas, who died, in 1238, the grandson of Theobald, the Fleming (*x*). Such, then, were the origin,

(*r*) For its location, see the map of Lothian; and for the meaning of the name, see Richard, and Owen's dict. in vo. *Caeth*, which, in the form of *Keith*, every where, in North-Britain, conveys the idea of contraction, or narrowness: There is a Dalkaeth in Perthshire, on the Doven, which, below the Rumbling brig, runs amid rocks, narrow, and confined. Stobie's map. In a charter of Robert I., it is written *Dalkeith*. Roberts. Index, 24. On a rivulet, which falls into the Irvine, in Kyle, there is a place, which was formerly called *Dalkeith*. Pont's Survey of Kyle. But, it has been since corrupted into *Dan-keith*. Armstrong's map of Ayr.

(*s*) The *Prepositura* of Dalkeith is also mentioned, in the archbishop's Tax Roll of 1547.

(*t*) When the chancellor, Morton, obtained, from Queen Mary, in 1564, a confirmation of his estates, it included the advowson of the college, and prebendaries of the collegiate church of Dalkeith, with its pertinents. Parl. Rec. 763. The specification of such matters, to such a man, shows clearly, that there was then no parish of Dalkeith.

(*u*) Roberts. Index, 40—44; and Dougl. Peer. 489.

(*x*) William, the son of Andrew of Linlithgowshire, the son of Archibald, swore fealty to Edward I., in 1296. Prynne, iii. 660. This William was then called *Fitz-andrew*, to distinguish him, from William de Douglas of Douglas, the chief. William, the son of Andrew, left James, his heir, who flourished under Robert I.; and obtained from him, as we have seen, Calder-Clere, and

origin, and descents, of the Douglases of Lothian, and Dalkeith. William Douglas of Dalkeith, was succeeded by James Douglas, his nephew, who died, in 1420, after a long life; and after giving some lands, and rents, in 1384, to the chapel of Dalkeith (*y*). His son, James, was made a lord of parliament, by the title of Lord Dalkeith, under James I.; and his grandson, James, the third Lord Dalkeith, was, in March 1457-8, created Earl of Morton, by James II. The earldom, and the estates, and patronages, belonging to it, were forfeited,

and other lands. Crawford's Peerage, 350. Before the demise of Robert I., died Sir James Douglas of Lothian; leaving William, his heir, and two other sons: It was this William, who obtained Dalkeith in marriage, with *Margaret* Grahame, as we have just seen. During the distracted reign of David II., history, and record, are perplexed, by the number of Douglases of the same name of *William*. Whether William Douglas, who married *Margaret* Grahame, or William Douglas of Polbothy, who married *Elizabeth*, were the *knight of Lidisdale*, has occasioned mighty differences among the genealogists: But, I have settled those differences, by the decisive inferences of facts, in favour of William of Polbothy, the bastard son of good Sir James Douglas of Douglas. See the note, before, in p. 117-18. It seems equally certain, that William Douglas of Lothian, and Dalkeith, obtained from David II. grants of Lidisdale, Eske, and Ewys, in December 1342. Dougl. Peer. 489, who quotes a charter, in the Archives of Morton; Robertson's Index, 39-40, confirms that intimation. And, there is an inspeximus charter of the same William Douglas, who calls himself *dominus de Lidisdale*, dated at Dalkeith, the 7th of April 1351. Regist. David II. lib. i. 156. This ascertains the grants of 1342, not to have been made to William Douglas, of Douglas, as supposed by some. See before, in this vol. 119. We may now perceive, that William Douglas of Lothian, and Dalkeith, was *laird* of Lidisdale; while William Douglas, of Polbothy, was *knight* of Lidisdale. There is another proof of the same point, which is quite decisive, as to this litigated question: William Douglas of Lothian, and Dalkeith, calling himself *dominus de Lidisdale*, dated his charter, just mentioned, at *Dalkeith*, where he was then present, on the 7th of April 1351: Now, William Douglas of Polbothy, *the knight of Lidisdale*, was then a close prisoner, in England: And, the indenture, which was made by Edward III., with William Douglas, "son prisoner," upon his *freedom*, "super liberatione, et retentione in servitio regis," was dated, at London, the 17th of July 1352. Rym. v. 738—40. We now see clearly the true causes, which induced so many writers to confound those two persons of the same name: And, we may also perceive the cause, which moved William Douglas of Douglas, to direct William Douglas, the *knight of Lidisdale*, to be assassinated, in 1353; the same knight being retained by Edward III., of whom he had obtained a grant of Lidisdale, to which Douglas of Douglas had *his pretensions*. William Douglas, the laird of Dalkeith, and Lidisdale, was alive, in 1351; but was dead before 1369, when charters speak of him, as *quondam* William Douglas, and when his only child, Mary, was also dead.

(*y*) Douglas Peer. 490, quotes the charter of endowment. He founded a hospital, also, near the chapel of Dalkeith, in 1396. Ib. 491. Robert III., in 1403, granted to James Douglas of Dalkeith, who had married the king's daughter, Elizabeth, a pension out of the customs of Edinburgh. Roberts. Index. 140. And, the same king, in 1391, confirmed the grant of James Douglas of Dalkeith, to James Douglas, his heir, of the castle, and town of Dalkeith, and of other lands, to the extent of 500 marks. Ib. 153.

when

when the well-known Regent Morton expiated his many crimes, on the appropriate scaffold, in 1581. At the accession of James VI., the palace of Dalkeith was said "to be reserved for the use of the prince, with the orchard, gardens, "banks, and wood adjacent (*a*)." In 1606, however, William, Earl of Morton, was served heir to his grandfather, in the barony, and burrough of Dalkeith, with the advowson of the church of Dalkeith (*b*). In 1642, this estate, with the patronage of the church, was purchased of the Earl of Morton, by Francis, Earl of Buccleugh (*c*). But, it was the amiable Anne, Duchess of Buccleugh, and Monmouth, who was the first of the Scotts, who resided here, and made it fit, for the residence of so dignified a family. Dalkeith was one of the four presbyteries, which were given in to the assembly of 1593 (*d*). Yet, the parish of Dalkeith consisted only of the ancient barony. In 1633, the adjacent barony of Lugton, was taken from the old parish of Melville, and annexed to Dalkeith (*e*). The church of Dalkeith is old: The manse of the minister was built, in 1681. Dalkeith, like other free, and populous towns, abounds with dissenters; with Burgers, and Antiburgers; with Relief-men, and Methodists (*f*). The Duke of Buccleugh, as he is lord both of Lugton, and Dalkeith, is superior of the whole parish, and proprietor of three-fourths of it (*g*).

The neighbouring parish of *Inveresk*, plainly, derived its interesting name, from the Gaelic *Inver* Esk, the confluence of the Esk, with the Forth, the *Esk-muthe* of the Northumbrian Saxons. At the epoch of record, there existed two manors of this name; Great-Inveresk, and Little-Inveresk. The manor of Little-Inveresk was granted, by Malcolm Canmore, and Margaret, his queen, to the monks of Dunfermlin; and their grant was confirmed, by a charter of David I.; who added a donation of Great-Inveresk, with the mill, the fishing, and the church of Inveresk, its tithes, and other pertinents (*b*). The gift of

(*a*) Certain Matters of Scotland, 1603. Yet, was it restored to the Earl of Morton.

(*b*) Inquisit. Speciales.

(*c*) Stat. Acco. xii. 26. And yet during the reigns of James VI., Charles I., and the usurpation of Cromwell, the palace of Dalkeith seems to have been used, as the king's house.

(*d*) Calderwood, 286.

(*e*) Unprinted Act, 1633: The same parliament made an act, concerning "the parsonage of "Dalkeith, and the payment of the taxation thereof." Id. In 1633, the parson of Dalkeith was constituted one of the prebendaries of the bishoprick of Edinburgh. Chart. of Erection.

(*f*) Stat. Acco. xii. 22—5. (*g*) Ib. 22.

(*b*) Chart. Dunfermlin; MS. Monast. Scotiæ. Those grants were confirmed by David's successors, and by a bull of Gregory IX., in 1234. Id.

Great-Inveresk included the burrough, and port of Musselburgh, at *Esk-muthe:* And, this town derived its name, from an extensive muscle bank, lying in the Forth, at no great distance, from the confluence of the Esk. Alexander II. established a *free warren*, within the manors of Inveresk, and Musselburgh, in favour of the monks of Dunfermlin (*i*). From the grants of David I., the monks enjoyed a baronial jurisdiction over all those lands: And, they afterward obtained their baronial jurisdiction, to be enlarged into *a regality*. The church of Inveresk was dedicated to St. Michael, the archangel. It was, in early times, from its location, and populous parish, of great value: And, it was rated, in the ancient *Taxatio*, by the name of Muscilburg, at 70 marks. The monks enjoyed the revenues of the parsonage, while the cure was served by a vicar. Even the vicars of Muscilburg appear, as witnesses, to many charters, among men of consequence (*k*). Early in the 13th century, a dispute arose, between the monks, and the vicar, which was settled by the diocesan bishop, who directed, that the vicar should enjoy the small tithes, and the offerings at the altars of Muscilburg; excepting the fish of every sort, and the tithes of the mills, belonging to the monks, for which the vicar was directed to pay yearly 10 marks (*l*). In the church of Inveresk, there were several altars, with their chaplains, who were endowed, for performing at them their appropriate worship (*m*). In this parish, there were of old various chapels, which were subordinate to the mother church. Here was the celebrated chapel of *our Lady of Loretto*, at the east end of Muscilburgh, with the Hermit's cell adjoining (*n*). During the Earl of Hertford's ravages, in May 1544, he destroyed the chapel of our Lady of Loretto, with a part of the town (*o*). It was soon repaired: But, it was finally abolished, at the Reformation: And, in 1590, the materials of the chapel, which had once so many votaries, were converted, by unhallowed hands, to the

(*i*) Chart. Dunfermlin. (*k*) Id.

(*l*) Ib. fo. 26. In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James v., the *vicarage* of Muscilburg was taxed at 5l. 6s. 8d. This vicarage is also recorded in the archbishop's Tax Roll, 1547.

(*m*) MS. Donations. In 1475, Sir Simon Preston of Craigmiller, gave an annual rent of ten marks out of the lands of Cameron, to a chaplain, in Muscilburgh church, for such appropriate worship. James III. confirmed this grant. Id.

(*n*) To this chapel of Loretto, many pilgrimages were performed, where miracles were supposed to be wrought. In August 1530, as we learn from Lesley, 442, James v. performed a pilgrimage on foot to this chapel, from Stirling, before his voyage, in quest of a suitable wife, among the daughters of France. During that age, Lindsay, the satirist, exclaimed against such pilgrimages to *our Lady of Loretto*, to the Hermit, and against the effects of such meetings of young men, and women.

(*o*) Old Acco. of the Expedit. 11.

building

building of the tolbooth of Musselburgh. The site of this chapel, and hermitage, is now occupied, as the villa of a gentleman, who knows how to value, both the location, and the name of *Loretto* (*p*). At no great distance, westward, there was of old a chapel, which was dedicated to Mary Magdalene, with appropriate endowments, within the grounds of New-Hales (*q*). In the town of Musselburgh, there were two other chapels, though of less note (*r*). The lordship, and regality of Musselburgh, with the patronage of the church of Inveresk, and of the various chaplainries, which were subordinate to it, were granted by James VI. to his chancellor, Lord Thirlestane, the worthy progenitor of the Earls of Lauderdale (*s*). Much of this vast estate, notwithstanding the profusion of the noted Duke of Lauderdale, and the dangers of forfeiture, came down to Earl John, who died, in 1710. From him, in 1709, Anne, the Duchess of Buccleugh, and Monmouth, purchased what remained of that great property. There were some smaller rights, which were not, perhaps, purchased (*t*). The church of Inveresk is old, and ruinous: It is still remembered, that Oliver Cromwell used this ancient fane, as a cavalry stable (*u*). But, it does not require this additional fact, to prove how many men, in that age, made use of religious pretences, to gain temporal ends. The minister's manse was built, in 1681. Such has been the increase of parishioners, that an assistant minister has been long found necessary. An episcopal meeting has existed here, from the abolition of episcopacy, by the Revolution, under the toleration of

(*p*) Stat. xvi. 5.

(*q*) From that chapel, the village of Magdalene-Pans, on the Forth, and of Magdalene-Bridge, on Niddery-burn, derived their names.

(*r*) Stat. xvi. 6.

(*s*) In September 1649, John Earl of Lauderdale was served heir to his father, in the lordship, and regality of Musselburgh, with the patronage of the church of Inveresk, and of its subordinate chapels. Inquisit. Speciales, xx. 150. This record evinces, that James VI. granted to Lord Thirlestane the whole lands, manors, regalities, jurisdictions, advowsons of churches and chapels, with every species of property, and right, which the monks of Dunfermlin had amassed, on this pleasant site, during so many centuries. Lord Thirlestane, we see, from the Retour, transmitted the whole to his heirs, notwithstanding some unpleasant contests with Queen Anne, who had right of dower, over the estates, which belonged to the monastery of Dunfermlin.

(*t*) In June 1636, Thomas Smith was served heir to his father, a burgess of Musselburgh, in two oxgates of the lands of Inveresk, 2½ acres in the moor of Inveresk, and a tenement, in Inveresk; together with the office of hereditary miller of the mill called the *shire* mill, within the limits of Inveresk; with the *mill acre*; also to the 6th part of the *four corn mills of Musselburgh-schyre*; and to the 6th part of the *haugh*, near the said shire mill. Inquisit. Speciales, xv. 69. Such were the mills of the monks, with the hereditary miller, who had appropriate rights.

(*u*) Stat. Acco. xvi.

Queen Anne. In this opulent parish, there are, also, a Burger meeting, since 1770; and a Relief meeting, since 1783 (*x*). In 1201, the *Magnates Scotiæ* swore fealty to Alexander, the infant son of William, the lion, at *Muchselburg*, whether in the chapel of *Loretto* appears not (*y*). On the 20th of July 1332, died, at Musselburgh, the illustrious Randolph, Earl of Murray, the guardian of David II.; an event, which entailed on Scotland so many miseries.

Newton parish comprehends the old parishes of Newton, and Wymet. The name of Newton is obvious; and seems to show, that there was, in this neighbourhood, some old town. This parish lay on the western side of the Esk, below Dalkeith. In the ancient *Taxatio*, its church was rated, at only 15 marks. The church of Newton, and its pertinents, were granted, during the 12th century, to the monks of Dunfermlin, to whom it was confirmed, by Bishop Richard, and Pope Gregory (*z*). Till the Reformation exploded such establishments, the monks enjoyed the prtronage; and the cure was performed by a vicar. The lands of Newton, also, were acquired, by those monks; and were also included, in their lordship, and regality of Musselburgh. *Wymet* parish lay westward of Newton, towards Liberton. In ancient charters, the name is uniformly written *Wymet*. The word is probably Gaelic, though of very doubtful etymology. It has been corrupted into Wowmet, Wolmet, and Woolmet. David I. granted this church, with all its rights, to the monks of Dunfermlin; and his grant was confirmed by the diocesan, and by the pope: Thus, did they enjoy the parsonage, while the cure was performed by a vicar. This parish was somewhat larger than Newton: And, its church was rated, in the ancient *Taxatio*, at 20 marks. These two parishes were united, at the Reformation. And, the lands, and churches, were included, in James VI.'s grant to Lord Thirlstane: The patronage has since been acquired by Wauchope of Edmonston. A new church was built for the united parish, in 1742; and a new manse was erected, in 1749 (*a*).

The parish of *Laswade* consisted, anciently, of the old parish of this name, of some part of Melville, and of a considerable share of Pentland, parishes. The church, and village of Laswade, stand on a fruitful mead, through which murmurs the North-Esk; having the church, on its western side, and the village on both its banks. This pleonastic name, of Anglo-Saxon origin, signifies what the nature of the thing was, a well-watered pasture of common

(*x*) Stat. Acco. 23-4. (*y*) Chron. Mail. 181.

(*z*) Chart. Dunferm.; MS. Monast. Scotiæ; Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Collections.

(*a*) Stat. Acco. xi. 533. The manor of Wymet bounded with that of Lugton, on the south-east. Chart. Newbotle, 46.

use.

use (*b*). From the fruitfulness of the district, perhaps, this church was early of great value: In the ancient *Taxatio*, it is rated at 90 marks, which exhibit a higher rate, than any church, in Mid-Lothian, except St. Cuthbert's. The church, and lands of Laswade, were granted to the bishop of St. Andrews, as early as the 12th century; and it thus became a mensal church of the bishoprick: The parsonage belonged to the bishop; and the cure was served by a vicar (*c*). The church of Laswade constituted one of the prebends of St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews. In the reign of Jamss III., the church of Laswade was, by the pope's authority, detached from St. Salvator's church; and was annexed to the collegiate church of Restalrig (*d*). This annexation was further confirmed, by James V., in 1515; completing the collegiate establishment (*e*). From the epoch of that transfer, the dean of the collegiate church of Restalrig enjoyed the rectory of Laswade, with all its revenues, while the cure continued to be served by a vicar (*f*). In Bagimont's Roll, as is stood, under James V., the rectory of Laswade was taxed at £20; and the vicarage, at £2 : 13 : 4; which evince the great value of the church, at the eve of the Reformation. When the parish of Pentland was suppressed, after the Reformation, the barony of Roslin, the lands of Pentland, and other districts of that parish, were annexed to Laswade: These districts form the western division of this parish (*g*). A new church was built, for the parish of Laswade, thus enlarged, and populous, in 1793: And a commodious manse, for the minister, was built, in 1789 (*h*).

(*b*) Læswe, in the A. S., signifies *pascuum*, a common. Somner. And see *Leswe*, a pasture, in Kelham's Domesday, 249. And, hence, the old English *Leese*, a pasture ground. The A. S. *Weaht*, and the old English *Weyde*, signify a meadow. Somner, and Bailley.

(*c*) In August 1296, Nicolas, the vicar of Leswaid, swore fealty to Edward I.; and was, by a precept to the sheriff of Edinburgh, restored to his property. Prynne, iii. 661; Rot. Scotiæ, 25.

(*d*) This transfer was negotiated by John Frisel, a presbyter of the diocese of St. Andrews, who was appointed the first dean of the college church of Restalrig: He procured the consent of William Scheves, the archbishop, and obtained, by a journey to Rome, a bull from Innocent VIII., confirming this transfer. The bull is in the MS. Monast. Scotiæ.

(*e*) Id.

(*f*) Yet, the archbishop of St. Andrews remained in the superiority of the lands of Laswade, in 1630, and perhaps even down to 1689, when the archbishoprick was abolished. Reliq. Divi Andreæ, 120.

(*g*) In 1633, the barony of Melville, which had formed the greatest part of the old parish of Melville, was upon the suppression of Melville parish, annexed to Laswade. Unprinted Act of 1633.

(*h*) Stat. Acco. x. 283. Sir George Clerk of Penycuik is the present patron.

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The parish of *Melville* derived its name, from the man, rather than the person, from the parish. *Male*, an English baron, came from England into Scotland, during the reign of David I. (*h*). Here, he settled, under Malcolm IV.; and gave his manor the name of *Male-ville* (*i*). The founder of this church, who was vicecomes of Edinburgh castle, under Malcolm IV., granted it, in the presence of the bishop of St. Andrews, as we have just seen, to the monks of Dunfermlin. This grant was confirmed by Gregory IX., in 1234: And, it was ratified, in 1251, by Gregory de Male-ville, who enjoyed this manor, at the middle of the 13th century (*k*). This family acquired other lands in Mid-Lothian, during the 13th century; and the Male-villes remained in possession of their ancient manors, under Robert I., David II., and Robert II.; when the original stock ended, in a female heir, Agnes, who gave her posessions, with her person, to Sir John Ross of Halkhead. The descendants of this marriage acquired the peerage of Lord Ross, from James IV.: And the barony of Melville remained with William, Lord Ross, in 1705 (*l*). The church of Melville appears to have been of moderate value: And, it was rated, in the ancient *Taxatio*, at 20 marks (*m*). It continued with the monks of Dunfermlin till the Reformation: Yet, by an unusual custom, the benefice was enjoyed by a rector, who was presented by the monks, even down to Queen

(*h*) Caledonia, i. 525.

(*i*) Galfrid de Male-ville, who lived under David I. and Malcolm IV., and was justiciary, under William, the lion, gave to the monks of Dunfermlin, in perpetual alms, the church of Male-ville, with its pertinents, and especially, *the land, which he had assigned to this church, on its dedication.* Chart. Dunfermlin; MS. Monast. Scotiæ. This grant was made, for the salvation of the souls of David, and Malcolm, *junior*, and for the souls of the grantor, and his ancestors: And he stipulated, that *the monks* should uphold a perpetual light before the sepulchre of the said kings. This is the only place, where I have seen Malcolm IV. called *junior*, in contradistinction to Malcolm Canmore, his great-grandfather.

(*k*) Id. Gregory de Male-ville, knight, granted to the monks of Newbotle a stone of wax, yearly, from the rents of his lands of Leth-Bernard. Chart. Newbotle, 215. In 1264, he granted them, what was of more importance, free passage, through his lands of Retrevyn, to and from their lands in Clydesdale. And this grant of passage was confirmed, in 1329, by his grandson John de Male-ville. Ib. 223. The same chartulary contains several other confirmations, which show the successions of this munificent family, down to John de Male-ville, the father of Agnes, who transferred these ancient possessions to Ross of Halkhead.

(*l*) Dalrymp. Col. 428. It was purchased, in the last century, by David Rennie, whose daughter carried it, by marriage, to Henry Dundas, who was created Viscount Melville, in 1802, after executing the highest offices in the state, amidst great men.

(*m*) In Bagimont's Roll, the *rectory* of Melville, in the deanry of Linlithgow, was taxed at 4l. The same *rectory* is contained in the archbishop's Tax Roll, 1547.

Mary's

Mary's days (*n*). After the Reformation had broken such connections, Lord Ross acquired the patronage of the church of Melville, with the church-lands, tithes, and glebe (*o*). In 1633, the parish of Melville was suppressed; and the barony of Melville, forming the greater part of it, was united to the parish of Laswade; while the barony of Lugton, forming the smaller portion, was annexed to Dalkeith (*p*).

The old parish of *Pentland* comprehended the manors of Pentland, and Fulford, with the northern portion of the Pentland hills, which are drained by the Logan water, that is now better known, by the name of Glencross water. The church stood at the village of Pentland, in the north-eastern part of the parish, where its ruins may still be seen, by the antiquarian eye: And, from it, half a mile south-west, stood the mansion, which is now known, by the familiar appellation of Pentland *Mains* (*q*). The name of Pentland is obscure in its origin. In the 12th century, it was written, in charters, exactly as it is, at present, *Pentland*. From the 12th, to the present century, the name is uniformly written, in record, *Pentland*; but not Pictland, or Penthland. The name of Pentland has also obtained a double application, in Mid-Lothian. It is not only the name of the village, and parish of Pentland, but also of an extensive range of hills, that stretch southward to the limits of Peebles (*r*). It is evident, that the Pentland hills borrowed this name from the parish, and not the parish from the hills: In the 14th and 13th centuries, the northern division of that range was called the *Moor of Pentland* (*s*). *Pent*, in old English, signified *inclosed*, from the Anglo-

(*n*) In 1546, Magister Archibald Hay, the rector of Melville church, with consent of the abbot and monks, conveyed all his church-lands, and glebe, "cum decimis garbalibus earundem, "que a dictis terris et gleba, nunquam separari solebant." Chart Dunferm. 23.

(*o*) On the 18th of September 1634, James Lord Ross of Halkhead and Melville, was served heir to his father James, in the barony of Melville, with the advowson of the churches. Inquisit. Speciales, xiii. 174. On the same day, he was served heir to his mother Jean Hamilton, in the the same church, and tithes, with the pasture in the district of West-Melville. Ib. 179. There are other services of other heirs, in the same record, to the same property.

(*p*) On the 31st January 1607, David Crichton of Lugton was served heir to his father, Patrick, in the church-lands of Lugton, which belonged to the church of Melville, extending to 3½ acres, and to the tithes within the barony of Lugton. Ib. iii. 261.

(*q*) See the map of Lothian.

(*r*) In Blaeu's map of Lothian, and Linlithgow, that range is called *Penthlant-hill*. Scarcely any of the Lothian hills have retained their original British names.

(*s*) Robert I. granted to Sir Henry Saint Clair, knight, all the lands, "in *mora* de *Pentland*," with the pertinents, as they used to be held, under his predecessor Alexander III.: And he granted, that the same should be held, as a *free warren*. Regist. Rob. I. Rot. c. 67. In the reign

of

Anglo-Saxon, Pindan, to inclose (*t*): So Pent-land would signify the inclosed land; the *inclosure* upon the *moor*. *Pen-llan*, in the British, would signify the *chief church*: But, Pentland church seems to have been always rather inconsiderable, than chief: *Pen-llan*, in the British, would signify, also, the *chief yard*, or *inclosure*, or the *end* of the *yard*, or *inclosure*. The first derivation, from the old English, is the most natural, and obvious. The ecclesia de *Pentland*, in decanatu de Linlithgow, was rated at only 12 marks, in the ancient *Taxatio*. It appears to have been granted to the monks of Holyrood; and it was confirmed to them by Bishop David, in 1240 (*u*). Before the demise of Alexander III., it appears to have been detached from this monastery; and was then an independant rectory (*x*). In the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, the patronage of this church belonged to the Earls of Orkney, and Barons of Roslin (*y*). In 1476, William Saint Clair, Earl of Orkney, settled on Sir Oliver Saint Clair, the eldest son of his second marriage, the barony of Roslin, with the lands of Pentland, *the moor* of *Pentland*, and the patronage of the church of Pentland; and this settlement was confirmed by James III. In 1491, George, the heir of Sir Oliver, obtained, on his father's resignation, a charter from James IV. of the barony of Pentland, with the advowson of the church (*z*). In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the rectory of Pentland was taxed, at £5 : 6 : 8, which shows, that the church had somewhat increased, in its comparative value, with the other churches in Mid-Lothian (*a*). Some time after the Reformation, the parish of Pentland was suppressed; and the northern part was annexed to Laswade: And, in 1616, the southern portion, comprehending the barony of Fulford, was united to the new-formed parish of St. Catharine's, which was, afterward, popularly called Glencross. The ruin of the ancient church may still be seen, by antiquarian eyes, at the old village of Pentland, *the inclosure* on the *moor*.

of Robert III., Henry Saint Clair, Earl of Orkney, granted to John Nudrie the lands, forming the east quarter of the *moor* of Pentland, with the half of Erncraig, in the manor of Pentland, in exchange for the place, and yards of King's Cramond. Robert. Index, 148. In 1410, Henry de Saint Clair, the Earl of Orkney, granted to his brother, John, the lands of Sunellishope, and Loganhouse, in *the moor* of *Pentland*, in Edinburghshire. Ib. 166. Maitl. Edin. 506, also evinces that ridge to have been called *the moor* of Pentland.

(*t*) Bailey. (*u*) Regist. of St. Andrews, 133.

(*x*) In 1296, Stephen de Kyngorn, parson of the church of Pentland, swore fealty to Edward I.; and had a precept to the sheriff of Edinburghshire to restore his property. Rot. Scotiæ, 24.

(*y*) When the Earl of Orkney founded the collegiate church of Roslin, in 1446, he granted to it the *church-lands of Pentland*.

(*z*) Dougl. Baron. 247.

(*a*) The rectory of Pentland appeared in the archbishop's Tax Roll of 1547.

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The parish of *Glencross* was formed, in 1616, from the old parishes of Pentland, and Pennycuik: And it comprehends the valley of Glencross, with some extent of country, both on the north, and south: The northern division was taken, from the parish of Pentland; and the southern, from the parish of Pennycuik. In the vale of Glencross, upon the northern side of Logan water, there was of old a chapel, which was dedicated to St. Catharine, the virgin; and which was called St. Catharine of *the Hopes*, in contradistinction to St. Catharine's of the Kaims, in Liberton parish. The chapel of St. Catharine's of *the Hopes*, belonged to the monks of Holyrood: And its ruin may still be seen, by those eyes, which delight to dwell on what is old (*b*). This church, and its revenues, and glebe, were annexed, in 1633, to the bishoprick of Edinburgh (*c*). It was disannexed, in 1638, when the parish was called *Glencross*, from a dislike to saints, at a zealous moment: This glen, or vale, was so called, from a remarkable cross, which had been here erected, by pious hands; and which also gave a name to *Cross*-houses: The prefix, in this name, is the British *Glyn*, or the Gaelic *Glean*, signifying a valley. When episcopacy was abolished, in 1689, the patronage of the parish fell to the king, who seems to have relinquished it to the proprietor of Fulford, whose name was changed, in the last century, to *Woodhouselee*, which is more known to fame, by the residence of distinguished men.

Pennycuik parish comprehends the greatest part of the ancient parish, and the whole of the old parish of Mont-Lothian. The learned minister of this parish informs the inquisitive reader, that the Gaelic name means the *Cuckoo's hill* (*d*): *Bein-na-cuack*, in the Gaelic, and Pen-y-cog, or Pen-y-coc, in the British, do signify the Cuckoo's hill, or summit. In the records of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, the name is spelt *Penicok* (*e*), which agrees with the British form of the word, in that signification. The parish, and barony, of old, were co-extensive: They comprehended the country, which is drained by the upper branches of the North-Esk (*f*). The church of Penycok was dedi-

(*b*) The intelligent reader will recollect, that *Hope*, in the southern shires, signified a *vale*, without a thoroughfare: And St. Catharine's, in the *Hopes*, must mean, St. Catharine's, in such valleys, or dingles.

(*c*) Charter of Erection. (*d*) Stat. Acco. x. 419.

(*e*) In the ancient *Taxatio*, it is recorded, as *Penicok*. There is a village, in Cornwall, named *Penkuke*.

(*f*) Robert III. granted to Laurence Crichton the lands of New-Hall, in the barony of Penycok: The estate of New-Hall is on the borders of Mid-Lothian; and forms the south-west extremity of Penycok parish: On the north, the barony of Penycok comprehended the lands of Newbigging.

cated to the British St. Kentigern, who was popularly called St. Mungo (*g*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Penicok was rated at 20 marks. From the 12th century to the Reformation, it continued an independant parsonage, the advowson of which belonged to the lord of the manor (*h*). In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James v., the rectory of Penicok was taxed at £8 (*i*). In the Scoto-Saxon period, the manor of Penicok was possessed by a family, who assumed their surname, from the place, and were the patrons of the church (*k*). This ancient family continued patrons of the church of Penicok, till the 17th century (*l*). At that unhappy period, the barony, and patronage of Penycok, were purchased from the old family, by John Clerk, a son of William Clerk, a merchant of Montrose, who had acquired a fortune in France, by commerce (*m*). The church of Penycok was built, in 1771: It is a handsome building, with a portico, supported by four Doric pillars: The portico is surmounted by a stone cross; and on the front of the portico is cut the word *Bethel*, in Hebrew characters: The parishioners were not pleased with that mystical finery, saith

(*g*) The parish church of Penycok bore the name of St. Kentigern, as late as 1733; and there is near it, a spring, which was called *St. Mungo's Well*; and is now inclosed in the minister's garden, free from superstitious use, or zealous abuse. Stat. Acco. x. 419. The parish church of Locherwert, in Mid-Lothian, was also dedicated to St. Kentigern; a coincidence, which carries the mind back to British times.

(*h*) In 1296, Walter Edgar, the parson of Penicok, swore fealty to Edward I., who thereupon gave him a precept to the sheriff of Edinburghshire, for the restoration of his rights. Rot. Scotiæ, 24.

(*i*) That rectory was also comprehended in the archbishop's Tax Roll, 1547.

(*k*) In 1296, Hugh de Penicok of Edinburghshire swore fealty to Edward I. Prynne, iii. 654. Margaret, the widow of the late Nigel de Penicok, submitted to Edward; and obtained livery of her lands. Ib. 660; Rot. Scotiæ, 25. On the 15th of March 1306, Sir Hugh de Penicok again swore fealty to Edward; and obtained another protection for his lands. Rym. ii. 1015. In January 1507-8, John Penycuik, apparent heir of Sir John Penycuik of the same, obtained a charter from James IV., on the resignation of his father, of the lands of Penycuik, with the pertinents, and the patronage of the church; rendering to the king, yearly, "tres flatus in cornu "flatus super communem moram de Edinburg, olim forestarii de Drumselch nuncupat ad vena-"tionem regis capitalem super dictam moram nomine albæ firmæ si petatur tantum." Regist. Ja. IV. lib. xiv. c. 442.

(*l*) In 1603, Alexander Penycok was served heir to his brother Andrew Penycok of the same, in the barony of Penycok, with the right of patronage of the church. Inquisit. Speciales, iii. 36. At a century, afterward, there remained, in those countries, Penycok, a physician, and Penycok, a poet, who both distinguished themselves, in their several faculties.

(*m*) The Clerks of Penycok obtained a baronetcy, in 1679. Dougl. Baron. 422.

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the minister; suspecting something mysterious in this Hebrew, and dreading some superstition in the cross (*m*).

Mount-Lothian parish lay on the south border of Mid-Lothian, and on the western side of the upper branch of the South-Esk. The church stood, at a hamlet, which still retains the name, under the vulgar form of Mount-Louden (*n*). As the country was thinly peopled, the church was but of little value: And, in the ancient *Taxatio*, it is rated at 12 marks. The church of old was granted to the monks of Holyrood, though by whom cannot now be known. In 1240, indeed, Bishop David confirmed to those monks the church of Mount-Lothian, which they had for some years enjoyed (*o*). It continued to belong to the same monks, till the Reformation swept away such connections; and the cure was, meantime, served by a vicar. In 1635, the church of Mount-Lothian, with all its rights, and revenues, were transferred to the episcopate of Edinburgh: And, this establishment being set aside, in 1638, the parish of Mount-Lothian was afterward annexed to the adjoining district of Penycuik. Thus, owing to this union, did Penycuik gain as much, on the east, as it had lost, on the north-west, by the establishment, in 1616, of the parish of Glencross.

Temple parish comprehends the ancient parish of Clerkington, and the chapelries of Morthwait, and Balantrodach. During the 12th century, the name of Clerkington, in Mid-Lothian, as well as Clerkington, in East-Lothian, was written *Clerchetun*, which is obviously the Anglo-Saxon *Clerc*, *Clerce*, *Cleric*, a clerk, a churchman, with the annex *tun*, a habitation. As the district of Clerkington was of old but thinly peopled, its church was of very small value: And, in the ancient *Taxatio*, it is only rated at 8 marks. The patronage of this church belonged to the lord of the manor, during the Scoto-Saxon period, though it seems to have been as obscure, as the rectory was meagre. They were probably both forfeited, during the succession war. David II. granted the manor of Clerkington to Walter Bisset; and he transferred the church, with its tithes, and pertinents, to the monks of Newbotle; granting them, at the same time, an annual rent of five marks, from the manor (*p*). The monks enjoyed

(*m*) Stat. Acco. x. 423.

(*n*) The ruin of the church may still be seen at this hamlet. The name, in the chartulary, is "Monte Laodoniæ;" and in the ancient Taxatio there is the Ecclesia de *Monte-Laodonie*. A part of the lands of Mount-Lothian was granted to the monks of Newbotle, in the 12th century; and this grant was confirmed to them by William, the lion. Chart. Newbotle, 176. And, from those circumstances, the place has been sometimes called Monk-*Lowden*.

(*o*) Regist. St. Andrews, 33.

(*p*) Roberts. Index, 36; Chart. Newbotle, 7. In 1369, Walter Bisset resigned the manor of

enjoyed the parsonage, while the cure was served by a vicar: And this regimen continued till the Reformation annulled it. At that event, the patronage of the church, with the annual rent of five marks from the mill of Clerkington, were enjoyed, by Mark Ker, the commendator of Newbotle, who transmitted the whole to his descendants: And, acquiring the temporal estate, they changed the name of Clerkington to *New-Ancrum*. The chapelry of *Morthwait* comprehended the lands of Morthwait, and the forest of Gledewys, being the upper half of the valley of Gladehouse water: The village of Morthwait stands on the western side of the stream, below the *Moorfoot* hills, and three miles above Clerkington. This corrupted name is plainly derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Mor*, a moor, or heath, and *Thwait*, signifying a spot, cleared from brush-wood, and inclosed: And, a plain piece of land, freed from bushes, and inclosed, is still, in Yorkshire, called a thwait (*q*). As the Pentland hills derived their name, from Pentland parish; so the Moorfoot hills derived their name, in the same manner, from this parish of Morthwait, which has been corrupted into Moorfoot. The lands of Morthwait were granted, by David I., to the monks of Newbotle (*r*). And, they obtained from Alexander II. the forest of *Gladewys*, upon the Gladewys water (*s*). After the grant of David I., the monks established, at Morthwait, a chapel, which served their men; and the abbot enjoyed the patronage of it, till the Reformation. After that great change, the commendator, coming in his place, enjoyed his rights, till the extensive estates of the abbey were converted into a temporal lordship, which descended to the heirs of the commendator, Earls of Ancrum, and Marquises of Lothian. The chapelry, and manor of Balantrodach, lay at the foot of the Gladehouse water, on the western side of the South-Esk. The Gaelic word, *Bal-an-trodach*, literally signifies the dwelling of the turbulent person; as *Bal-an-treadach* would equally denote the habitation of herds, or flocks. This

Clerkington to Archibald de Douglas, knight, who obtained from David II. a charter of confirmation, in 1369. Regist. David II., 230. During the reign of Robert III., Archibald, Earl of Angus, sold the barony of Clerkington to Adam Forrester of Corstorphin, who acquired, from Robert, a charter of confirmation: And he also obtained from him, a release of the castle wards, issuing from this barony to the king. Roberts. Index, 140—50.

(*q*) Thoresby's Leeds, 223: This word appears in a number of places, in Westmorland, and in Cumberland; and also in Dumfries-shire, where it has been corrupted into *what* and *that*: And Murray-thwait, in this shire, was originally the same as Morthwait, but corrupted into More-thwait, and Mory-thwait, and Murray-thwait, from the name of the proprietor.

(*r*) Chart. Newbot. 27.

(*s*) Ib. 127. In 1239, he erected the whole territory of Morthwait, and Gladewys, into a free forest, in favour of the monks of Newbotle. Ib. 128.

manor

manor was granted by David I. to the knights of the Temple; who, as we have seen, formed their principal seat, in Scotland, at Balantrodach; and who naturally built here a chapel, for themselves, and people. On the suppression of those knights, in 1312, their establishment at Balantrodach, with the manor, and chapel, passed to the knights of St. John, who enjoyed the whole, till the Reformation exploded such establishments. As interest mingled much, in that reform, the estate of the knights was converted into a temporal lordship, for Sir James Sandilands, the preceptor, who was created Lord Torphichen (*t*). After the Reformation, the parish of Clerkington, and the chapelries of Morthwait, and Balantrodach, were united into one parish, with the Templars chapel, for the church; and from it, the united parish obtained the name of *Temple* (*u*). The patronage of this united parish was divided into three shares, in conformity to the three ancient establishments; and each of the three patrons was to enjoy the right, by turns. The third share of Lord Torphichen was acquired, with the barony of Balantrodach, by Dundas of Arniston, to which Temple is adjacent. The two shares, which belonged to the Earls of Ancrum, were acquired, in the last century, with the manor of Clerkington, by Hepburn, who restored the ancient name of Clerkington; and whose descendants worthily enjoy Clerkington, with two thirds of the patronage of Temple church, to the present times.

Caringtoun is the ancient name of the parish, which is sometimes called *Primrose*. In ancient documents, the old name was variously written Kerintoun, and Carintoun, and was popularly called *Cairnton:* And we may pretty certainly conclude, that the name was derived from some *cairn*, which existed here, when the Saxons settled their *tun:* The same name has been given to

(*t*) In December 1618, James, Lord Torphichen, was served heir to his father, in the barony of Balantrodach, within the barony of Torphichen. Inquisit. Speciales, vii. 108.

(*u*) After the establishment of the knights of the Temple, at Balantrodach, the place became known by the name of *Temple*. The old name predominated, however, till the reign of James VI. In July 1616, James Maleson was served heir to his mother, in the husband-land of Outherstoun, within the barony of *Balantredo*, alias *Tempil*. Inquisit. Speciales, iii. 212. The Gaelic name has given way to *Temple*. After the parliament had attainted Liddel of Halkerston, in 1484, for his treasons, his lands of Halkerston, which adjoined to Balantrodach, were given by James III. to Sir William Knolls, the preceptor of Torphichen, who procured an act of parliament, for suppressing the name of *Halkerston*, and substituting, in its place, *Temple*; and he obtained another act, ordaining the barony of Balantrodach, and the house of Halkerston, to be called, in future, the barony and castle of St. John. Parl. Rec. 367—71: Yet, the people retain the old names; and the parliament conformed, in their practice, to the popular voice. Ib. 454-5.

several

several other places, in Scotland, from the existence of such a *cairn* (*x*). The church of Carington, and its tithes, and pertinents, were granted by David I. to the monks of Scone: And his grant was confirmed, by William, the lion, and Robert I. (*y*); and also by the popes, Alexander, and Honorius (*z*). This church was rated only at 18 marks, in the ancient *Taxatio*. After all those confirmations of kings, and popes, the monks seem not to have enjoyed the church of Cairnton till the Reformation. Patrick Hume, who is celebrated for his science, and was archdeacon of Teviotdale, was also *rector* of Carington, in 1464 (*a*). At this time, the cure was served, by a vicar: And, an endowment of a perpetual vicarage appears to have continued here, till the Reformation put an end to such establishments. In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James v., the vicarage of Caringtoun was taxed at £5 : 8 : 6 (*b*). At the Reformation, Carington was an independent rectory, which did not belong to any monastery (*c*). The lord of the manor of Carington, during the Scoto-Saxon period, cannot now be ascertained. The celebrated warrior, Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalwolsie, appears to have acquired it, from David II. In this family, which did many services to the state, it remained three hundred years. In 1633, William Lord Ramsay was created Earl of Dalhousie, and Lord *Carington*. But, during the subsequent distractions, he found it necessary to sell this barony, with the patronage of the church of Carington, to Sir Archibald Primrose, the clerk of the privy council: And, when he was made a senator of the College of Justice, he assumed the title of Lord Carington. James, the first Viscount of Primrose, upon his creation, in 1703, changed the name of this district from Carington to Primrose: But, this new name has been confined to writings; while the old one, by its common pronunciation of *Cairnton*, continues to be used, in colloquial intercourse (*d*).

Cockpen parish derived its British name from the site of the church; *Cock-pen* signifying, in that descriptive speech, the red summit: And, the kirk-town

(*x*) The Gaelic name for a tumulus is *cairn*, which is very frequent, in the topography of North-Britain: There are three Cairn-towns, in Forfarshire, two in Kincardinshire, one in Aberdeen, and one in Banffshire.

(*y*) Chart. of Scone.

(*z*) Id. Honorius, indeed, declared, that the monks should enjoy the church, and its revenues, to their proper use. Id.

(*a*) Chart. Newbotle.

(*b*) Carington appears as a *rectory*, in the archbishop's Tax Roll of 1547.

(*c*) Keith's Hist. App. 192.

(*d*) The present church was built, in 1711; and the manse, in 1756.

stands

stands on the top of a height, upon the east bank of the South-Esk; which height, whenever the surface is broken, exhibits a red colour: There is, moreover, very near the church, a place called *Red-heugh*, which is synonymous with *Cockpen*, a red height. The parish of Cockpen, which lies along the river South-Esk, between Newbotle, and Carington, has consisted, from the 12th century to the present, of the barony of Dalhousie, a corruption of *Dalwolsie*, which comprehended the lands of Cockpen, and indeed the whole parish (*e*). The church was of middling value: And, in the ancient *Taxatio*, it is rated at only 20 marks. During the Scoto-Saxon period, Cockpen was a rectory, the patronage of which belonged to the Ramsays of Dalwolsie, one of the oldest, and most respectable families of Mid-Lothian. In 1296, Malcolm de Ramsay, the parson of Cockpen, swore fealty to Edward I., who commanded the sheriff of Edinburgh to restore him to his rights (*f*). The church of Cockpen seems to have, afterward, been granted to some religious establishment, who enjoyed it, till the Reformation broke asunder such connections (*g*). The church of Cockpen does not appear in Bagimont's Roll; nor is it in the archbishop's Tax Roll of 1547; as the church belonged to Cistercian monks. After the Reformation, the patronage of the church returned to the Earls of Dalhousie, with whom it still continues.

Newbotle parish consists of the ancient parish of *Maisterton*, and the abbey parish of Newbotle. *Maisterton* derives its name, from the Anglo-Saxon, Maester-tun, signifying the habitation of the master (*h*). The parish of Maisterton adjoined Cockpen, on the west; and on the north, east, and south, it was surrounded by the abbey parish of Newbotle. As it was small, its church was of little value: In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Maisterton is rated at only four marks. During the Scoto-Saxon period,

(*e*) Chart. Newbotle; Roberts. Index, 150; Inquisit. Speciales, iv. 299.

(*f*) Rot. Scotiæ, 25. The parson was probably a younger son of this family, who were the patrons. Robert de Ramsay was at the same time parson of the church of Foulden, in Berwickshire, whereof the Ramsays were also patrons, as well as the proprietors of the barony.

(*g*) The lands of Cockpen were certainly given, by the Ramsays of Dalwolsie, to the monks of Newbotle. After the Reformation, the lands of Cockpen were granted, with the other estates of Newbotle abbey, to Mark Ker, Lord Newbotle. In May 1609, his son, Robert, the second Earl of Lothian, was served heir to him, in the lands, and collieries of Cockpen, within the barony of Dalhousie. Inquisit. Speciales, iv. 299. These lands were, afterward, sold to Cockburn of Cockpen: And about twenty years ago, the same lands were, by purchase, re-annexed to the barony of Dalhousie.

(*h*) There is, in Fife, a place, named *Masterton*, which was granted, by Malcolm IV., to the monks of Dunfermlin.

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the patronage of this church belonged to the lord of the manor. Towards the conclusion of the 13th century, this manor belonged to Robert de Rossine, knight; and, upon his death, it descended to his three daughters: Before the year 1300, Mariot married Neil de Carrick; and Ada married Gilbert de Ayton: But the name of the third parcener does not appear. In April 1320, Mariot, and Ada, with the consent of their husbands, resigned to the monks of Newbotle their two third parts of their manor, and the patronage of the church; and their heirs severally ratified those resignations. This transfer was performed, in the church of Liston, upon Friday, after St. Ambrose day, 1320 (*i*). And, the same transfer was confirmed by Robert I., in May 1320 (*k*). In 1350, the monks obtained from Bishop Landels a confirmation of the church of Maisterton, with all its rights, and pertinents, to *their proper use* (*l*). Such were the securities, which the monks cast above their property, though without absolute success: They acquired, first, a solemn transfer of the heirs, and their heirs; they next obtained the king's confirmation; and they finally gained the assent of the diocesan. They appear to have also acquired the other third of the lands of Maisterton, and entirety of the church, which they retained till the Reformation. The abbey church of Newbottle arose out of the establishment of the monastery, which we have seen founded, in 1140. The manor of Newbotle, which David I. granted to the monks, and various other lands, which they acquired, in that vicinity, were attached to the church; and continued with it, till the Reformation disconnected all. The lands, which formed the abbey parish, lay chiefly on the east, and south-east of the monastery: And the parish extended eastward to Fordel, and southward to the Newbyres, where they possessed a grange, as the name implies (*m*). After the Reformation, the small parish of Maisterton was united to the abbey parish, in the western bosom of which it lay: And the abbey church now became the parish church. The patronage of the united church, the manor of Newbotle, the lands of Maisterton, and other property, were possessed by Mark Ker, as commendator of the abbey (*n*). His descendant, the Marquis of Lothian, enjoys the patronage of the church, with the site of the abbey (*o*).

(*i*) Chart. Newbotle, 59, 60-2 3.

(*k*) Regist. Robert I. Rot. c. 70.

(*l*) Chart. Newbotle, 8.

(*m*) Chart. Newbotle.

(*n*) He died, in 1584. His son, Mark, the second, obtained from the facility of James VI., the whole estates of the monks of Newbotle to be erected into a barony, in 1587; a lordship, in 1591; and an earldom, in 1606; and he died, in 1609. Inquisit Speciales, iv. 299.

(*o*) A new church was built, in 1727, at the village of Newbotle, which becomes less populous, as the proprietor enlarges his pleasure ground, saith the minister. Stat. Acco. x. 214.

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The name of the parish of *Cranston*, in the charters of the 12th century, was written *Cranestun*, the Anglo-Saxon, Craenstun, signifying the crane's district, or resort: And the river Tyne, where it glides past Cranston, is even now frequented by cranes, who find shelter, in the woods, and fish, in the water (*a*). Several places, in North, and South-Britain, have derived their appropriate appellations, from similar circumstances (*b*). The district of Cranston was, in the 12th century, divided into two manors; Upper-Cranston, and Nether-Cranston; which were afterward distinguished, as New-Cranston, and Cranston-Ridel. Early in William's reign, Upper-Cranston was possessed by Elfric de Cranestun, who derived his local surname, from the name of the manor. His descendants, even down to the reign of Charles II., remained proprietors of the manor, which William, the third Lord Cranston, sold to Sir John Fletcher, the king's advocate (*c*). The church stood at Nether-Cranston, which was the largest of the two manors: This district was granted, by Earl Henry, to Hugh Ridel: And from him, the district obtained the name of Cranston-Ridel, which distinguished it till recent times. Hugh Ridel granted to the monks of Kelso the church of Cranston, with its tithes, and other pertinents, for the soul of David I., and for that of Earl Henry, his lord (*d*). This grant was confirmed by Richard, the son of Hugh, by William, the lion, and by the bishops of St. Andrews, Hugh, and Roger (*e*). The same monks acquired, from the Ridels, the lands of Preston, or Preststoun, for which they obtained successive charters of confirmation (*f*). The church of Cranston was early of great value: And, in the ancient *Taxatio*, it was rated at 60 marks. It continued with the monks till 1317; and they enjoyed, during that long period, the revenues of the rectory, while the vicar served the cure, and received the vicarage-tithes. Adam de Malcarvestun was vicar of Cranston, during the reign of William, the lion (*g*). In 1296, Hugh, the vicar of Cranston, swore fealty to Edward I. (*h*). The monks valued Cranston church,

(*a*) Sir John Dalrymple's MS. Description.

(*b*) Such as Crans-by, Cranshill, Cransford, Cranshaw, Cran-ley, Cran-field.

(*c*) Sir James Dalrymple's Col. 350. (*d*) Chart. Kelso, 315.

(*e*) Chart. Kelso, 13, 62-3, 315.

(*f*) Ib. 242-3, 316. This is the estate of Preston; and the mansion-house of Prestonhall lies on the east of Cranston.

(*g*) Chart. Kelso, 316. In the same record, there is a charter of David, the diocesan, dated on St. Andrew's day, 1240, respecting the vicarage-tithes of the churches of Cranstoun, and Langton.

(*h*) Prynne, iii. 660.

at the accustomed amount of £10, yearly (*i*). From the date of that exchange, till the Reformation, the bishops of St. Andrews enjoyed the revenues of the rectory; while the cure was served by a vicar. In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James v., the vicarage of Cranston was taxed at £2 : 13 : 4. The vicarage also appears in the bishop's Tax Roll, 1547. Meantime, the barony of Cranston-Riddel continued with the Riddels, till the reign of David II., when it passed, successively, by various transmissions, through the Murrays to the Macgills, who acquired the church of Cranston (*k*). Sir James Macgill, in 1651, was created Viscount Oxenford, and Lord Macgill of Cousland, who dying in 1663, left the whole estates, and patronage, to his son Robert, who died, without male issue, in 1706. By another series of heirs, those estates, and patronages, came to Lady Dalrymple-Hamilton-Macgill, the spouse of Sir John Dalrymple, baronet. There was of old, a chapel, at Cranston, which served the lord, and the tenants of the manor: In the 12th century, the advowson of this chapel was granted to the monks of Dunfermlin: And, the grant was confirmed, by the diocesan, Bishop Richard, soon after 1163 (*l*). This chapel, the monks probably retained, till the Reformation dissolved such connections. The manor, and chapelry of Cousland, were now annexed to the parish of Cranston. The chapel stood on the south side of the village of Cousland, where its remains may still be traced, with its almost forgotten cemetery. And, it was probably dedicated to St. Bartholomew; as some lands near it retain the name of Bartholomew's Firlot (*m*).

The name of *Crichton* parish, in the records of the 12th and 13th centuries, is written *Crechtun*, and *Creichtoun*: And, in the charter of David I., it appears, in the form of *Crectun*. There is nothing in the Saxon speech, that would make a rational prefix to the Anglo-Saxon *tun*, except we can suppose, that some man, called *Crec*, Creich, or Crech, may have settled here, whereof there is not any intimation, in record, or in history. In the British speech, Crech-ton, and Crych-ton, signify the rough, or rugged surface; and sufficiently describe

(*i*) Chart. Kelso, 31: In 1317, William de Alncrom, the abbot of Kelso, gave to Bishop Lamberton the church of Cranston, with all its tithes, and pertinents, in exchange for Naythanthirn, and the chapel of Newton: And, in consideration of the superior value of the church of Cranston, the bishop obliged himself to pay the abbot 25 marks sterling, during 10 years. Chart. Kelso, 309-10.

(*k*) Roberts. Index, 45-124; Rolls of David II., Rob. II., and of Albany. Inquisit. Speciales, viii. 146.

(*l*) Chart. Dunferm.; Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Col. 45.

(*m*) Stat. Acco. ix. 281.

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the country about *Crichton*. This name might also be derived, from the British *Crech*, signifying, without addition, rough, or rugged; and the Saxon *tun* may have been applied to the previous name of the place, by some Saxon settler, whose *tun* it became. The castle of Crichton stands on a rock, projecting over a deep glen, through which runs the Tyne, The church, and manse, stand a little below, on the eastern bank of the same glen: And, various other places bearing the name of Crichton, are included in the ancient manor, and parish of Crichton, which seem to have been co-extensive. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church was rated at 30 marks. From the epoch of record, to the era of the erection of the collegiate church, the parish was a rectory (*n*): And, the patronage belonged to the lords of the manor, who were the Crichtons: And, from the early part of the reign of David I., till 1484, they continued proprietors of this ancient domain. Of those barons, was Sir William Crichton, the ablest man of his time, who was master of the household to James I., chancellor to James II., and died, in 1454: It was he, who cast the church of Crichton into a collegaite form: And, he, and his heirs, were the patrons both of the college, and the vicarage. The lordship of Crichton, and those patronages, were forfeited, by William, the third lord, the chancellor's grandson, in 1484 (*o*). The forfeitures of Crichton were now given by James III. to his favourite, Sir John Ramsay, who was created Lord Bothwell; and was in his turn forfeited, by the parliament of October 1488 (*p*). These forfeitures were immediately, by James IV., given to Patrick, Lord Hales, who obtained the ratification of the same parliament (*q*): And he was instantly created Earl of Bothwell, and Lord Hales, and *Crichton*. The barony of Crichton, and the patronages of the college, and vicarage, remained with his posterity almost eighty years; and were at length forfeited, by his great-grandson, James Earl of Bothwell, in December 1567. The barony, and the patronages, as they were conferred by the folly of James VI. on Francis, the nephew of the expatriated Bothwell, and as he too committed a thousand treasons, were by him forfeited, in 1594. The barony of Crichton, and the patronages, as its pertinents, were soon after granted to Sir Walter Scot of Branxholm (*r*). Sir Walter was created Lord Buccleugh, in 1606; and died, in 1611; leaving Walter, his son, to inherit

(*n*) In May 1338, William de Creichton, the rector of the church of Crichton, and heir of William de Creichton, burgess of Berwick, granted to the monks of Newbotle 16 oxgates, and eight acres of arable land, in the tenement of New-Cranston. Chart. Newbotle, 227.

(*o*) He was convicted, by parliament, of being concerned in the treasons of the Duke of Albany. Parl. Rec. 309.

(*p*) Ib. 322. (*q*) Ib. 336. (*r*) MS. Col. of Charters.

his great estates. He was, in 1619, elevated to the yet higher title of Earl of Buccleugh, but died, in 1633; leaving, with other estates, the barony of Crichton, to his son, Francis (*s*). After the Reformation, the church-lands of Crichton, and the parsonage-tithes, which belonged of old to the rectory of Crichton, were acquired by Sir Gideon Murray, the last provost of the collegiate church, who obtained a grant, converting those collegiate lands into temporal estates. Sir Gideon was treasurer-depute to James VI.; and died, in 1621; leaving those estates to his son, Patrick, who was created Lord Elibank, in 1643; and died, in 1650 (*t*). The present church is an ancient building, in the form of a cross; the western end whereof was left unfinished, a sad monument of the wretched times, wherein the founder flourished.

Borthwick parish was anciently called Locherworth, a singular name, of mixed formation, which continued till the reign of James VI. It appears, under its genuine form, in the records of the 12th and 13th centuries. In the corrupted pronunciation of the country people, it is vulgarly called *Loch-warret* (*u*). The manor of Locherworth lies upon the Gore water, which is formed of two streams, that are now called the burns of North, and South-Middleton. The church stands on the bank of the last, a short distance above its junction with the Gore. Below the church, on the west bank of the Gore, at the confluence of the two streams, stands the castle of Borthwick, which was built on the ancient site of Locherworth moat: On the east, from this position, at some distance, stood the hamlet of Little-Locherworth, where there is still

(*s*) Francis, Earl of Buccleugh, on the 27th February 1634, was served heir to his father, in the baronies of Hales, and Crichton, with the advowsons of the provostry of Crichton, and its prebends, and chaplainries, and other lands, within the lordship of Hales. Inquisit. Speciales, xii. 184. How long the descendants of Earl Francis retained possession of Crichton, cannot now be told. In 1624, Francis, the eldest son of the last Earl of Bothwell, obtained, by another act of King James's folly, a grant of *rehabilitation*, which was confirmed, by the parliament of 1633; and which freed him from the effects of his father's forfeiture. He now claimed the estates of his father; including Lidisdale, Hales, and Crichton, the property of the Earls of Buccleugh. This claim was submitted, by the contending parties, to the award of Charles I., who pronounced a decree, which was confirmed, by the parliament of 1640. Unprinted Act, No. 153. Lidisdale certainly remained with the Earl of Buccleugh; but Hales, and Crichton, were probably given up, under this ward.

(*t*) In May 1650, Patrick, Lord Elibank, was served heir to his father Patrick, in the church-lands of the collegiate church of Crichton, with the tithes, in the lordship of Crichton. Inquisit. Speciales, xx. 202. Sir John Callender of Crichton now enjoys that lordship.

(*u*) It is curious to observe, that the essential part of the name is preserved entire, under "*Locher*-wer," in the ancient *Taxatio*; the prefix *Locher*, being the real name of the stream: The annex *wer* is the corruption of weorth.

a village,

a village, that bears the old name, in the corrupted form of *Lochwharret*. The name of Locherworth was originally formed, by adding the Saxon *worth*, weorth, signifying a farm-stead, a hamlet, to *Locher*, the Celtic appellation of the rivulet, on which the *worth*, or village, was formed: In the same manner, were composed the names of Pol-worth, in the Merse, Jed-worth, on the Jed water, and the English Tam-worth, on the Tame. The name of the riveret is derived from the British *Llwcher*, or *Lloucher*, the Scotish form whereof is Locher; signifying a stream, which forms pools. There are several streams of this name, as they have such a quality, both in North, and South-Britain: And it is curious to observe, that such streams, in Scotland, have their names, in the Scotish form of *Locher* (*x*); while those in Wales have the British name of *Lloucher* (*y*). Such, then, is the analogy of the British, and Scoto-Irish languages: And such are the traces of the ancient residents on the Gore water (*z*). Locherworth church was consecrated to St. Kentigern. Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, about the year 1150, conceded to Bishop Herbert of Glasgow the church of Locherworth, in Lothian, with the consent of David I., and Earl Henry, his son, in the presence of bishops, abbots, barons, and other important persons (*a*). The church of Locherworth was, probably, transferred, with its patronage, and pertinents. Yet, was the church of Locherworth conveyed by David I. to the monks of Scone, and confirmed by his successors, and the pope (*b*). The monks of Scone seem not, however, to have enjoyed this church, till the demise of Alexander III. It was then an independant rectory, and enjoyed by its appropriate parson (*c*). The church of Locherworth was

(*x*) Such as the *Locher* water, in Dumfries-shire; the *Locher* rivulet, in Renfrewshire; and another of the same name, in Lanerkshire.

(*y*) As the *Lloucher*, in the shires of Glamorgan, and Caermarthen.

(*z*) David I. granted a piece of land to the church of St. Kentigern, at Locherworth, for the accommodation of the parson: David de Lyn, the lord of the manor, granted to the same church an acre, and a perticate, or fourth of land, "juxta aquam currentem sub *pomerio* ejusdem ecclesiæ," in exchange for the piece of land, which David gave, for his messuage, where his house stood. This transaction was confirmed by the diocesan. Chart. Scone, 43.

(*a*) Chart. Glasgow, 57. In the bulls of Alexander III., and Lucius, Locherwart, among other churches, is confirmed, to the bishop of Glasgow: In a bull of Urban, 1186, confirming come churches, Locherworth is omitted. Chart. Glasg. 81—91—103-4.

(*b*) Chart. Scone, 21. And, there is herein a precept of William, the lion, respecting the tithes of this parish. Ib. 39.

(*c*) In 1296, Patrick de Gurleye, the parson of Locherworth, swore fealty to Edward I.; and received restitution of his rights. Prynne, iii.; Rot. Scotiæ, 25.

early

early of some value: In the ancient *Taxatio*, it is rated, at 40 marks. In 1449, Peter Crichton, the parson of Locherworth, consented to the dissolution of his rectory, and to the assignment of many of the revenues, to the collegiate church of Crichton (*d*). During the 12th century, the manor of Locherworth belonged to the family of Lyne, who enjoyed it till the reign of Alexander II., when it went, with Margaret de Lyne, a co-heiress, to Sir John de Hay (*e*). The Hays retained possession of the whole manor of Locherworth, till the reign of James I. Sir William Hay, having changed his residence, from Locherworth to Yester, sold the greater part of his ancient manor, with the mansion, to Sir William de Borthwick; retaining Little-Locherworth, with its pertinents. Sir William now resolved to build a castle on the ancient site of Locherworth (*f*). He accordingly built a castellated house, which he called Borthwick castle, from the family name, which his progenitors had assumed, from Borthwick, in Selkirkshire (*g*). The founder of that house was created Lord Borthwick, in 1433: And the castle of Borthwick became now the seat of his barony. Yet, Locherworth continued to be long used, in the corrupted form of *Lochwarret*, which in formal proceedings was coupled with the adventitious name of Borthwick (*h*). The name of Borthwick was not applied to the church and parish, till the Reformation. In 1596, James VI. withdrew from the collegiate church of Crichton those prebends, with their revenues; and restored them to the parsonage of Borthwick, whence they had been taken. The king's charter, for

(*d*) MS. Col. of Charters; Sir Lewis Stewart's Col. No. 2; and the foundation charter, in the Reg. of St. Andrews.

(*e*) Under William, the lion, David de Lyne, the son of Robert, granted a *peatery* in Locherworth, to the monks of Newbotle. Chart. Newbot. 23. Robert, the son of David confirmed that grant; and Maister Stephen, the parson of Locherworth, was a witness. Ib. 24.

(*f*) In 1430, James I. granted Sir William Borthwick a licence "ad construendum arcem in "illo loco, que vulgariter dicitur *le mote de Locherwarret*."

(*g*) In 1410, William de Borthwick obtained a charter from the regent Albany of *Borthwick*, and Thoftcots, in Selkirkshire, on the resignation of Robert Scot. Roberts. Index, 166.

(*h*) In October 1573, James Borthwick was served heir to his brother, the master of Borthwick, in the barony of Borthwick, containing the lands of Moat of *Locherword*, and the castle of the same, "castrum de Borthwick inde appellatum," Inquisit. Speciales, ii. 165. In 1609, it was described in a similar manner. Ib. iv. 229. In September 1643, Robert Hay, advocate, was served heir to Walter Hay, advocate, his father, "in the lands of Mote of Lochquharret, et "castrum ejusdem, nunc castrum de Borthwick; and also the church-lands of Lochquharret, with "other lands united, in the barony of Heriot-mure." Ib. xvii. 245.

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those ends, was confirmed by the parliament of July 1606 (*i*). The patronage of this church has been acquired by Dundas of Arniston, who is the principal proprietor of the parish (*k*) The old church was built in the form of a cross: But, it was accidentally burnt, in May 1775: A more commodious church was built, in 1778; and, to the credit of the proprietors, saith the minister, is superior to any other church, in the neighbourhood (*l*).

Heriot church stands on the south side of *Heriot* water; a little distance northward is *Heriot* town; and somewhat farther north is Heriot house: And there is also Heriot moor, which has become the name of the manor. *Heriot* water rises at the west end of the parish; flows eastward through the middle of this moorish district; and loses itself, at length, in the Gala. The origin of the singular name of this parish is uncertain. Heriot, probably, is neither the original name of the water, nor a descriptive appellation of the place: But, it certainly originated in some adventitious circumstances, which both history, and tradition, have forgotten (*m*). The church of Heriot was early of considerable value: In the ancient *Taxatio*, it is rated at 30 marks. The patronage of the church appears to have belonged, during the 12th, and some part of the 13th centuries, to the lord of the manor. The manor of Heriot belonged to Roger de Quincey, the constable of Scotland, who probably derived it, from the Lords of Galloway, who themselves may have enjoyed it, from the Morvilles. In the division of de Quincey's great estates, among his three daughters, Heriot fell to Elena, the youngest, who married Alan la Zouche, an English baron. The liberality of Elena granted to the monks of Newbotle the church of Heryeth, with the tithes, and its other rights. This grant was confirmed by a bull of

(*i*) Unprinted Act: And the king's chater was also confirmed, by the diocesan bishop. Stat. Acco. xiii. 623.

(*k*) In October 1612, there was a ratification, by Parliament, to Sir James Dundas of a burial-place, in the revestrie of the kirk of Borthwic. Unprinted Act.

(*l*) Stat. Acco. xiii. 627.

(*m*) *Hergeath*, in the Anglo-Saxon, signifies deprædatio, vastatio, an invasion, a spoliation. Somner. *Hergeath* would be pronounced Heryeth; the Saxon (g), in the middle, or end of words, being generally changed to the English (y); as *waeg* to way, *haeg* to hay, *leag* to ley: Now, *Heryeth* exactly agrees with the old, and proper spelling of *Heryeth*. From the Anglo-Saxon *Hergeath*, we may thus see the derivation of the old English, and Scoto-Saxon verb, to *harry*, which is so well known, in the border history of plundering, and wasteful inroads. And some feat of this sort, at this place, gave rise to the name of this parish, which was of old *Hergeth*, contrary to the intimation of the learned minister. Stat. Acco. xvi. 60. Heriot is indeed, the old English form of the Anglo-Saxon *Heregild*, signifying the fine paid to the lord, at the death of a tenant. *Heriet* [h] is the spelling in the ancient *Taxatio*.

Nicholas:

Nicholas (*n*): And both were confirmed by Fraser, the bishop of St. Andrews, and by his chapter, the prior and canons (*o*). In 1309, William Blair, the vicar of Heryeth, resigned his vicarage to Lamberton, the bishop of St. Andrew's (*p*): And the diocesan immediately conferred on the monks of Newbotle the whole vicarage revenues; and he issued a mandate to the dean of Hadington, commanding him to put the monks in possession of the vicarage of Heryeth (*q*). The monks of Newbotle appear to have also acquired the lands of Heryeth; but, whether from the liberal Elena, or her son, la Zouche, who lost his estates, in the succession war, appears not. It is, however, certain, that both the church, and the lands of Heryeth, belonged to the monks of Newbotle, at the Reformation. The lands, and the patronage of the church, came now to Mark Ker, the commendator, to whose heirs they descended (*r*). The barony of Heriot is now divided among several proprietors: But, Sir John Dalrymple enjoys the patronage of the church. The church was old, and insufficient, in 1795: The manse was built, in 1794 (*s*).

Fala parish is old; but, its union with Soutra is modern. The church, and a part of the village of *Fala*, stand on one of those small conical hills, which, in the south of Scotland, are called *laws*, from the Anglo-Saxon *Hleaw*. *Fah*, in the Anglo-Saxon, signifies colour, of several colours, speckled; and it also means a *foe*, an enemy: So, *Fah-law* may signify the speckled law, or the hostile law (*t*). As the old parish was but thinly inhabited, the church was of little value: In the ancient *Taxatio*, it is rated at 6 marks. In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James v., the rectory of Fala was taxed £6: 13: 4; which taxation evinces, that it had increased in value, between the 12th and the 16th century (*u*).

(*n*) Chart. Newbotle, 270. (*o*) Ib. 66. (*p*) Ib. 67.

(*q*) Ib. 67-8—70. All those transfers were confirmed by the prior and canons, as the dean and chapter. Ib. 69.

(*r*) In 1609, Robert, the second Earl of Lothian, was served heir to his father Mark, in the lands of Heriot, and Heriot-Moor. Inquisit. Speciales, iv. 299. Robert, Earl of Lothian, seems to have sold this property to Walter Hay, to whose son they descended, in 1643. Ib. xvii. 245.

(*s*) Stat. Acco. xvi. 53. Nearly one half of the parishioners are of the seceders, from the establishment, called *Burgers*. Id.

(*t*) It is a curious coincidence, that *Phala*, in the Teutonic, signifies castellum ligneum; as we know from Schilter's Glos. in vo. Pal. There are several places, in Scotland, called Fala, and Fala-hill, and Fala-knoll; the final *la*, or rather *law*, we thus see, plainly represents a knoll, or hillock.

(*u*) The rectory of Fawlaw also appears in the archbishop's Tax Roll, 1547. Before the Reformation, there was a chapel, on the southern side of Heriot water, at a place, which is now called the *Chapel*, and Haltrees Chapel, as it stood on the estate of Haltrees.

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The patronage of the rectory of Fala appears to have continued with the lord of the manor, from the 12th to the present century. Of old, this manor belonged to a family, who took its name from the estate: "Dominus Bartholomew de "Falaw," appears in some charters, with Roger de Quincey (*a*). It afterward passed to successive proprietors, who cannot be distinctly traced. It came at length to Thomas Hamilton of Preston, whose son Thomas enjoyed the estate of Fala, with the patronage of the church: And his daughter Elizabeth, the representative of several families, brought the estates of Fala, and Oxenford, with the patronage of the church of Fala, to her husband, Sir John Dalrymple of Cousland. About the year 1600, the parish of Soutra, in Hadingtonshire, was annexed to Fala parish, in Edinburghshire: And, the church of Fala became the church of the united parish; the patronage, being by turns, enjoyed, by Sir John Dalrymple, baronet, and the city of Edinburgh, as patrons of the separate parishes. Thus much, then, with regard to the fifteen parishes, in the presbytery of Dalkeith!

Stow parish, in Lauderdale presbytery, was anciently named Wedale, the vale of woe, from the Anglo-Saxon *Wa*, or *Wæ*, and *Dal*, which is usually softened into *Dale* (*b*). The parish of Wedale was formerly of great extent; comprehending a tract, which is drained by the Gala water, of ten miles long, and four broad; being the south-east corner of Edinburghshire; and comprehending also the district, that is drained by the Caden water, in Selkirkshire, more than seven miles long, and three broad. Wedale appears to have early enjoyed the privilege of sanctuary, in the same manner as Tyningham (*c*). Both

(*a*) Chart. Soltre.

(*b*) See Somner: In Nennius, ch. 63, it is thus explained: "*Wedal*, Anglicè; vallis doloris, "Latine." A fragment of the real cross, which was brought to this vale, from the holy land, by King Arthur himself, is said to have been preserved, with great veneration, in the Virgin Mary's church, at Wedale. Gale, iii. 114. And see this legend, in Leland's Col. iii. 49. While the district, and parish, were called *Wedale*, the kirk-town was called *Stow*, in Wedale: And *Stow* is literally the Anglo-Saxon name for locus, *Statio*: And is the well-known name of many places in England. John Harding, Chron. fo. ccxxxvii., when he was instructing the English king how to ruin Scotland, advises him,

"To send an hoste of footmen in,
"At Lammesse nexte, through all Lauderdale,
"And Lamermore woodes, and mossis over-rin,
"And eke therewith, *the Stow of Wedale*."

The celebrated seat of the Marquis of Buckingham might, fitly, from its pre-eminence, be called *the Stow of Buckingham*.

(*c*) This is mentioned, in a charter of Malcolm IV.; granting the same *privilege of sanctuary* to the church of Inverleithen. Chart. Kelso, 20. The black priest of *Wedale* was one of the three persons, who enjoyed the privilege of the law of clan Macduff. Wyntoun, i. 242.

the territory, and the church of Wedale, belonged of old to the bishops of St. Andrews, though it is not easy to ascertain from whom, or on what occasion, they were obtained: It was from the bishop's palace here, that the kirk-town acquired the appropriate name of *Stow*. There was anciently an extensive forest, between Wedale, and Lauderdale, in which the lords of the adjoining manors had common rights: The inhabitants of Wedale, on the west, the monks of Melros, on the south, and the Earls of Dunbar, and the Morvilles, on the east. Among the men of such lords, many disputes naturally arose. And, in 1184, a contest between the monks of Melros, and the men of Wedale, about the pasturages of this forest, was settled by William, the lion, and his barons (*d*). The bishops of St. Andrews often resided at *the Stow of Wedale*, whence they dated many of their charters (*e*). In 1233, Clement, the elect of Dunblane, was consecrated by William, the bishop of St. Andrews, at Wedale (*f*) The border laws, which were settled, in 1249, stipulated, that *the presbyter of Wedale* should swear, for the king of Scotland, and the bishop of St. Andrews (*g*). In June 1313, William, bishop of St. Andrews, issued a precept to his steward, in Lothian, directing him to give the monks seisin of the church of Nenthorn: And, the stewart issued his precept to *the baillie of Wedale*; commanding him to give the monks seisin of the church (*h*). The church of Wedale was, in early times, of great value: In the ancient *Taxatio*, the *church of Wedale*, in the deanry of the Merse, is rated at 70 marks. The bishops of St. Andrews enjoyed it, as a *mensal church*; and the cure was served, by a vicar, who was appointed by them (*i*). In March 1472, the auditors, in parliament, heard the complaint of Andrew Pringle, chaplain, and John Spottiswoode, against William, for spoliation of 4 sacks of wool, 320 lambs, 60 stone

(*d*) Chart. Mailros. It was settled, by a jury of the country, with Morville, the constable, as their foreman, that the king's forest extended to the way, which went to the west part of the church of Mary of Wedale; and is the pasture of the monks of Melros, as far as the limits of Wedale, and as far as the rivulet, which was called Fasseburn. Id. This settlement was confirmed, according to the practice, by a charter of William. Ib. 89. Among such parties, quiet could not long remain. In 1269, the abbot and monks of Melros were excommunicated by a council of the Scotican church, for infringing the peace of Wedale, and for assaulting the houses of the bishop of St. Andrews, and for killing one ecclesiastic, and wounding others. Ford. x. 25; and Lord Hailes's Councils. King William issued a precept to the "ministris ecclesiæ de Wedale, "et illis qui pacem ibidem custodiunt;" commanding them not to detain the men of the monks of Kelso. Chart. Kelso, 407.

(*e*) Chart. Cambuskeneth. (*f*) Chron. Mail. (*g*) Border Laws, 4.

(*h*) Chart. Mailros, 312-13. The bishops of St. Andrews had a regal jurisdiction over the whole district of Wedale.

(*i*) In August 1296, Edward, vicar of the church of Wedale, swore fealty to Edward I.; and had in return restitution of his rights. Prynne, iii. 661; Rot. Scotiæ, 25.

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of cheese, and 5 corsepresents, of the tithes of *the kirk of Stow of Wedale*, which pertained to the complainants, under a lease: The lords ordered William to restore those tithes; to pay 40 shillings, as an amercement; and to be distrained till he obeyed the judgment (*k*). In 1630, the lands of the territory of Stow were held of the archbishop of St. Andrews (*l*). In a roll of the kirks, within the diocese of St. Andrews, in 1683, which was made up by Martin, there is a *Stow*, in the presbytery of Dunfermlin (*m*). After the abolition of episcopacy, the parish of *Stow* was attached to the presbytery of Lauder. In addition to his glebe of five acres, the minister of *Stow* enjoyed the ancient right of pasturage, in Stow common, till its division, in 1756; when nineteen acres were allotted to him for his common right. The old kirk of Stow was repaired, in 1780; and a new manse was built, for the minister, in 1782 (*n*). After the Reformation, the patronage of Stow seems to have returned to the king. Such, then, are the notices, which carry back the inquisitive mind to the times, that are past, when the kings, with their nobles, were employed, in settling the disputes of herdsmen, and the Scotican church found it necessary, to excommunicate an abbot, and his monks, for murder, and sacrilege.

The present parishes of Mid-Calder, and West-Calder, lying within the presbytery of Linlithgow, were of old comprehended in one parish, and barony of Calder-*Comitis*; and this is the only parish of Edinburghshire, which is within the presbytery of Linlithgow, except a part of Kirkliston parish, containing about five hundred people. West-Calder received this name, as lying westward of the Calder river, and of Eastern-Calder; and it was distinguished by the name of Calder-Comitis, as early as the 12th century, from the Earl of Fife, who held it; while East-Calder was called Calder-Clere, from Raudulph de Clere, who enjoyed this district, as we have already seen. This extensive manor of Calder-Comitis was possessed, by the Earls of Fife, as early as the reign of Malcolm IV.; and by them, it was enjoyed, as low down as the reign of David II. (*o*): It now passed to Sir William Douglas of Douglas, who gave it in

(*k*) Parl. Rec. 173-4.

(*l*) Reliq. Divi And. 120. In 1543, the archbishop granted to Lord Borthwick, and his heirs male, "that tract of country, known by the name of Gala water." Borthwick on the Feud. Dignities of Scot. 29. But, he does not quote his authority.

(*m*) Reliq. Divi And. 59. (*n*) Stat. Acco. vii. 134.

(*o*) After the assassination of Duncan, the Earl of Fife, in 1288, the custody of his son, with this manor, was assigned to William Bisset: And this appointment was confirmed, by Edward I., in 1292. Rot. Scotiæ, 11. In 1294, Edward, however, took this manor into his own hands, and gave Bisset a compensation. Ib. 20. But, in October of the same year, he gave to

in *free marriage*, with Eleanor, his sister, to Sir James de Sandilands, in 1349. This grant was confirmed, by Duncan, the Earl of Fife, and by David II. (*p*). From that marriage, sprung the family of Sandilands, who acquired the estates of the knights of St. John, at the Reformation, with the peerage of Torphichen; and who still retain the barony of West-Calder, with the advowson of the church. West-Calder was a rectory of more value than the church of East-Calder, as the parish was more extensive: And it was valued, in the ancient *Taxatio*, at 40 marks. The patronage belonged of old to the lord of the manor: But, it seems to have been granted to the monks of Dunfermlin; and was confirmed to them, by Richard, bishop of St. Andrews (*q*): Yet, did it become an independent parsonage, in the 13th century, though the manner does not appear. In 1296, Nicholas de Balmyle, the parson of Calder-Comitis, swore fealty to Edward I., who thereupon commanded the sheriff of Edinburghshire to restore him to his property (*r*). In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the rectory of Calder-Comitis was taxed at £10 : 13 : 4; whence we may infer its value, at that period (*s*). Before the Reformation, there was a chapel, in the upper part of this extensive district, which gave a name to Chapeltown, about a mile from West-Calder: This chapel remained till the revolutionary reign of Charles I. (*t*). John Spottiswoode, the son of William Spottiswoode of Spottiswoode, who fell at Floddon-field, was presented by the patron to this church, in 1548. In 1560, he was appointed, under the new regimen, superintendent of the churches of Lothian, which he continued to direct, during twenty years, though the parishioners complained to the assembly in vain, that they were deprived of their pastor (*u*): And dying, in 1585, he was succeeded by his son, John, at the age of twenty-one, who held it till 1603, when he was nominated archbishop of Glasgow; and became archbishop of St. Andrews, and chancellor of Scotland (*x*). In 1637, John, Lord Torphichen, was served

Robert, bishop of Glasgow, the custody of Calder-Comitis, with its pertinents. Ib. 21. The Earl of Fife, while still under age, was killed, in the battle of Falkirk, in 1298; leaving an infant son, whom Robert Bruce afterward restored to his rights, within the barony of Calder-Comitis. Ib. 16.

(*p*) Hay's Vindication, 58-9.

(*q*) Sir Lewis Stewart's MS. Col. No. 45.

(*r*) Rot. Scotiæ, 25.

(*s*) The rectory of Calder-Comitis appears also in the Tax Roll of the archbishop, 1547.

(*t*) Pont's map of Lothian. It has since been demolished; but, the proprietor has preserved the stone font. Stat. Acco. xviii. 195.

(*u*) Keith, 514, 530.

(*x*) This worthy prelate died, in 1639, at the eve of a long civil war, aged 74; leaving a history of the church of Scotland, which has been castrated, and perhaps interpolated.

heir

heir to his father, in the barony of Calder, and to the patronage of the church (*y*). In 1646, this large parish was divided into two districts, which were named Mid-Calder, and West-Calder: The old church was now appropriated to Mid-Calder (*z*); while the new church was erected, in the upper dictrict, which has given rise to the kirk-town of West-Calder: And, Lord Torphichen continued to be the patron of the two parishes, till he transferred his advowson of West-Calder to the Earl of Lauderdale (*a*).

Thus much, then, with regard to the historical notices of the several parishes, in the populous shire of Edinburgh, or Mid-Lothian. As an useful supplement, there is immediately added a *Tabular State* of the same districts, under different views: And, this comprehensive document admits of some supplemental explanations. The parish of Soutra, which has been annexed to Fala, lies in Hadingtonshire; and a considerable part of the parish of Stow is within Selkirkshire (*b*). On the returns of the population of Edinburgh town, in 1801, it was remarked, by those, who made the enumerations, that, from concealments, and omissions, the total numbers were somewhat under the real amount of the whole people, particularly in St. Cuthbert's, over which the suburbs spread, with rapid progress: Those omissions, by subsequent inquiries, are now supplied. The same observations may be made, with regard to the population of Dalkeith, in 1801. In estimating the income of the minister's stipends, the value of their glebes were included, but not their manses. The valuable part of the stipends, which arises from *victual*, was estimated, according to a nine years average of the fier prices of Edinburghshire, ending with 1794; and taking the *medium* of the best, and second sorts of grain (*c*). For other districts, the more inquisitive reader is referred to the *Tabular State*, which immediately follows:

(*y*) Inquis. Speciales, xiv. 174. In 1649, Walter Lord Torphichen was served heir to his brother John, in the same barony, and advowson. Ib. xx. 93.

(*z*) Stat. Acco. xiv. 370. (*a*) Ib. xviii. 185.

(*b*) The whole parish of Fala and Soutra contained of people, in 1755, 312; in 1791, 372; and in 1801, 354: Their stipends, in 1755, were 68l. 2s.; and in 1798, 77l. 13s. The parish of Stow contained of people, in 1755, 1,294; in 1791, 1,756; and in 1801, 1,876: The minister's stipend of Stow, in 1755, was 78l. 3s. 1d; and in 1798, 135l. 4l. 7d.

(*c*) The wheat was valued, at 21s. 3½d. per boll; the barley, at 16s. 4½d.; the oats, at 12s. 10½d.; and the oat-meal, at 15s. 1d. per boll. In Edinburghshire, the boll of wheat is 4 bushels, 10 pints, 6.7 cubic inches, English standard measure; the boll of barley, and oats, is 6 bushels, 3 pints, 25.5 cubic inches, English standard measure. The stipends of the ministers of Canongate, Corstorphin, Liberton, Colinton, Currie, Kirknewton, Dalkeith, Inveresk, and Heriot parishes, comprehend the augmentations, which were made to them, before the year 1798. A process was depending, for augmenting the minister of Stow's stipend. In March 1804, the stipends of the 16 ministers of Edinburgh were raised to 260l. each a-year, with a prospective eye to 300l. each.

The

The TABULAR STATE.

The Presbyteries.	The Names of the Parishes.	Their Extent. Length Miles.	Their Extent. Breadth Miles.	Their Inhabitants In 1755.	Their Inhabitants In 1791.	Their Inhabitants In 1801.	The Number of Ministers.	Their Stipends. In 1755. £.	s.	d.	Their Stipends. In 1798. £.	s.	d.	Their Patrons.
EDINBURGH	Edinburgh	1½	1½	31,122	31,850	33,251	16	2,222	4	5	3,200	0	0	Town Council of Edinburgh.
	St. Cuthbert's	3½	3	12,193	33,076	29,771	2	107	19	10	170	14	0	The King.
								107	19	1	170	11	7	
	Canongate	½	¼	4,500	6,121	5,804	2	102	15	6	161	15	0	The King, and Heriton.
								102	15	6	175	0	0	
	South-Leith	1	½	7,200	11,432	12,044	2	127	15	6	243	3	8	The King, and Constituted Authorities.
	North-Leith	1	¼	2,205	2,409	3,228	1	97	5	0				
	Dudingston	4	1½	989	910	1,003	1	70	3	4	125	0	0	The Parishioners.
	Liberton	4	3	2,793	3,457	3,565	1	75	8	10	134	19	7	The Marquis of Abercorn.
	Cramond	5	2	1,455	1,485	1,411	1	98	14	9	192	3	1	The King, and Wauchope of Niddry.
	Currie	6	5	1,227	1,260	1,112	1	85	3	3	149	7	0	Ramsay of Barnton.
	Corstorphin	4	2	995	1,037	840	1	75	6	8	155	10	2	Town Council of Edinburgh.
	Collington	2	1½	792	1,355	1,397	1	84	11	1	175	16	8	Dick of Prestonfield.
	Ratho	4	3½	930	875	987	1	66	2	10	144	15	9	The Earl of Lauderdale.
	Kirknewton	5½	3½	1,157	862	1,071	1	73	13	3	137	11	0	The Duchess of Portland.
DALKEITH	Dalkeith	1¾	1¼	3,110	4,366	3,906	1	108	0	0	167	10	8	The Duke of Buccleugh, and the Earl of Morton.
	Borthwick	6	4	910	840	842	1	110	0	0	152	16	8	The Duke of Buccleugh.
	Crichton	3	2½	611	900	923	1	108	0	0	156	15	4	Dundas of Arniston.
	Cranston	4½	3	725	839	895	1	74	11	1	146	13	8	Callander of Crichton.
	Newbotle	3½	3	1,439	1,295	1,328	1	72	17	6	102	10	7	Dalrymple of Cranston.
	Laswade	7	3	2,190	3,050	3,348	1	71	18	10	126	7	0	The Marquis of Lothian.
	Heriot	8	4	209	300	320	1	95	17	5	134	12	0	Clerk of Pennycuick.
	Inveresk	2½	2	4,645	5,392	6,604	1	65	11	1	100	17	9	Dalrymple of Cranston.
	Pennycuick	10	5	890	1,721	1,705	1	100	3	9	190	0	0	The Duke of Buccleugh.
	Primrose	3½	2	555	329	409	1	65	6	1	89	3	6	Clerk of Pennycuick.
	Temple	8	4	905	593	855	1	76	5	0	99	16	8	The Earl of Roseberry.
	Glencross	3	3	557	385	390	1	69	5	4	106	2	3	Dundas of Arniston, once; Hepburn of Clerkington, twice.
	Fala	2½	2	206	246	234	1	54	6	1	63	18	3	Tytler of Woodhouselee.
	Cockpen	2	1½	640	1,174	1,681	1	35	2	9	40	7	0	Dalrymple of Cranston.
	Newton	2½	1½	1,199	1,135	1,060	1	65	11	1	108	10	0	The Earl of Dalhousie.
LINLITHGOW	West-Calder	10	5½	1,294	1,345	1,185	1	66	13	10	120	6	4	Wauchope of Edmonstone.
	Mid-Calder	7	3¼	1,369	1,251	1,014	1	55	11	1	64	17	9	The Earl of Lauderdale.
	Kirkliston (part of)	—	—	391	403	441		81	8	10	101	2	2	Lord Torphichen.
LAUDER	Stow (part of)	10	4	1,035	1,400	1,500	1	78	3	1	135	4	7	The King.
	The Total 40	—	—	90,438	123,093	124,124	49	4,952	11	8	7,543	19	4	

CHAP. VI.

Of Linlithgowshire.

§ 1. *Of its Name.*] THE appellation of this shire is plainly derived, from the name of the county-town, which itself obtained its descriptive title, from the singular site of its loch, or lin. The location of this lake may properly be called a *broad concavity*: And, thus, the *lake*, the *concavity*, and the *expanse*, are the three principal *qualities*, which entered into the ingenious minds of the British people, when they imposed this descriptive name, on this agreeable site. The fine eminence, which runs out into the loch below; the church, and palace, that stand upon its ridge; and the town, skirting the eminence, on the opposite side; as they are all modern, do not contribute any quality to the formation of the name (*a*). We may learn from the chartularies, that Linlith-cu is the most ancient appellation, which, in the language of the British settlers here, in the earliest times of colonization, signifies the concavity of the *expansive lin*, or loch. *Linlitcu* is the name of this place, in David I.'s charter to Holyrood, which is the earliest notice (*b*). In the same prince's grants to the abbey of Dunfermlin, the name is *Linlithcu* (*c*). In his charter to the monks of Cambuskeneth, the town bears the same name of *Linlithcu* (*d*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, the name is *Linlythku*. We thus perceive the appellation of this burrough, and shire, spelt with little, or no variety, throughout the whole extent of the Scoto-Saxon period. During the subsequent century, in the charters of the Bruces, and Stewarts, the word is variously spelt, according to the humour of the several scribes (*e*): Lynlithgow, Linlythku, Linlithqu, Linliscoth, Lin-

(*a*) See *the site* of the palace, and *loch*, in Slezer's pl. No. 9, and 10; wherein the town, without any analogy, or meaning, is called *Limnuch*, and *Limnuchensis*.

(*b*) Maitland's Edin. 145. (*c*) Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. 384.

(*d*) Chart. Cambusk. No. 61.

(*e*) See Robertson's Index. Llynn, Lin, Lyn, in the ancient British, signify a loch, a lake, a pond, or pool. Richard's Welch Dict.; Lluyd's Archaiol. Pryce's Archaiol. *Lled*, or *Leth*, signifies, in the same speech, breadth, width, latitude. Richard's W. Dict. *Cau*, or *Ca*, means, in that language, a hollow, a concavity. See Owen's Welsh Dictionary, under the several constituent words, *Llyn*, *Llyth*, and *Cw*: All such etymologies rest upon the historical fact, which cannot be denied, that the British tribes were the earliest settlers here.

lisco,

lisco, Lithgow, Lithcow, are some of the names of this town, and shire, as they have been variously written, by different clerks. Legend has, indeed, connected the story of a dog with the origin of this shire-town, which tradition, with heraldic help, has emblazoned, as the armorial bearings of the corporation, which the magistrates have been studious to engrave on their common seal (*f*). Ingenuity has also stepped out to give some descriptive sense to two syllables of the word, without attending to the most significant prefix, which is undoubtedly British, and without adverting to the orthography of the name, that is uniform, from the epoch of record, to the accession of Robert Bruce: And, ingenuity, after all these inadvertencies, instructs us, that *lith* signifies, in the Saxon, snug, or close, and *gow* a vale, or hollow: But, *Lye* does not recognize *lith*, in this sense, though, in the Scoto-Saxon, *lyth*, by a slight deviation, from the original meaning, does signify sheltered, or warm; and *gow*, he knows not at all, though *gau*, and *gou*, in the ancient German, signify *pagus*, *regio* (*g*). Yet, this derivation applies merely to *Lyth-gow*, the vulgarized form of the name, which, by excluding the *loch*, or *lake*, or *lyn*, leaves the name, without any local meaning.

Such, then, are the several appellations of the *shire-town*, which have been given, in succession, by the British, the Scots, and the Scoto-Saxons. The popular name of the shire is still more modern. After the name of *Lothian* had been given, from the nature of the thing, by the Saxon settlers, on the fine shore, from the Tweed to the Avon; after the name of *Lothian* had been restricted to the country, between the Lamermoor and the Avon; after the Lothians, in the subsequent reigns of the Alexanders, came to be subdivided into three divisions, Linlithgowshire was denominated *West Lothian* (*h*). We are thus, by Sibbald's investigations, carried back into the regions of fiction! Boece was, perhaps, the first, who said, that Lothian of old was called *Pithland* (*i*). Bellenden, his enlarger, adds, " the first part of this isle (because

(*f*) Stat. Acco. xiv. 548; and see an impression of the seal on the map of the Lothians. A Celtic etymologist might, easily, from those traditional circumstances, discover the origin of the name in the Gaelic *Lin-liath-cu*, the *lake* of the *grey dog*.

(*g*) Wachter in vo. *gow*.

(*h*) Sir Robert Sibbald, indeed, has dedicated the second chapter of his *History of Linlithgowshire*, to the investigation " of the names of this shire, ancient, and modern:" The result of this whole chapter is, that the monks say, it obtained the name of Lothian, from *Lothus*, a king of the Picts; but, the learned David Buchanan gave it, as his deliberate opinion, that the whole Lothians may have derived their name, from the water of *Leith*, which runs through the middle of them. Ib. 5.

(*i*) " Laudonia *Pithlandia* olim appellata." The first edition, by Badius 1526.

" it

" it was inhabited by Brutus, and his posterity) was named *Britane*: The " second, and mid-part, (because it was inhabited by *Pichtis*), was named " *Penthlane* (*k*)." And, Camden, from the intimations of both, was the first, who said, distinctly, that *Lauden* was of old, from the Picts, called *Pictlandia* (*l*). In Innes's chronicles, which are as authentic, and curious, as they are ancient, Lothian, from the long residence of the Saxons, is more than once called *Saxonia*; but never Pictland, Penthland, or Pentland (*m*); while the proper country of the Picts was called, from them, Pictavia, and Pictinia. But, the high grounds, which is denominated the Pentland hills, according to Sir Robert Sibbald, ought to be called *Ben*-land hills, that is, the mountainous country; for *Ben*, in the Gaelic language, signifies a mountain; and the Pentland hills seem the highest, in Mid-Lothian (*n*). Conjecture, however, is but an indifferent substitute for fable: And, modern misapprehension needs not be adopted, in the place of ancient legend. It was, probably, the cession, in 1020, of the country, lying along the Forth, from the Tweed to the Avon, by the Earl of Northumberland, to the Scotish king, which gave an ultimate triumph to the name of *Lothian* over *Saxonia*, without the idle aids of fictitious fame.

§ II. *Of its Situation, and Extent.*] Linlithgowshire has the firth of Forth on the north; Edinburghshire on the east and south-east; Lanerkshire on the south-west; and Stirlingshire on the west. On the east, it is separated from Edinburghshire, first by the Breich water, from its source, till it joins the Amon; and after this junction, the Amon forms the more remarkable boundary, throughout its course, to the Forth, except at Mid-Calder, where Edinburgh-

(*k*) Bellenden's Boece, 1541, b. ii. He, afterward, corrects himself a little, by saying, that Forth is an arm of the sea, dividing *Pentland*, from Fife. Doctor Jamieson considers this as an undoubted corruption of *Pichtland*, or *Petland*, in the same manner, as the designation of the Pichtland firth has been changed to *Pentland*. Yet, a charter of Robert II., in October 1372, writes the name of that frith *Pentland* freth. Regist. Rob. II. v. 1. This elaboration, about egregious fictions, brings to one's recollection the erudite work of the learned Wise, to settle the *chronology* of events, that never happened: So, the Picts never inhabited Lothian, whatever learning may say, or ignorance misconceive; as we might, indeed, learn, from the ancient Chronicles, in Innes's Appendix.

(*l*) Laudonia, quæ et *Lauden*, et olim à Pictis Pictlandia dicta. The first edition, 1586, 477.

(*m*) See *Saxonia* applied to *Lothian*, in Innes, 782-788: And proper Scotland, lying northward of the Forth, is frequently called *Pictavia*, from the Picts, and once titled *Pictinia*, but never Pictland, or Pentland. Ib. 768-772-782-809.

(*n*) Maitl. Edin. 506. Maitland was perfectly aware, that this district was called *the moor*, where the corporation of Edinburgh held markets, and levied toll, at *the house of the moor*. Id.

shire intrudes somewhat more than a mile into Linlithgowshire. On the west, this county is separated from Stirlingshire, first by the Linn burn, from its rise, till its junction with the Avon, which now forms the separation, between them, till it falls into the Forth (*n*). The length of the east side, from the foot of Almon, on the north-east, to the top of Breich water, on the south-east, is nearly twenty-one miles: The breadth is twelve miles (*o*). The superficial contents of the whole, appear, from very minute calculations, to be 121 square miles; or 77,440 statute acres (*p*). This estimate is somewhat above the computation in the Agricultural View. Now, the population of Linlithgowshire being 17,847 souls, in 1801, this enumeration shows, that there are somewhat more than 147 persons to every square mile. This shire has been several times surveyed. It was first examined with a scientific eye, by Timothy Pont, who has left us, in Blaeu's *Atlas Scotiæ*, a map of *Lothian*, and *Linlithquo*. Adair made a map of Linlithgowshire, which was engraved by Richard Cooper. And, this county was, afterward, included by Armstrong, in his map of the *three Lothians*. It is to be lamented, perhaps, that whatever may be gained in accuracy, by new surveys, is generally lost, by excluding all that is curious, in local objects.

§ III. *Of its Natural Objects.*] In this shire, there are many objects, which are worthy of the attention of the inquisitive naturalist. None of the protuberances of this district rise into lofty eminences: Neither is its surface, by any means flat. It is diversified, by a number of small hills, which do not rise to any inconvenient elevation. The most remarkable of them forms a range, which runs from Bowden, across the middle of the county, in an oblique direction, from north-west to south-east. Cairn-naple, the most prominent centre of this

(*n*) On Armstrong's map of the Lothians, Linlithgowshire lies between 55° 50′ and 56° 1′ of north latitude; and between 3° 7′ and 3° 38′ of longitude, west from London. Armstrong places Linlithgow town in 55° 59′ north latitude, and 3° 25′ longitude, west from London. According to Arrowsmith's map, from the Engineer's survey, this shire lies between 55° 49′ and 56° 1′ north latitude; and between 3° 18′ 40″; and 3° 51′ 30″ longitude, west of Greenwich. The shire-town stands in 55° 58′ 35″ north latitude; and 3° 35′ 50″ west longitude, from Greenwich.

(*o*) The greatest extent is on the east side, which measures nearly 21 miles, from the influx of the Amon into the Forth, to the south-east extremity of the county on Breich water. The length of the west side is nearly 15 miles. The breadth of the northern end of this shire, along the shore of the Forth, is 12 miles; but, the greatest part of this shire is only about 7 miles broad.

(*p*) The superfices of this county, on Armstrong's map of the Lothians, is only 112 square miles, or 71,680 statute acres: But, on Arrowsmith's map of Scotland, it is 121 square miles, or 77,440 statute acres.

range,

range, rises to the height of 1,498 feet above the level of the sea (*q*): And Cocklerne, on the western part of this range, rises to the height of 500 feet (*r*). The Kipps hills, Knock hills, and Drumcross hills, all form conspicuous parts of this range. Ricardton edge, and Binny craig, may also be deemed a part of this range; and rise to a considerable elevation. The second class of hills, which are more worthy of notice, is variously distributed throughout the northern parts of the county, along the Forth: Of those, the most conspicuous are Mons hill, Craigie hill, and Dundas hill, in Dalmenie parish; Craigton hill, and Binns hill, in Abercorn parish; and Irongarth, in Linlithgow parish (*s*). The middle, and western districts of the county, are the most hilly: The east, and north, are the most plain. The southern divisions of this shire consist mostly of moor, moss, and morass, with few heights of any elevation. In general, the hills, in this shire, are both useful, and ornamental; nearly the whole of them affording abundant pasturage, from a grassy surface; many of them being ornamented with woods; and some of them containing valuable minerals (*t*).

In Linlithgowshire, there are not any waters of great extent. The only lakes are the loch, at Linlithgow town, and Lochcoat, in Torphichen parish. The lake at Linlithgow, occupies about 154 English acres; and contains pike, perch, and eels (*u*). Lochcoat, as it is somewhat more than one furlong long, and one broad, occupies about twenty-two English acres (*x*): And, it also contains pike, perch, and eels (*y*). Lochcoat empties its superfluous water, by a stream, from its north-west end, which falls into what is appropriately called the Eel Ark; and from thence runs, under ground, more than two hundred paces, when it breaks out, by a spring, which forms a streamlet, that flows into the Avon (*z*). Of large rivers, this county cannot boast; yet, is it well watered, by several streams, for every domestic purpose, while the Amon, on the east, and the Avon, on the west, are the only considerable riverets. The Amon is chiefly formed, by three small streamlets, which rise, within the eastern border of Lanerkshire; and, being joined by the Breich, the united stream flows, in an easy course, between Linlithgowshire and Edinburghshire,

(*q*) Stat. Acco. iv. 465. (*r*) Ib. xiv. 550.

(*s*) Stat. Accounts; Agricult. Survey; Armstrong's map of the Lothians.

(*t*) Binns hill, in Abercorn, is arable to the summit; the soil being rather richer, than the adjacent plain: And every species of grain is cultivated on it, with advantage. Stat. Acco. xx. 385.

(*u*) The map of Lothian; Stat. Acco. xiv. 560.

(*x*) According to a measurement on the map.

(*y*) Agricult. View, 6; Stat. Acco. iv. 466. (*z*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 28.

till it falls into the Forth, at Cramond, after a course of four-and-twenty miles, that forms the drain of Edinburgh, on the west, and Linlithgow, on the east. The Amon receives also Brocks burn, with several smaller streams, which drain the eastern districts of this county.

The Avon, which more properly belongs to Stirlingshire, wherein it rises; and traversing that shire, for six or seven miles, enters Linlithgow, at West-Straith: It now separates the two counterminous shires, throughout a course of a dozen miles, when it falls into the Forth. The Avon, as it flows, receives some supplies from the Logie water, which drains much of the western divisons of Linlithgow; and from the Linn burn, that forms the boundary of the two counties, throughout four miles, before it mixes with the Avon. With other rivulets, Midhope burn, and Dolphinston burn, drain the northern parts of this shire. The Avon, and the Amon, are more useful, for the driving of mills, than beneficial for fish, which have been forced from their haunts, by the operations of agriculture, and manufacture (*a*).

The Avon has long had the honour of being the western limit of Lothian. But, the Forth, either as an object of ornament, or as a contributer of profit, is of the greatest importance to Linlithgowshire. It washes sixteen miles of the northern shores of this county: This estuary supplies sites for salt-pans, fish for food, and harbours for its traffic. The banks of the Forth are generally high, except towards the west, where a tract of two thousand acres are left dry at every reflux of the tide, nearly opposite to the parish of Borrowstownes (*b*).

Neither does this shire want mineral waters. Near Torphichen, there is a spring, which is strongly impregnated with iron; and which was formerly used much as a tonic (*c*). Upon the estate of Kipps, within Torphichen parish, at the foot of the west bank, there is a vitriolic spring (*d*). Near Carriberhouse, there is a mineral spring, which, as it resembled the Moffat waters, was formerly much resorted to, however much it is now neglected (*e*). Near the church of Ecclesmachan, there is a mineral spring, which is called the *Bullion Well*, which also resembles the Moffat waters; and which has lately lost its visitors,

(*a*) Agricult. View, 6; Wood's Cramond, 93.

(*b*) Sibbald says, this tract is called the Lady's Half: Some Dutchmen formerly offered, in consideration of a long lease, to bank out the tide; and thereby to convert this alluviated tract to the various uses of life: But, their proposals were rejected, by a weak-sighted proprietor. Sibbald's Linlithgow, 18; Stat. Acco. xviii. 443.

(*c*) Ib. iv. 466. From that chalybeate spring, the seat of *Wal*-house may have derived its name.

(*d*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 22. (*e*) Ib. 17; Stat. Acco. xiv. 575.

while

while it has retained its virtues (*f*). In the vicinity of the salt-works, on the west of Borrowstowness, there is a mineral spring, the waters whereof, as they flow, deposit a good deal of yellow ochre; and exhibit a mixture of sulphur, and of salts (*g*).

This small county abounds with minerals of the most useful kind. Pit-coal is said to have been dug, in the parish of Borrowstowness, upwards of five hundred years ago: Coals were well known, and generally worked, during the reign of Alexander III. They have continued to be raised, in great quantities. The average quantity, which is yearly dug, amounts to 44,000 tons, much whereof are exported at the price of seven shillings and nine pence per ton. The neighbouring country consumes the remainder. The chew coals are carried to London: The small coals are chiefly consumed by the salt-pans (*h*). The parish of Caridden abounds with coals of a finer quality, which yield a higher price: They are sent to London, to Holland, to Germany, and to the Baltic (*i*). In Dalmenie parish, coal is also found (*k*). In Ecclesmachan parish, coal appears on every farm; yet, is it not converted to much profit (*l*). In the parishes of Uphall, Whitburn, Torphichen, and Binnie, there are also abundance of coal (*m*). And we thus see, that coals usefully exist, in almost every district of Linlithgowshire. Limestone also every where abounds, in this county; is manufactured to great profit; and is distributed to general advantage (*n*). The whole shire seems to stand on a bed of freestone, which is of the finest quality; and is distributed largely, for domestic supply, and for foreign use (*o*). There are several other sorts of stone, such as whinstone, granite, slatestone, and basaltes, which are every where found in Linlithgowshire (*p*). On Dundas hill, there is a basaltic rock, 250 yards long, and about 60 feet high, with an almost perpendicular front; the whole consisting of a bluish granite of a very fine texture (*q*). In Borrowstowness, in Torphichen,

(*f*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 14; Stat. Acco. ii. 367. (*g*) Ib. 18.

(*h*) Stat. Acco. xviii. 436-7: This colliery employs about two hundred and fifty persons. Sibbald, who published, during the reign of Anne, mentions, in his Linlithgow, 17, that there were then several well-peopled villages, in this vicinity, which were maintained, by the many coal pits.

(*i*) Sibbald, 19; Stat. Acco. i. 98. (*k*) Ib. i. 236. (*l*) Ib. ii. 368.

(*m*) Ib. i. 349; xvii. 299-304; iv. 466; xiv. 560; Sibbald's Linlithgow; and Transactions Antiq. Soc. Edin. 147.

(*n*) Id. (*o*) Id.

(*p*) Id. Sibbald speaks of *figured* stones, which are found in Bathgate hills. Linlithgow, 27; and Sibbald's Prodromus.

(*q*) Stat. Acco. i. 237.

in Bathgate, in Abercorn, and perhaps in other parishes, ironstone is found, in great abundance (*r*). Silver, and lead, mines have been formerly wrought, in Linlithgow parish, to some account (*s*). A vein of silver was discovered in a limestone rock, within Bathgate parish; but, the produce did not pay the expence of raising the ore (*t*). In the rivulets, within Torphichen parish, mundic has been found (*u*). This shire is rich in marl. Shell marl was dragged from Linlithgow loch, in considerable quantities, till the benefits of lime, as a manure, superseded the use of it (*x*). In Dalmenie parish, there is a morass of nine acres of shell marl (*y*). In the parish of Abercorn, shell marl is also found. In Uphall parish, both shell and stone marl exist, though not in great quantities. Here, too, are found fuller's earth, potter's clay, brick clay, and red chalk (*z*). Such is the copious catalogue of the useful minerals of Linlithgowshire. Its plants may vie with its minerals, in variety, though not in value (*a*).

§ IV. *Of its Antiquities.*] At the Christian epoch, the British tribe of the Gadeni, who were probably the descendants of the original settlers, were the rude inhabitants of the area of Linlithgowshire (*b*). Of this people, the topographical language is the earliest antiquities. The names of the waters, generally, and the appellation of Linlithcu, the shire town, particularly, are British, in their origin, and descriptive, in their applications. The *Forth* is plainly the British *Porth*, which changes to Forth, an estuary. The Avon, in the British, means a river; and of Avon, *Amon* is a variety; the (m) being sometimes convertible. The *Cornie*, a rivulet, as well as *Aber*, which, when prefixed to it, forms the well-known name of *Aber-corn*, the influx of the Cornie. The *Lin*burn is a pleonastic appellation for a rivulet, the British *Lin*, and the Saxon *burn*, signifying equally a streamlet. *Caer*loury, Carriber, Caermenden, in Livingston parish, the Cannondean of modern maps, Dumanin, the Dalmenie of the present day, are all British, in their origins. Bangour is the same as the Bangour of Wales; and is from the same source. Ochiltree, which was formerly *Ucheltre*, derived its name from the British *uchel*, high, and *tre*, a

(*r*) Stat. Acco. xviii. 441; iv. 466; i. 349; xx. 309: Transact. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 147.
(*s*) Stat. Acco. xiv. 562. (*t*) Ib. i. 349.
(*u*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 23. (*x*) Stat. Acco. xiv. 551. (*y*) Ib. i. 237.
(*z*) Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 147.
(*a*) There is a scientific list of the plants of this country, at the commencement of the 18th century, in Sibbald's Hist. of Linlithgowshire.
(*b*) Caledonia, i. 59.

dwelling:

dwelling: The house of Ochiltree stands on the summit of a *hill*. Inch-*cors* was formed, by prefixing the Scoto-Irish *inch* to the British *cors*, a *fen*. The *carn*, and *craig*, which appear, in the names of several places, are common, both to the British, and Gaelic tongues; as *Eglwys*, and *Eccles*, are equally common to both. The *Peel* of Linlithgow, and the *Peel* of Livingston, derive their appropriate names, from the British *Pill*, which signifies a *fort*, and was afterward adopted into the Scoto-Saxon. The prefix, in *Caer*-iden, is merely the British *caer*, a fort, which was applied, allusively, by the Gadeni people, to the Roman station.

To the language of the living, the burial of the dead forms the next class of the earliest antiques. In Torphichen parish, and upon Lochcoat hills, there is a large cairn of stones, which denotes the interment of ancient warriors (*c*). On a high bank of the Forth, about a mile west of Barnbugle castle, there is a sepulchral cairn, 500 feet in circumference, and 24 feet high (*d*). Near Kirkliston, there is a circular tumulus of great antiquity, which is composed of earth, and is surrounded with large rough stones, that are placed, at some distance from each other (*e*). On the south bank of the Amon, and opposite to Livingstonhouse, there are four sepulchral tumuli, which appear to have been formed from excavations of the earth, which still appear around them. The country people uniformly ascribe those ancient works *to the Picts* (*f*). To the cairns, and barrows, may be added stones of memorial. In the wood of Abercorn, there is a coarse grey stone, standing on end, which tradition intimates to have been the appropriate site of ancient meetings (*g*). Near Bathgate, there is

(*c*) In the adjacent ground, there have been found stone coffins, containing human bones. Sibbald's Linlithgow, 26.

(*d*) It is composed of small stones, granite, quartz, ironstone, and limestone, which had been collected from the neighbouring grounds. It is called, by the country people, the *Earl Cairnie*. Stat. Acco. i. 238.

(*e*) Ib. x. 68-75. Along the banks of the Amon, stone coffins, and human bones, have been frequently dug up; and evince, that here have been the bloody scenes of ancient conflicts. Id. On the way to Queens-ferry, a little northward of Cramon bridge, there were found, when enlarging the road, some stone cases, which were composed of six square stones, about a foot long, and one broad; and which contained ashes. Sibbald's Rom. Antiq. 51.

(*f*) Stat. Acco. xx. 15. In two of those barrows, which have been opened, there were found, near the surface, a great number of stone coffins, containing the remains of human skeletons, which, on being exposed to the air, crumbled into dust. These coffins were formed of rough flag-stones; were, in general, not more than five feet long, without any covering. Several other stone coffins of the same kind, and dimensions, have been dug up, in the same neighbourhood. Id.

(*g*) Ib. 339.

a remarkable

a remarkable standing stone, upon a farm, which is named from it *Stonerig* (*h*). There are also memorial remains of the druid worship. In Torphichen parish, near Kipp's house, there is a *cromlech*, whereon, says tradition, sacrifices were anciently performed (*i*). Near this *cromlech*, there is a druid circle of stones, which are set upright, having one, or two, placed in the centre. On a small eminence, in this vicinity, there is a single stone of a conical shape, which stands on end (*k*). To objects of worship, may be subjoined places of strength. Near Linlithgow, on Cocklerne hill, the Gadeni had a fort, the vestiges whereof may still be seen: And, at the bottom of this hill, there is the appearance of an entrenchment (*l*). In Torphichen, on Bowden hill, there was a similar fort: The summit of the hill was surrounded, by double ramparts, and entrenchments, in a circular form, which may still be traced (*m*). In this parish, on Cairnpaple hill, which rises to the height of 149 feet, above the sea-level, there are similar remains of an ancient strength (*n*). There also appears to have been a fort of the same people, on the top of Binn's hill (*o*). Near Linlithgow, on an eminence above Ochiltree mill, may yet be seen the remains of a similar fortlet (*p*). Such are the antiquities of the Gadeni people, the earliest inhabitants of this district.

Yet, the strengths of the Gadeni did not prevent the invasion of their country, by a foreign intruder, who knew how to conquer, and to civilize. The epoch of that invasion is 81 A. D., when the Romans, under Agricola, seized the peninsula, between the Forth, and Clyde, which he secured by a chain of forts, and garrisoned by soldiers of a different lineage: And thus were the Gadeni, the ancient possessors of the land, subdued to a foreign power. The year 83 may be considered as the epoch of the first arrival, in the Forth, of a Roman Fleet. Agricola, during the same year, passed from this peninsula, near Caeriden, to the opposite shore of the Forth, in quest of the Horestii. The valour of the tribes beyond the estuary, did not prevent the disadvantageous conclusion of the war. And, the Gadeni country remained within the jurisdiction of the Roman conquerors (*q*).

(*h*) Armstrong's Map.

(*i*) This cromlech is of a large size; and is composed of four great whin-stones, in their rude state; three whereof are supporters; and the fourth is placed upon them, in an inclined position to the south. Sibbald's Linlithgow, 26.

(*k*) Id.; Gough's Camden, iii. 318; Stat. Acco. iv. 470.

(*l*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 26; Stat. Acco. xiv. 569.

(*m*) Sibbald, 26; Stat. Acco. xiv. 470; Armstrong's map.

(*n*) Armstrong's map. (*o*) Id. (*p*) Stat. Acco. xiv. 470.

(*q*) See Caledonia, i. bk. i. ch. iii.

It was five-and-fifty years afterward, and during the reign of the Antonines, that a wall was built, under Lollius Urbicus, from the Clyde, near Old Kilpatrick, to the Forth, at Carriden: It entered this shire, when it crossed the Avon, at Bank-End; whence it proceeded to Inver-Avon, where was placed a station upon the wall (*s*). From this position, the wall proceeded eastward to Kinneil (*t*). The track of the rampart may be faintly traced to the house of Grange, beyond which it may be seen further eastward, pointing to the high bank of the Forth, at Carriden, where probability, and remains, equally evince, that it must have ended (*u*). This celebrated fence thus traversed this shire the extent of 7,450 yards, from its entrance, at the Avon, till its end, at Carriden (*x*), the Penuahel of the Picts, the Penueltun of the Saxons (*y*).

The Romans were, probably, the first makers of roads, in this shire. A military way accompanied the wall of Antonine, throughout its whole extent, for the accommodation of the troops who defended it (*z*). From the Roman station, at Cramon, a Roman road proceeded, westward, along the shore of the Forth, to Carriden: Crossing the Amon, it entered Linlithgowshire; and passing thence, by Barnbugle hill, it crossed Ecklin moor, where its remains plainly appear, and proceeded forward to the end of the wall (*a*). The Romans appear to have had several small posts along the shore of the Forth, from Carriden to Cramon, as Gildas, and Bede, our oldest antiquaries, clearly

(*s*) Gordon, Horseley, and Roy, agree in stating, that no vestiges of this station remained. Itin. Sept. 60; Brit. Rom. 173; Mil. Antiq. 162. Sibbald, however, says, "at Inveravon there "is yet standing part of a Roman *turris speculatorium*; and the track of the other buildings may "yet be seen." Sib. Linlithgow, 17, which those writers seem not to have examined. Yet, the minister of Borrowstowness, who surveyed those objects, in 1796, says, "the Roman wall is still "distinctly visible, on the *east* bank of the Avon: *At Inveravon, the ruins of a Roman tower still* "*remain:* It was built of common free-stone, and stands in a very conspicuous place." Stat. Acco. xviii. 441.

(*t*) Between Inveravon, and Kinneil, which are distant 3,400 yards, there are yet some faint traces of the ditch. Roy imagines there may have been a station at Kinneil. Milit. Antiq. 162.

(*u*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 19-20; Gordon's Itin. 60; Horseley's Rom. 173; Roy's Mil. Antiq. 163; Stat. Acco. xviii. 441. And see Gildas, who speaks of *Kair-Eden*, as *an ancient city:* And Bede, l. i. c. xii. The minister of Cariden adds, in 1791, "about fifty years ago, in "digging stones, to build a park dike, axes, pots, and vases, which were evidently of Roman "workmanship, were here found, and sent to the Advocates Library." Stat. Acco. i. 100. And see Sib. Linlithgow, 19; and Gordon's Itin. 60-1.

(*x*) Roy's Mil. Antiq. 163. (*y*) Bede. c. xii. (*z*) Roy.

(*a*) Maitland's Hist. Scot. i. 203; Roy's Mil. Ant. 103.

intimate (*b*). One of these is supposed to have occupied the site of the old castle of Abercorn (*c*). At some distance, eastward, from Abercorn, there are the vestiges of a small Roman camp, at a wind-mill, which belonged to Dundas of Manor (*d*). Thus, remains seem to confirm the intimations of those early antiquaries, who speak of the Roman towers, along the bank of the Forth. There is even some reason to suppose, that the Romans may have had a villa on the distinguished site of the shire town, where the Gadeni had a hamlet before them (*e*). Here the Romans remained till their late departure, after a residence of more than three hundred and fifty years, within this shire.

The descendants of the subdued, and civilized Gadeni, retained the lands, which they occupied; and resumed such a government, as pleased themselves. But, neither the Picts, who had no right to their lands, and no pretension to their government, nor the Scots, who did not then inhabit North-Britain, interrupted their enjoyments. During an early period of their independance, the Romanized Britons of this shire were invaded by a new people, from the neighbouring continent (*f*). But, there is better evidence of the fact, than the obscure notices of half-informed writers. The language, which those German people left, in the names of places, evince sufficiently, that they settled, in this shire, though perhaps not in great numbers, during the fifth, and sixth centuries (*g*). Yet, such names are not numerous; nor do they exhibit much

(*b*) "In littore quoque oceani ad meridiem quo naves eorum habebantur, quia et inde barbaro-"rum irruptio timebatur, turres per intervalla ad prospectum maris collocant." Smith's Bede, 50.

(*c*) Sibbald's Linlith. 20; Stat. Acco. xx. 399. (*d*) Sibbald's Linlith. 20.

(*e*) Ib. 15. An urn, full of Roman coins, was, in 1781, turned up by the plough, in the burrough moor, close to the town of Linlithgow. Of these three hundred coins, which were about the size of a sixpence, five of the emperors Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, two of Hadrian, and two of the empress Faustina, were presented, by Robert Clerk, the provost of Linlithgow, to the Antiquary Society of Edinburgh. Transactions, 60. Yet, I cannot concur with Camden, and his followers, in considering Linlithgow, as the *Lindum* of Ptolomy, which has been placed, at Ardoch, on much better principles. Gough's Camden, iii. 305; Sibbald's Linlithgow, 14. But, Pennant states the same point, merely, as a supposition. Scot. Tour. ii. 231.

(*f*) Nennius, xxxvii.

(*g*) West-Lothian exhibits, in its map, fewer Saxon words, than Mid, and East Lothians, and fewer still than Berwickshire. The Saxon words, which chiefly appear, within Linlithgowshire, in the names of places, are *Hleaw*, or *Law*, a hill, in twelve names; Lee, or Leag, a field, or pasture, in two names; *Shaw*, a wood, in two names; Holm, a flat field, in one name; *By*, a habitation, in one name; *Ham*, a dwelling, in one name; *Hope*, a hollow, or recess, in two names; *Dene*, a valley, in three names; *Shiel*, a shieling, in three names; *Rig*, a ridge, in six, or eight names; *Chester*, a fortification, in one name.

Gothicism,

Gothicism, in their general cast (*h*): The Anglo-Saxon names, in the topography of this shire, are in number to the Scoto-Irish as only one to three: Neither is there in it any appearance, which could induce a fair inquirer to suppose, that the Northumbrian Danes ever settled in Linlithgowshire (*i*). The outline of the history of West-Lothian, as it is intimated by Bede, is confirmed by those topographical notices. Many years elapsed, after the settlement of the Angles, in Lothian, before a regular government was settled, within this extensive region. Edwin, who assumed the Northumbrian sceptre, in 617 A. D., stretched his jurisdiction, from the Humber to the Avon (*k*). But, neither the episcopate of York, nor the bishoprick of Lindisfarn, existed at that epoch. When this bishoprick was established, in 635 A. D., during the second year of Oswald, the potent Northumbrian king, the episcopate of Aidan was made co-extensive with the kingdom of Oswald, in Lothian. A monastery was established, as early, perhaps, at Abercorn. Here, in 684 A. D., was settled the seat of the bishoprick of the Picts, with Trunwin, for their bishop. But, this establishment did not last long. And, the defeat, and death of Egfrid, in 685, gave a fatal shock to the Northumbrian kingdom, in Lothian. Yet, the power of the Northumbrian king, and the jurisdiction of the bishop of Lindisfarn, over every part of Lothian, continued for ages, however they may have been impaired (*l*). At a later period, when Kenneth, the son of Alpin, conducted his Scots, from Argyle to the land of the Picts, the Lothians were, at that epoch, called *Saxonia* (*m*), from the continued prevalence of the Saxon people.

The Gaelic Scots now gained the ascendency. *Saxonia* was frequently overrun, by Kenneth (*n*). It was feebly defended, by the Northumbrian powers, who were themselves weakened by distraction. This shire became the contentious scene, whereon those several people contended for superiority. The Saxons of Northumberland withdrew from the struggle. And, in 1020, the Lothians were resigned, as we have seen, to the Scotish kings, for ever. From the scantiness, however, of the Saxon names of places, we may easily

(*h*) None of the names of places, in this shire, exhibit the Saxon words, *Dod*, *Cleugh*, *Threap*, or *Thwait*, which appear in the more southern counties.

(*i*) There is no instance of the *Fell* here; nor, is there any other appearances, which seem to point to a Danish, or Norwegian people.

(*k*) Smith's Bede, App. No. ii., with the map annexed.

(*l*) When Bede finished his history, in 732 A. D., he described Northumberland as extending along the Forth to the Avon. Smith's edition, 650. The Picts lived beyond the Forth.

(*m*) See the Colbertine Chron. No. iii., in Innes's Essay (*n*) Id.

suppose, that the Saxon settlers never peopled this shire to any great extent. The Gaelic colonists planted it, with greater numbers, or were more busy, in giving their own names to the places of their residence (*o*). Those Gaelic names prevail, and perhaps the Scotish settlements were most numerous, in the west, and south-western parts of this shire. The Scotish people, from an analogy in their nature, and their tongues, grafted their own speech on British names; as in Inver-Avon, Inch-cors, and so, in others. The Scoto-Saxon people followed the same practice, by making pleonastic additions to the previous names of the prior people; as in Barbauch-*law*, Briech-*water*, Craig-*hills*, Dupol-*burn*; and so, in others. Such are the topographical notices, which supply the most authentic history of those various people, with the languages, which they spoke, and the settlements, that they made. The inhabitants of this shire, during every period, lived under such a polity, as was analogous to the genius of the successive people, who predominated, whether British, or Roman, Scotish, or Scoto-Saxon. Such, then, are the real antiquities of Linlithgowshire! There are some other objects, which some writers consider, as the only *antiquities*, which are worthy of their antiquarian attention. In Kirkliston parish, indeed, is the *Cat-stane*, which we have formerly seen, is merely the *battle*-stone; and is certainly a memorial stone of some conflict, and of some person. By other disquisitors, ruinous religious houses, and disparted castles, are regarded, as notable antiques: But, without chronology, what instruction can they give, or what curiosity can they gratify (*p*).

§ v. *Of*

(*o*) The following are the most remarkable Gaelic names, in this shire: *Achin*-head, Balncrief, Balnbairdie, Balgreen, Barnbougle, Bearhard, Binns, Binnie, Bagornie, Bedlormie, *Barbauch*-law, Buchans, *Briech* water, Cairnie, *Cairnpaple* hill, *Craig* hills, Craigs, *Craigs*marie, Craigie, Carlowrie, Carruber, Cult, Dalmenie, Dundas, Duntarvie, Drum, Drumbeg, Drumduff, Drumlyon, Drummelzie, Drumtassie, Drumbonie, Drumshags, Drumforth, Drumcross, Dipple, or *Dupol*-burn, Deichmont, Eckline, Flass, Glendevon, *Inch* in several names, Kinneil, Kinglas, Kincavel, Kilpunt, Killieauty, Kipps, *Logie* water, Minifie, Polkemmet, Powflat, Strath, Tannach, Torphichen, *Torbane* hill, Tartravan. And, from the Gaelic, also, are the names of the two ancient churches of Ald-Cathie, and Strathbroc.

(*p*) We may see, indeed, in Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ*, 1693, pl. 10, a delineation of the palace of Linlithgow. When John Ray, the botanist, visited Linlithgow, in August 1661, he saw the king's palace, "built in the manner of a castle, a very good house, as houses go, in Scotland." Itinerary, 199. On the other hand, Grose speaks of its *magnificence*, even after it had become a ruin. And, Arthur Johnston, in his *Carmen* de *Limnucho* cries out:

"Nobile Limnuchum est, Pario de Marmore templum
"Hic nitet, impensæ non mediocris opus."

It consisted, says the engineer Slezer, of *four towers*, between which the court, the chapel, and the

§ v. *Of its Establishment as a Shire.*] The policy of a sheriffdom was probably introduced into West-Lothian, as early as the reign of David I. The earliest notice, which research has discovered of a sheriff, in Linlithgowshire, is during the reign of Malcolm IV. (*q*). This office continued, throughout the long reign of William, the lion, though the successive sheriffs cannot be easily ascertained (*r*). It seems, however, to be certain, that the sheriffdom remained, till the accession of Robert Bruce, though the sheriffs passed away (*s*). And, when the overpowering Edward I. settled the government of Scotland, in September 1305, he appointed Ive de Adeburgh, the sheriff of Linlithgow, Edinburgh, and Hadington (*t*).

With the accession of Robert I., some change seems to have taken place, which supposes that Linlithgow had become a constabulary (*u*). Linlithgow equally continued a constabulary, throughout the reigns of David II., Robert II., and Robert III (*x*). Linlithgow remained under this form of a constabulary, throughout

the rest of the buildings, were extended. Grose has a view of the palace of Linlithgow, which was sketched, in 1790. And Cardonel has two delineations of this palace, which were taken, in 1789. On the 1st of February 1746, "the ancient palace of Linlithgow was, accidentally, burnt "to the ground: Soldiers were quartered in it, the night before: and, it was suspected, that "they had not been careful enough of their fires." Scots Mag. 48.

(*q*) After mentioning "Baldwin vicecomes meus de Lanarc, and Galfrid vicecomes meus de "Castello Puellarum," he speaks of Utredus vicecomes de *Lithcqu*. This charter of Malcolm IV. is dated, "apud Castellum Puellarum me postquam arma suscepi." Chart. Newbotle, No. 175. Malcolm IV. was made a knight, in 1159, if that were the meaning of his taking arms. Chron. Mail. 168; Chron of Holyrood. Utred is also mentioned, as the perambulator of the lands of Bathgate, in another charter of Malcolm IV. Ib. No. 159.

(*r*) Sir James Dalrymple's Col. 425; Sibbald's Hist. Linlithgow, 4.

(*s*) In July, and August, 1296, the various persons, living in West-Lothian, who swore fealty to Edward I., are described, as being in the *sheriffdom* of *Linlithgow*. Prynne, iii. On the 2d of September 1296, Edward I., on the submission of those several persons, issued separate writs to the sheriff of Edinburghshire, and to the sheriff of Linlithgow, for restoring their estates. Rym. ii. 723—7. On the 5th of October, in the same year, he committed the *three* several *sheriffdoms* of Hadington, Edinburgh, and Linlithgow, to the charge of Walter de Huntercomb. Ib. 731.

(*t*) Ryley's Placita, 504.

(*u*) In the Chartulary of Cambuskenneth, 178, there is a precept of Robert I., which was addressed to the sheriff of Edinburgh, and the baillie of Linlithgow, directing, that the lands of Kettliston should not be obliged, thereafter, to yield suit, and service, at the town of Linlithgow. On the 16th of January 1326-7, the same king granted to the monks of Culros the barony of Philipston, lying "in *vicecomitatu* de Edinburgh, et infra *constabularium* de Linlithgow. MS. Monast. Scotiæ.

(*x*) In June 1334, Edward Baliol, the pretender to the Scotish crown, transferred to the English king

throughout the regency of Albany (*y*). In this subordinate state, it continued, probably, during the reigns of James I., and James II. In the subsequent reign of James III., Linlithgow was undoubtedly a sheriffdom, though the manner, and the time of the change, are obscure (*z*). On the 18th of March 1481-2, the sheriffs *Lithgu*, of Edinburgh, of Air, and of Lanerk, sat, in parliament, among the smaller barons; as we know, from the Parliamentary Record. After the violent accession of James IV., Linlithgow continued a distinct shire (*a*): And, it continued a separate sheriffdom, throughout the reign of James IV (*b*). From this epoch, till the final abolition of the heritable jurisdictions,

king the county of Edinburgh; and, the constabularies of Hadington, and Linlithgow. Rym. iv. 615. In November 1361, a charter of David, the son of Walter, the Lord of Kinnele, declared the barony of Kinnele to be within the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, in the constabulary of Linlithgow. Chart. Glasg. 359. In a charter of confirmation of David II., dated the 6th of April 1362, Kinnele is said to be in the constabulary of Linlithgow. Ib. 363. In the *Taxatio* of 1366, Linlithgow is also declared to be a constabulary. Parl. Rec. 107. We thus see, then, that throughout the whole reign of David II., Linlithgow was considered as a *constabulary*. In the two subsequent reigns of Robert II., and Robert III., the constabulary of Linlithgow continued, within the sheriffwick of Edinburghshire. Ib. 139—144-8—50-1.

(*y*) In a charter of the regent duke, [1406-1409], the lands of Bathcat are declared to be, in the constabulary of Linlithgow, and sheriffdom of Edinburgh. Roberts. Index, 164. In another charter of the same regent, the barony of Abercorn is also declared to be within the constabulary of Linlithgow. Ib. 159.

(*z*) On the 12th of January 1467-8, John Stewart of Craigie, and William of Crawford, were the persons, who were appointed, in parliament, to take the amount of every man's rent, in the *Sheriffdom* of *Lithgu*. Parl. Rec. 151. A cause was heard, in parliament, on the 19th of July 1476, at the instance of James, Lord Hamilton, against Sir John Colquhoun, and James Shaw, the sheriffs of Linlithgow, for error, in serving a writ from chancery, in favour of Marion, the widow of the late James, Lord Livingston; claiming one third of his lands and rents, within the sheriffdom of Linlithgow: One of the errors assigned was, that the writ was executed, *without* the said shire, and *within* the shire of Edinburgh: And the Lords found, that they had done wrong, and set aside the retour, as to the lands of Lethbert, and Bromeinch. Ib. 213. In June 1478, there was a similar cause heard in parliament, wherein it equally appeared, that Linlithgow was then a sheriffdom. Ib. 220. There are other notices, during the reign of James III., which equally evince that, in the contemplation of parliament, Linlithgow was then a sheriffdom. Ib. 227-259.

(*a*) In the arrangements, which were made, in the parliament of February 1489-90, for collecting the king's rents, and dues, in every shire, the treasurer, Sir William Knolls, the preceptor of Torphichen, was appointed to collect those of *Linlithquoshire*. Ib. 364.

(*b*) Chart. Newbottle, 310. In 1503, Patrick Hamilton of Kincavel was sheriff of Linlithgowshire. Balfour's Practicks, 16. On the 14th of July 1525, James Hamilton of Kincavel rendered his accounts, at Edinburgh. Chart. Cambuskeneth, 177. He was the brother of Patrick Hamilton,

tions, Linlithgow continued a sheriffdom. In the progress of a century of weakness, and distraction, this office became hereditary. On the 8th of May 1568, Sir Andrew Ker, *the sheriff of Linlithgow*, had the honour to sign the association, at Hamilton, in defence of Mary Stewart (*c*). In 1600, James VI. granted the office of *sheriff principal* of Linlithgowshire to James Hamilton, the eldest son of Claud, Lord Paisley, and to his *heirs male* (*d*). James Cochran of Barbachlaw, was appointed, in 1622, the sheriff of Linlithgowshire (*e*). Several persons followed him, in the same office, during the terrible times, which succeeded. Soon after the Restoration, the office was granted, hereditarily, to John Hope of Hopeton, who perished, on the 7th of May 1682, in the same shipwreck, that had like to have proved fatal to the Duke of York (*f*). Upon the deprivation of John Hope, George Earl of Linlithgow was appointed sheriff, during pleasure (*g*). On the 20th of June 1682, however, Sir William Hope of Grantoun was appointed sheriff of Linlithgow, during the minority of Charles Hope, *the heritable sheriff* (*h*), who was born in 1681. And Charles Hope, coming of age in 1702, became, in his own right, the sheriff of Linlithgow. He was created Earl of Hopeton, in 1703; he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Linlithgowshire, in 1715: And dying, on the 26th of February 1742, aged 61, left his earldom, and office, to his son

Hamilton, who suffered for his tenets, in 1528. Keith, 8. James Hamilton, the sheriff of Linlithgow, was summoned, for heresy: And, upon his non-appearance, at Holyroodhouse, on the 26th of August 1534, the bishop of Ross, as commissioner, for the archbishop of St. Andrews, pronounced the doom of heresy. Keith, 525. In 1539, he was permitted to return, for a few months, to arrange his private affairs; when he revealed to James v. the treason of Sir James Hamilton of Finard. Ib. 11; Drummond. 332. The sentence of the bishop of Ross was reversed, by the General Assembly of 1563. Keith, 524-5.

(*c*) Keith, 477.

(*d*) Dougl. Peer. 2, quotes the charter, in the Pub. Archives. In 1601, the king granted him the manor of Abercorn: And, in 1606, the same James Hamilton was created Earl of Abercorn: And he died before his father, in 1618. This family, afterward, disposed of the barony of Abercorn; and, probably, conveyed with it, the hereditary sheriffship of Linlithgow. In 1678, Sir Walter Seton sold the barony of Abercorn to John Hope of Hopeton.

(*e*) Nisbet's Heraldry, i. 327.

(*f*) Crawford's Peer. 219. On the 6th of October 1681, at the privy council, the Lords took occasion to call upon the laird of Hopeton to take the test, *as sheriff of Linlithgow*; and, upon his tergiversation, and refusal, the privy council declared, that he had lost his right, during his life, (it being heritable), and that the supplying of the vacancy belonged to the king. Fountainhall, i. 159.

(*g*) Warrant Book, in the Paper Office, vi. 471. (*h*) Ib. vii. 170.

John,

John (*i*). His son lived to be compensated, for all his hereditary jurisdictions, in 1747 (*k*). Under the new regimen, John Gillon of Wellhouse, advocate, was appointed sheriff-depute of Linlithgow, and Bathgate, at a salary of £150 a-year.

The power of the sheriff, and the extent of his authority, seems to have been always limited, by local jurisdictions, either ecclesiastical, or temporal. Kirkliston, and other lands, were formed into a regality, for the archbishop of St. Andrews, to which a bailliery belonged, and for which the Earl of Hopeton was compensated, as we have just seen (*l*). Bathgate was long a barony, before it became a separate sheriffwick (*m*). Torphichen was of old a regality, which belonged to the knights of Jerusalem; and which, as it was transferred, with the rights of the order to Lord Torphichen, in January 1563-4, was claimed by a descendant, as an hereditary jurisdiction, and compensation granted to him, in 1747 (*n*). Kinneil was a regality, which belonged to the Duke of Hamilton (*o*). Brighouse, and Ogleface, formed a regality, which belonged to the

(*i*) Doug. Peer. 350, states his death, mistakingly, in 1741; the Scots Mag. 94, and the Gent. Mag. 163, concur, in recording his death on the 26th February 1742, as above.

(*k*) We know, from the List of Claims, and Compensations, that he claimed,

For the sheriffdom of Linlithgow, redeemable	£3,000
For the sheriffdom of Bathgate	2,000
For the *regality* of St. Andrews, south of the Forth	1,500
For the *bailliery* of Crawfordmuir	500
For the *regality* of Kirkheugh	500
	£7,500
For which he was paid	4,569

(*l*) Reliq. Divæ Andreæ, 67; Sibbald's Linlithgow, 12.

(*m*) Robert I. granted the barony of Bathgate, and many lands, to Walter, the Stewart, with his daughter, Margery. Roberts. Index, 9. The Stewart lived in a moated castle, near Bathgate, where he died, in 1318. Stat. Acco. i. 354. Robert, Duke of Albany, confirmed the grant of Janet de Keith of Bathgate to her son, Sir William Hamilton. Ib. 164. On the 4th of June 1663, Charles II. granted to Thomas Hamilton of Bathgate, the barony, with the office of sheriff of Bathgate. Chart. Pub. Records. On the 23d of May 1683, a warrant issued, for restoring Alexander Cochran of Barbachlaw to the office of sheriff of Bathgate. War. Book, Pap. Office; and see Sibbald's Linlithgow, 21. Lord Livingston had been appointed sheriff of Bathgate, during pleasure, on the 19th of January 1681-2, as well as sheriff of Linlithgow. War. Book, vi. 588.

(*n*) Id.; Sibbald's Lithgow, 22-25; and Douglas's Peerage, 670. See Inquisit. Speciales, vii. 108. James, Lord Torphichen, was paid, for the regality of Torphichen, 134l. 12s. 6d.

(*o*) Robert I. granted to Walter, the son of Gilbert, the first of the family of Hamilton, the barony of Kinneil. Robertson's Index, 11. And, Robert III. granted the same barony to James Hamilton. Ib. 139; Sibbald's Lithgow, 17.

Earl

Earl of Linlithgow, while his family was free from forfeiture (*p*). And, there was a royal bailliery, at Linlithgow, whereof the same Earls of Linlithgow were the hereditary baillies (*q*). The monks of Culross enjoyed of old a regal jurisdiction over the barony of Philipstoun. The Earl of Stair claimed, for this jurisdiction, £100, at the epoch of the abolition: And, he also claimed £100 for the regality of Brest miln: But, for all his claims, amounting to £3,200, he was allowed, on that occasion, only £450. In addition to those several regalities, there were various baronies, which possessed peculiar jurisdictions. The oldest barony, whereof any evidence remains, is that of Dundas, which is certainly as ancient as the reign of William I. (*r*). Abercorn, which was honoured, by the notice of Bede, was the barony of the celebrated Sir John Graham, who died for his country, on the field of Falkirk, in 1298. By Robert I., it was granted, as a barony, to John Graham. And, after various transmissions, Abercorn passed into the family of Hopeton, in 1678 (*s*). Livingston was also a barony of early creation. Carriden became the property of William de Vetereponte, by a grant, from William, the lion, with baronial rights. It was confirmed, with those privileges, to William de Vetereponte, by Robert Bruce (*t*). Carribber, in Linlithgow parish, was also of old a barony (*u*). Dalmenie, which was anciently called Dumany, was a barony, before the accession of Robert Bruce, in the possession of Roger Moubray: And, on account of his forfeiture, it was granted, by that great prince, to Murdoch Monteith (*x*). Barnbougle was, also, the barony of Roger Moubray, which he forfeited, and which was granted, by Robert Bruce, to the same Murdoch Monteith (*y*). In

(*p*) Ib. 16—25; Dougl. Peer. 413; Roberts. Index, 155. Robert III. granted to the canons of Holyrood a regal jurisdiction over their barony of Ogilface. Regist. Rob. III. Rot. x. Alexander, the second Earl of Linlithgow, obtained, in 1608, a grant of the hereditary office of justiciary, and baillie of the barony of Ogilface, with the village, and lands of Bedlormie, and Wester-Craigs. Dougl. Peer. 413, quotes the charter, in the Records.

(*q*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 11—16.

(*r*) The charter of Dundas was printed by Sir James Dalrymple, in his Col. 382, and was engraved for the Diplomata Scotiæ: The rights of a barony were granted, by a reference to the privileges of similar tenures.

(*s*) Robertson's Index, 11—40—129—150-9; Douglas Peer. 2; and Stat. Acco. xx. 394—7.

(*t*) Robertson's Index, 79. The former grants were confirmed by David II. Id. But, David conveyed this barony to Alexander de Cockburn; because John de Vetereponte had alienated his rights, without the king's licence, first obtained.

(*u*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 17. (*x*) Robertson's Index, 11.

(*y*) Robertson's Index, 21. This barony, which comprehended the lands of Easter-Craigie, at the mouth of the Avon, seems to have been restored to the forfeited family, in the person of Philippa Moubray. Ib. 60—4.

the beginning of the 14th century, Strathbrock was a barony, in the possession of Sir Reginald le Chene (*z*). Such were the various jurisdictions, which were solicited, by the ambition, and granted, by the impolicy, of former times. They once confounded, rather than promoted the justice of Linlithgowshire; and long were they prostituted to the interests of individuals, rather than dedicated to general convenience.

§ VI. *Of its Civil History.*] Under this head of narration, Linlithgow, the shire town, demands the first notice. During the reign of David I., he had here a castle, and a grange: And it was this grange, and that castle, which formed, on this agreeable site, a town, that was an inconsiderable part of the royal demesn (*a*). The villages, in the royal demesn, were all, in those times, called the king's *burghs*, while the term, *royal burroughs*, was yet unknown, in Scotland. Linlithgow continued to be the occasional residence of David I., and his successors, as they moved from one of their manors to another, for the consumption of their stock (*b*). At the sad demise of Alexander III., before it had yet obtained a charter, Linlithgow was governed by two baillies, John Rabuck, and John de Mar, who were obliged, on the 28th of August 1296, to submit to a predominant power (*c*).

The

(*z*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 222; and Robertson's Index, 79.

(*a*) Charter of Holyrood, which expressly speaks of *his castle at Linlithcu*, and of the sheep, that belonged to it. Maitland's Edin. 145. If the minister, who wrote the account of this parish, had only cast his learned eyes on this charter, he would, scarcely, have allowed his intelligent mind to doubt, whether David I. had a residence at Linlithgow. Stat. Acco. xvi. 566-7. To the abbeys of Dunfermlin, and Cambuskeneth, the beneficent David I. granted, by several charters, mansions, in his town of Linlithcu. Sir James Dalrymple's Col. 384: Chart. of Cambus. No. 1. These facts evince, that Linlithgow was then only the king's town, *in demesn*. But, that it was made a royal burrough by *an act of parliament* under that king, is too wild an absurdity to be easily allowed. It may have been an act of David II.

(*b*) Several charters of the Scotish kings, which were dated, at Linlithgow, during that period, prove, that those kings resided there.

(*c*) Prynne, iii. 654. At the same time swore fealty to Edward I., Andrew le Serjeant, William Othihull, John le Porter, Mathew de Kinglas, Henry del Wro, Philip de Abernethy, Gilbert de Hildeclive, William le Fitz Ernand, Michael le Lardiner, Nicol le Serjeant, Burgesses; "*e tote la comune de mesme le burg.*" Id. There was a writ of Edward I., dated the 28th December 1292, addressed "prepositis de Linlithgow," requiring the payment of 59l. 2s. 1d., the arrears of the *firm* of the town, which were due to the king of Norway. Rotuli Scotiæ, 15. There was another writ, dated the 5th of July, which was addressed to the burgesses of Linlithgow, commanding them to pay to the same king 7l. 4s. 10d., as arrears of their firms. Ib. 16. Linlithgow was then the king's town, in demesn; the rents, and profits, or firms, were let, by the Scotish king,

The most eminent man, in Linlithgowshire, during that age, was Sir Nicol de Graham of Abercorn, who was the only person, from Linlithgowshire, that sat in the great parliament of Brigham, on the 17th of March 1290 (*d*). Of this shire, who swore fealty to Edward I., in 1296, were Freskin de Duglas, and William Fitz Andrew de Duglas (*e*). There were several tenants of the king's lands, lying about Linlithgow town, who swore fealty, on that occasion (*f*). Only one tenant there was of the bishop of St. Andrews, in West-Lothian, Simon de Liston, who also was required to acknowledge his allegiance to the Lord Paramount (*g*). It seems very obvious, from the enumerations, in the Record, that there lived but few considerable landholders, in West-Lothian, during those troublous times.

The assumptions of the Lord Paramount ended in the war of 1296. Edward I., in July 1298, encamped on the Amond; and fixed his quarters, at Temple-liston, where his army mutinied (*h*). On the 21st of July, the night before the battle of Falkirk, Edward encamped on the heath, lying eastward of Linlithgow (*i*). Edward I. is said, by Fordun, to have built a *Pele*, at Linlithgow, in 1300 (*k*): He certainly spent his Christmas of the year 1301, at Linlithgow, as we know from Hemingford (*l*). At the settlement of Scotland, in September 1305, it was ordered, that Peter Luband should remain the keeper of Linlithgow castle (*m*). At length, during the autumn of 1313, the castle of Linlithgow

king, to the community, or corporation, whatever it were; the firms were mortgaged by Alexander III. to the king of Norway; after Alexander's demise, the firms ran into arrear, which the Lord Paramount now commanded, by those writs, to be paid to the king of Norway.

(*d*) Rym. ii. 471: And, he swore fealty to Edward I., in 1296. Prynne, iii. 662.

(*e*) Ib. 658, 662. Those Duglases were the progenitors of Douglas of Lothian, who was himself, the ancestor of the Duglasses, Earls of Morton. Archibald de Duglas of Duglas, who flourished under Alexander II., left two sons, William, and Andrew. William supported the principal house of Duglas, in Clydesdale; and Andrew was the root of a flourishing branch, which sprung up in West-Lothian, and at Lugton, in Mid-Lothian. Andrew left two sons, William, and Freskin, who swore fealty to Edward I., in 1296, as above. Dougl. Peer. 488.

(*f*) Prynne, iii. 656. There were other tenants of the king, among whom was Serle de Dundas, and Saer de Dundas, who also swore fealty. Id.

(*g*) Ib. 658. (*h*) W. Hemingford, i. 161; Lord Hailes's An. i. 257.

(*i*) W. Hemingford, i. 162. (*k*) L. xii. c. 1. (*l*) V. i. 196.

(*m*) Ryley's Pl. 505. He appears to have remained in charge of Linlithgow castle, for the Edwards, till it was taken by the Scots, in 1313; as we know, from the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, 66—111. It should seem, that the fortlet of Linlithgow was, promiscuously, called, in the record, the *Castle*, and the *Pele* of Linlithgow. Rot. Scotiæ, 105—9—11. The last order, for victualling it, is dated the 4th of February 1312-13. Id. This order evinces, that the Scotish historians are mistaken, in asserting, that it was taken, in 1311. Lord Hailes's An. ii. 32. From the *Scala Cronica*, we know that, Piers Luband was a Gascoyne knight, who suffered, for his tergiversation.

was taken, by the stratagem of William Binnoch, an enterprizing peasant, who, in carrying into it a load of hay, introduced eight resolute men, who overpowered the guard (*n*). And, Robert Bruce, with his usual policy, ordered this castle, or pele, to be dismantled (*o*).

Linlithgowshire continued to partake of the fortunes of those eventful times: It enjoyed the quiet, which the treaty of Northampton ensured it: And, it was involved in the distractions of David II.'s infancy. The pretender, Edward Baliol, on the 12th of June 1334, transferred the constabulary, the town, and the castle of Linlithgow, to Edward III. (*p*). He did not enjoy it, without a contest. In 1336, Lord Berkeley, commanding for Edward III., was defeated by the Scots, at Blackburn, in West-Lothian (*q*). At length, was David II. restored to his own again. And, in March 1368-9, by his ordinance, "De "quatuor Burgis," he declared, that Lanerk, and *Linlithgow*, should be two of those burroughs, while Berwick, and Roxburgh, were detained, by his adversaries, the English, for holding commercial courts (*r*).

Robert II. was the first of the Scotish kings, who granted a charter to the burgesses, and community of Linlithgow, the firm of their town, and the harbour of Blackness; paying yearly £5 sterling (*s*). Under the regent Albany, and

(*n*) Such is Barbour's story, which history has adopted, and tradition repeated. The family of *Binning*, in Linlithgowshire, are studious to trace up their pedigree to the peasant *Binnoch*, the William Tell of Scotland.

(*o*) The monks of Newbotle had a burgage, in Linlithgow, near the Augustines, which, before the taking of the town, by the English, was worth, yearly, 46s. 8d.; but, was dilapidated, and ruined, by the war, so as to yield nothing. Chart. Newbotle, No. 1. Such were the devastations of that terrible war, which, according to the significant expression of the monks, did not leave, of their houses, one stone upon another.

(*p*) Rym. iv. 615. There is a grant, by Edward III., in 1336, to John Swanlund, of the keeping of the hospital of Lynlithkou. Ayloffe's Cal. 162.

(*q*) Lord Hailes's An. ii. 193.

(*r*) MS. Col. in the Paper Office, transcribed into Robertson's Parl. Record. David II. granted to John Cairns *the Peil* of Linlithgow; he being obliged to build it, for the king's coming. Roberts. Index, 50. The castle must have been small, that could have been rebuilt, or indeed repaired, by such a person, for the king's residence.

(*s*) Roberts. Index, 133. What is said, by the interpolator of Fordun, l. xiv. c. 36, that the States met *at Linlithgow*, after the demise of David II., and declared *the Stewart* heir to the crown, is an egregious fiction: For, the crown had been entailed upon him, by parliament; and, under that entail, he was crowned, on the 26th of March 1371, at Scone. MS. Col. Paper Office, transcribed into Robertson's Index. In 1386, Robert II. granted to Sir William Douglas, who had married his daughter Egidia, 300l. sterling out of the great customs of *Linlithgow*, Edinburgh, Dundee, and Aberdeen. Hay's Vindication of Elizabeth More, 55. He granted other pensions to a variety of persons, out

and James I., Linlithgow seems to have been unfortunate: The town was burnt, in 1411; and, in 1424, the town, *the palace*, and the nave of the church, were consumed by fire (*t*). James I. appears, however, never to have resided here, though we are assured, that some of his coins were minted, in Linlithgow (*u*). During the contests, between the Earl of Douglas, and Crichton, the chancellor, the two Lothians were often wasted, as the several parties prevailed: In 1445, Crichton, having assembled his followers, marched into West-Lothian, when he carried fire, and sword, through the baronies of Abercorn, Blackness, and Strathbrock; and drove away the horses, cattle, and sheep. When James II. was married, in April 1449, he settled on Mary of Guelder, as her dower, amounting to 10,000 crowns, the lordship of Linlithgow, with other lands (*x*). During this reign, this shire witnessed less agreeable scenes. In 1454, James II. sent six thousand men, under the Earls of Orkney, and Angus, to besiege Douglas's castle of Abercorn, which was at length taken, by storm, after every effort of the Douglases to relieve it had failed (*y*). Linlithgowshire was now for a while quiet. When James III. married Margaret of Denmark, in September 1468, he settled on her the palace of Linlithgow, with its territory, as her dower, in case of his demise (*z*). The English fleet, which came into the Forth, in 1481, burnt the castle of Blackness, with a ship, which lay under its protection (*a*). Several of the rebellious acts of the nobles, who dethroned James III., were done, within Linlithgowshire. In April 1488, they met him, at Blackness,

out of the burrow-mails, or great customs of Linlithgow. Roberts. Index, 137—40, 54—58. Those grants of Robert II. seem to show, that Linlithgow had some trade, during that uncommercial age.

(*t*) Bower, l. xv. c. 23; xvi. c. 9.

(*u*) Cardonel's Numis. 6. On the coins, which were here minted, there were engraved, "Villa "de *Linlithe*." Ib. 68. And, he adds, that this is the only time, Linlithgow appears upon a coin.

(*x*) Pink. Hist. i. 206, from the Treaty, MS. Harl. 4637.

(*y*) Ib. 228—31, Appx. 486. The castle, which had been already shaken, by the warlike machines, during the siege, was levelled to the ground: Its principal defenders were hanged, for their treason, in defending the castle against the king; the inferior warriors were dismissed. Id.

(*z*) Ib. 95—197. The king, with the Estates, in parliament, ratified the marriage-settlements of the queen, comprehending the lordship of Linlithgow, with the palace, the lake, and park of Linlithgow; with the great, and small customs, and firms of the burrough, with the fines, and escheats of the several courts of the justiciary, the chamberlain, the sheriff, and baillies, the wards, and reliefs, and marriages, within the lordship of Linlithgow, with the patronages of the churches, with other estates. Parl. Rec. 227. Margaret died, in February 1486-7. Those specifications show what were the several sources of the local revenue, of such a lordship.

(*a*) Lesley, 321.

where

where a skirmish took place; and he tried to conciliate them, by the pacification of Blackness (*b*). But, this reconcilement did not continue long; as the insurgents did not so much wish for quiet, as for pre-eminence. They placed the infant son of the king at their head; proceeded with him to Linlithgow; and marched thence to Stirling-field, where the mildest of kings was slain, on the 11th of June 1488.

The insurgents had now gained their objects: They had dethroned the king; and they placed the prince on his bloody throne. On the 8th of October 1488, Linlithgowshire was delivered to the rule of Lord Hailes, and Alexander Home, two of the principal chiefs of that successful revolt (*c*). When James IV. married the Lady Margaret, in 1503, he gave her, in dower, the whole lordship of Linlithgow, with the palace, its jurisdiction, and privileges (*d*). In 1517, the peel of Linlithgow, which was, probably, but slightly kept, was seized, by Stirling, and his followers, who had attempted to assassinate Meldrum, on the road to Leith: But, they were speedily pursued, by De la Bastie, the regent's lieutenant, who assaulted the palace, and seised the assassins (*e*). Such were the savage manners of a wretched age. The battle of Linlithgow was struck, on the 4th of September 1526, with design to rescue James V. from the domination of the Earl of Angus. The Earl of Lenox, the friend of James, was slain, after quarter given, by Sir James Hamilton. The place of that odious deed was marked by a cairn, to which piety added many a stone; but which improvement has removed (*f*). Hamilton was rewarded by Angus, with the captaincy of the palace of Linlithgow (*g*).

But, very different scenes were soon acted here. After the festivities of the king's marriage with Mary of Guise had been celebrated in Fife, and Stirling, he conducted her to Linlithgow: The queen, with the courteousness of her

(*b*) It is transcribed into the Parl. Rec. 339.

(*c*) Parl. Rec. 337. Sir William Knolls, the preceptor of Torphichen, was then appointed, in parliament, to collect the king's casual revenues, in Linlithgowshire. Ib. 364.

(*d*) Rym. xiii. 63. On the 31st of May 1503, Patrick Hamilton, the sheriff of Linlithgow, gave her seisin of the whole; and John Ramsay, the captain of the castle, was one of the witnesses of the act of possession delivered. Ib. 71-2.

(*e*) Pitscottie, 235; and see Lyndsay's Poetical Works, 1806, ii. 262.

(*f*) Stat. Acco. xiv. 572.

(*g*) The parliament, which Angus held, in November 1526, confirmed to Hamilton the captaincy of the palace, with many lands, lying in Linlithgowshire. Parl. Rec. 572. This Sir James Hamilton, who became the favourite of James V., was afterward convicted, in parliament, for attempting to assassinate the king, both at the palace of Linlithgow, and at Holyroodhouse. Ib. 624. That guilty person was immediately executed.

country,

country, said, *she had never seen a more princely palace* (*h*). In this princely palace she seems to have delighted to dwell. At Epiphany 1540, Sir David Lindsay's *Satire of the Three Estates* was represented here, before the king, and queen, the ladies of the court, and the lasses of Linlithgow, with the constituent members of the several states (*i*). They were all, no doubt, delighted, according to their several tastes. In this palace, was Mary Stewart born, on the 7th of December 1542 (*k*). Here, she remained, with her mother, for many months, where she was seen by Sadler, the English ambassador, and said by him, to have been a fine infant (*l*). During the residence of both, the palace of Linlithgow became the frequent place of political management (*m*). In the subsequent year, the queen mother, fearing for the safety of her child, who was of so much importance to herself, and the state, collected an army, which convoyed them, from Linlithgow palace, to Stirling castle, while the English angels had filled every place, with intrigue, and treason (*n*). Under such influences, a parliament assembled, at Linlithgow, on the 1st of October 1545; and again met here, after adjournments on the 1st and 19th of December (*o*). After the battle of Pinkie, in September 1547, the English admiral sailed with his smaller ships to Blackness, where he took three, and burnt seven vessels, which had hoped for safety, from the castle (*p*). In 1552, a provincial council of the clergy was held, at Linlithgow, who attempted to reform themselves, as well as others, though without much success (*q*). A very different reformation was effected here, in June 1559: The Earl of Argyle, Lord James Stewart, and John Knox, came to Linlithgow, in their progress of reform, and demolished the religious houses. In December 1559, they spoiled the Duke of Chatelherault's house of Kineil on the Forth (*r*): And, in February 1559-60, they burnt the same house, in order to reform the duke, that he might reform others (*s*). On the 23d of January, the same Lord James, who had risen, by

(*h*) Pitscottie, 295: But, this palace must have been much improved by James v., before her arrival.

(*i*) Sir W. Eure's Letter; Bibl. Reg. 7. c. xvi. It was James v. who, in 1540, by a charter, empowered the town of Linlithgow to choose a provost. (*k*) Lesley, 459.

(*l*) Parl. Rec. 649, contains the sense of parliament, as to the residence of the two queens, either at Linlithgow, or Stirling castle.

(*m*) Sir Ralph Sadler's Letters, throughout.

(*n*) Id: Keith, 30, shows, that those English coins were very freely distributed.

(*o*) Parl. Rec 683—89—90. In 1558, D'Oysel, the French general, is said to have been appointed keeper of the palace of Linlithgow. Pitscottie, 364.

(*p*) Patten, 80. (*q*) Lord Hailes's Hist. Memorials, 37.

(*r*) The late Ed. of Sadler's Letters, i. 667. (*s*) Ib. 701.

such

such reform, to be Regent Murray, fell a sacrifice on the streets of Linlithgow, to the vengeance of Hamilton, who could not forgive the regent's insult to his distracted wife. Elizabeth revenged the regent's fall. And, the English army, who invaded Scotland, in 1570, on its return from destroying Hamilton, burnt the Duke of Chatelherault's house in Linlithgow, his palace of Kineil, the houses of Pardovan, and Bynnie, and Kincavel, with the chapel of Livingston. The parliament, during that distracted year, was proposed to be held, in Linlithgow; but, the Regent Lennox, marching thither, in October 1570, prevented the intended meeting. During those disastrous times, the rents, both of money, and victual, of the lordship of Linlithgow, were appropriated, in 1584, for supporting Blackness castle, to which more importance, than its worth, was annexed (*t*). In 1585, a doubtful parliament met, in Linlithgow (*u*). In 1587, Sir Lewis Bellenden, the Justice Clerk, obtained, from the feebleness of James VI., a grant of the park, and woods, and keeping of Linlithgow palace (*x*). In 1592, the parliament settled the barony, and lands of Linlithgow, with the palace, on Anne of Denmark, the wife of James VI. (*y*). In December 1596, the king found refuge, in Linlithgow, from the tumults of Edinburgh (*z*). Both those towns, as they were equally dignified, by royal palaces, felt the degradation, and partook of the grief, resulting from the king's accession to the English throne. In 1618, Linlithgow was entrusted, by the parliament, with the keeping of the standards of dry measure, which, if we may

(*t*) Act of Parl. Ja. VI. ch. 9. (*u*) Birrel's Diary.

(*x*) Dougl. Baron. 63, from a charter in the Pub. Archives. Bellenden seems to have obtained a confirmation of his title, in 1590.

(*y*) Murray's Acts, 330. In a curious Report of the officers, in the exchequer, to King James, dated the 7th December 1591, it is said, "the park, and peel, and loch of Linlithgow, we find "disponit, in fee, to the late Justice Clerk, since the year 1581, for yearly payment of an hun-"dred marks, to be employed by him, in repairing your highnesses palace there; whereof he has "likewise the heritable keeping: We find the park, and peel of Linlithgow, to be both the "Justice Clerk's heritage, and her majesty's conjoint fee." MS. Report, in the Advocates Library. In 1597, an act of parliament passed, declaring all grants, and leases, of the king's palaces, parks, meadows, &c. such as the palace, the park, and coal of Linlithgow, to be of no avail. Parl. xv. Ja. VI. ch. 235. In 1600, that act was followed, by a somewhat contradictory one, allowing the king's property, and castles, to be let in fee-farm; with a declaration in favour of Lord Livingston's right to the coals of Bonnytoun, near Linlithgow, and the castle of Blackness. Parl. xvi. Ja. v. ch. 8. We thus see, that the king had no one, whose duty it was, to take care of his rights; and, that even the queen's jointure was unsafe.

(*z*) In 1646, the parliament, and the university, sought refuge, in Linlithgow, from the plague: The parliament sat in the palace.

believe

believe the late Lord Swinton, are not accurately kept (*a*). Charles I., in 1633, when he made his excursion from Edinburgh, visited Linlithgow. In June 1640, the parliament passed an act of ratification, in favour of the burrough of Linlithgow (*b*). Both those towns were equally involved, in the miseries of the grand rebellion, and the scandal of *the Covenant*. But, Linlithgow alone has the honour, or the shame, of having burnt, in 1662, the Solemn League, and Covenant, that wretched tissue of fanaticism, and faction.

The first parliament of Charles II., in January 1661, passed an act of ratification, in favour of the burrough of Linlithgow (*c*). This shire town ranks as *the sixth*, among the royal burroughs of Scotland. Under *the Union*, it was asssociated with the towns of Lanerk, Selkirk, and Peebles, in the privilege of sending a representative to the united parliament (*d*). The school of Linlithgow has been taught by distinguished scholars: At *the Reformation*, it was superintended, by Ninian Winzet, the polemical antagonist of John Knox (*e*): At *the*

(*a*) Lord Swinton's Treatise, 100, on the weights and measures of Scotland. In 1621, there was a reference to the secret council, concerning the taxation of the sheriffdom of Linlithgow. Unprinted Act, 23d Parl. Ja. VI.

(*b*) Unprinted Acts, 2d Parl. of Charles I. The Marquis of Hamilton entered a protest against this ratification: And, the Earl of Dunfermlin protested against the same ratification, for the *Queen's Ferry*.

(*c*) Unprinted Act. Another ratification passed, in the subsequent year. In 1669, the town of Linlithgow entered a protest, in parliament, against the Duke, and Duchess of Hamilton's ratification. Act, 1st Sess. 2d Parl. Cha. II. We may see the relative value, and extent of the *three Lothians*, in the grant to the king of the convention of Estates, in 1678; the several proportions being as under:

The whole shires of Scotland were assessed	£	60,133	8 3
Edinburghshire		3,183	8 0
Hadingtonshire		2,782	6 0
Linlithgowshire		1,169	18 0
Edinburgh town		4,000	0 0
Hadington town		216	0 0
Linlithgow town		204	0 0

(*d*) Act of Union; Stat. Acco. xiv. 548. Linlithgow, as a corporation, has a yearly revenue of about 400l. sterling. In 1722, it obtained a grant of parliament, of a duty of two pennies Scots, that is, one-sixth of a penny sterling on every Scots pint of ale and beer, which should be brewed, for sale, within the liberties of the town, for paying its debts, and promoting its improvements. Pub. Acts. 9th Geo. I. 20. The duty commenced on the 1st July 1723; and was to continue eleven years. Linlithgow has a weekly market, on Friday; and six yearly fairs.

(*e*) In Keith's Appendix, may be seen Winzet's *Tractat*, to the queen, pastors, and nobility; his second *Tractat*; his third *Tractat*; and also Winzet's Book of lxxxiii Questions. This learned

the Revolution, the same school was instructed, by James Kirkwood, who had not the good fortune to please the town council of this corporate body, who were not sufficiently aware that, "to teach a teacher ill beseemed them (*f*)."

In this shire, there are other towns, though of less populousness, and dignity. The royal burrough of *The Queen's Ferry* is of recent date, while its name is old (*g*). As early, at least, as 1164, it was known by its present appellation. The parish of this burrough was formed out of the ancient district of Dalmenie, in 1616. Queen's Ferry, though it had long been a port, was not a burrough, in 1556, when a general tax was levied on the royal burroughs. Its erection as such was strenuously opposed, by the jealousy of Linlithgow, which could only be mollified, by degrading concessions (*h*). The present revenue of this petty corporation, is only £40. But, it has never been inhabited by many people;

scholar was reformed, according to the fashion of Scotland, by sending some armed enthusiasts to seize him; But, he found shelter, and provision, in Germany.

(*f*) The bailies were dull; and the scholar was petulent: So, he was formally expelled: And, a long law-suit ensued, before the Court of Session. He published *The History of the Twenty-seven Gods of Linlithgow*, which contains some curious anecdotes. He was sent for, by the parliamentary commissioners for colleges, at the Revolution, on the motion of the Lord President Stair; and his advice was taken about the best grammar, for the Scotish schools. The Lord President asked him what he thought of *Despauter*: He answered, a very unfit grammar; but, by some pains, it might be made an excellent one. The Lord Crosrig desiring him to be more plain in that point, Kirkwood said: My Lord Preses, if its *superfluities* were rescinded, the *defects* supplied, the *intricacies* cleared, the *errors* rectified, and the *method* amended, it might well pass for an excellent grammar. The Lord President sent for him, and told him, it was the desire of the commissioners, that he should immediately reform Despauter, as he had proposed; as they knew none fitter, for the task. He was thus induced to put hand to pen, and not without much labour, published Despauter, as now revised. As Kirkwood's Grammar, this continued in the schools, till it was superseded by Ruddiman's. The celebrated, John Earl of Stair, the soldier, and statesman, was taught at Kirkwood's school, in Linlithgow, and "*tabled* in his house."

(*g*) David I. granted to the abbey of Dunfermlin, "passagium et navem de Inverkeithen." MS. Monast. Scotiæ. The *passage* seems not to have been then denominated the *Queen's Ferry*. It was called *Portum Reginæ*, in a charter of Malcolm IV. He granted, in 1164, to the monks of Scone, *free passage* ad *portum Reginæ*, for the abbot, the monks, and their men. Chart. Scone, No. 5. In 1234, Pope Gregory confirmed to the abbey of Dunfermlin, "Dimidium passagiæ "Sanctæ *Margaretæ* Reginæ." MS. Monast. Scotiæ. It was again granted to the abbey of Dunfermlin by Robert I.; regranted by Robert III.; and confirmed by James II., in 1450. Id.; Robertson's Index, 146. This passage has since become private property, but not to the public advantage. An Act "for the improvement of the passage across the Forth, called the *Queen's Ferry*," was passed in the 49th Geo. III. ch. 83.

(*h*) Stat. Acco. xiv. 558.

enriched

enriched by much commerce; or dignified by great events (*i*): Under the Union, it has the privilege of choosing a representative, with the other burroughs of Stirling, Inverkeithing, Dunfermlin, and Culross. Borrowstowness is a *burgh of regality*; and, as a sea-port, contains industrious people, who employ many ships (*k*). Bathgate is a burrough of barony, from early times, which has seven yearly fairs, and has some internal traffic (*l*). Whitburn is a burgh of barony; and Brocksburn, and Blackburn, are market towns, which have arisen, in recent times, from the efforts of industry (*m*).

There are few memorials of hostile conflicts, within this shire, subsequent to Roman times. It was the theatre, no doubt, whereon the successive settlers, the Saxons, the British, and the Scots, established, by warfare, their various pretensions (*n*). The sepulchres, which have been discovered along the Almon, may contain the remains of the warriors, who contended, among those people, for superiority, or for settlement (*o*). Edward I. rested at Linlithgow, as he marched to the battle of Falkirk. In 1443, the town of Brocksburn was burnt, by James II., when he wasted the possessions of the rebel Douglas (*p*). In 1526, the Earl of Angus defeated the Earl Lennox at Linlithgow bridge, where Lennox's *cairn* long distinguished the disastrous scene of his fall (*q*). The castles, in this shire, are connected with the men, and the manners of those warlike, and wretched times. The *peel* of Linlithgow is one of the oldest castles, as we have seen: The Earls of Linlithgow were the hereditary keepers of the place, and the park (*r*). Blackness castle, which stands on a projecting promontory into the Forth, in the parish of Cariden, was long a royal fortress; it was one of the king's castles, during the reign of Charles II., whereof the Earl of Livingston was hereditary constable; and it has remained one of the king's garrisons even to the present times (*s*). Dundas, as the family is old, must have

(*i*) Stat. Acco. xvii. 489.

(*k*) Ib. xviii. 428. In 1680, it was controverted, whether this could be a port of entry, in opposition to Blackness, the port of Linlithgow: After a long discussion, Borowstouness was declared to be a port, for shipping. Fountainhall, i. 81.

(*l*) Stat. Acco. i. 351—4. (*m*) Ib. xvii. 300; vi. 545; xx. 3.

(*n*) Tradition states that, towards the end of the Pictish kingdom, a battle was fought, between the Picts, and Scots, near *Bathcat*; as perhaps the name seems to imply. Stat. Acco. xx. 16.

(*o*) A battle is said to have been fought, on the Amon, between the Scots, and Britons, in 993. Macpherson's Illustrations, in vo. Amon.

(*p*) Antiq. Trans. Edin. 146.

(*q*) Dunlop's MS. Account of battles; Stat. Acco. xiv. 571.

(*r*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 16; Douglas Peer. 414.

(*s*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 16—21; Stat. Acco. i. 100.

had a castle of equal antiquity (*t*). Barnbougle castle is also old, and is yet inhabitable (*u*). Kinneil castle owes its origin, and its enlargement, to the Hamiltons, who formerly lived here in baronial state, till the reformers ruined their house (*x*). The *pecl* of Livingston derived its distant rise from Living, who lived under David I. (*y*). At Newyearfield, in Livingston parish, is a square tower, which seems to have been a baronial residence, in the days of turmoil. Some traces of the castle, which once secured the great family of Walter, the Steward of Scotland, who married Marjory Bruce, "the lass, who brought "the scepter to the Steward's house," may still be seen, in the middle of a morass, near Bathgate (*z*). Abercorn castle was built, by the Earl of Douglas, on the site of the ancient monastery, neither of which can now be traced, amidst ancient warfare, and modern improvements (*a*). Niddrie castle, which once stood in the parish of Kirkliston, is now in ruins: The baron of this castle was of old the hereditary baillie of the ecclesiastical regality of Kirkliston (*b*). Meidhope was formerly "a fine tower-house," belonging to the Earl of Hopeton (*c*). Tartreven castle, in Linlithgow parish, has long been in ruins (*d*). Castlelyon, which stood of old on the shore of the Forth, below Kinneil castle, is now overflowed by the Firth (*e*). Torphichen tower owes its rise to the knights of St. John, during martial days, and its preservation, in other times, to the barons of Torphichen (*f*). In Torphichen parish, near Lochcoat, there is the ruin of a castle, which still shows its baronial gloom, and grandeur (*g*). The ruins of West-Binny still evince, that they had been the residence of a baron (*h*). Mannerston castle, also, shows its former importance in its ruins (*i*). Bridgehouse castle was the ancient seat of the Earl of Linlithgow, and the baronial mansion of the regality of Ogleface (*k*). Such are the mouldering memorials of the personages, who once domineered, in Linlithgowshire: Such has been the change of manners, that farmers reside where barons reigned.

Peers once predominated in this little shire (*l*). The descendants of Living, who flourished under David I., and acquired the name of Livingston, became

(*t*) Stat. Acco. i. 238; Sibbald's Lithgow, 12. (*u*) Ib. 12. (*x*) Ib. 18.
(*y*) Gough's Camden, iii. 318; Dalrymple's Col. 421.
(*z*) Stat. Acco. i. 354. (*a*) Gough's Camden, iii. 318.
(*b*) Id. During David II.'s reign, Alexander Seton granted to Ade Forest two ploughs of land, in the town of Niddrie, in Linlithgowshire. Robertson's Index, 57.
(*c*) Sibbald's Lithgow, 20. (*d*) Ib. 16. (*e*) Ib 18. (*f*) Ib. 23.
(*g*) Armstrong's map. (*h*) Id. (*i*) Id.
(*k*) Sibbald's Lithgow, 25.
(*l*) See the list of the principal heritors in Sibbald's Lithgow.

peers,

peers, in the eleventh transmission: It was Alexander, the seventh baron, who was created Earl of Linlithgow, in 1600: And, it was James, the fourth Earl, who, engaging in the rebellion of 1715, lost his estate, and honours, by attainder (*m*). Sir James Livingston, the second son of Alexander, the Earl of Linlithgow, was created Lord Almon, in 1633, and Earl of Calender, in 1641: But, after a few descents, these titles, by failure of issue, became merged, in 1695, with the elder title of Linlithgow (*n*). Abercorn, which is noted for the antiquity of its name, and the earliness of its history, is also remarkable for having given, in 1600, the title of earl to James Hamilton, the heir of Claud, Lord Paisley: And, the earldom, after various fortunes, and transmissions, has recently been expanded into the marquisate of Abercorn (*o*). At the Reformation, Torphichen gave the title of baron to Sir James Sandilands, Lord St. John of Jerusalem, in Scotland (*p*): And, the vast estates of that opulent order were, by the usual management of that period, converted into temporal property. The Earl of Hopeton is the most wealthy peer, who has now much connection with Linlithgowshire. Both the estates, and the peerage of this family, may be traced up to Sir Thomas Hope, a lawyer, whose artifice was equalled by his abilities; who flourished under James VI., and Charles I., and died in 1646. Charles Hope, his great-grandson, the hereditary sheriff and parliamentary representative of Linlithgow, was created Earl of Hopeton, in 1703 (*q*).

This shire has not given many senators to the College of Justice. Sir James Hope, the eldest son of Sir Thomas Hope, was appointed a senator, by the title of Craighall, in 1632, and 1641. Sir Thomas Hope, the second son of the same great lawyer, was elevated to the same seat, in 1641, by the title of Lord Kerse: And, Sir James Hope, the fourth son of the same eminent father, was appointed a senator, in 1649, by the designation of Lord Hopetoun, who was the ancestor of the earls of the same title (*r*). Sir Thomas Stirling of

(*m*) Dougl. Peer. 409—14. (*n*) Ib. 115. (*o*) Ib. 2.
(*p*) Ib. 670. (*q*) Ib. 350.

(*r*) Douglas remarks, that while Sir Thomas Hope was Lord Advocate, three of his sons were Lords of Session; and as it was thought indecent, that he should plead uncovered before them, he was allowed the privilege, which every Lord Advocate has since enjoyed, of pleading with his hat on. Dougl. Peerage, 349. The peerage-maker is, however, mistaken, in supposing, that Sir Thomas Hope pleaded before *three* of his sons: For, his fourth son, Lord Hopeton, did not sit till his father had been two years dead. It was rather the great talents, and still more the great weight, of Sir Thomas Hope, which procured for him, and his successors, the privilege of pleading with their hats on.

Cariden,

Cariden, was appointed a senator of this College, in 1661, by the name of Lord Carden, and sat till 1668 (*s*).

This shire produced, in 1704, that elegant man, and ingenious poet, William Hamilton of Bangour, who died, in 1754 (*t*). Wilkie, the ingenious author of the *Epigoniad*, was born at Echlin, in 1721; was educated at Dalmenie; and died, at St. Andrews, in 1772 (*u*). That eminent soldier, and statesman, John, the Earl of Stair, dignified this shire by his residence, improved it by his example, and, in 1747, was buried, in the kirk of New-Liston, without a memorial (*x*).

Connected with feudal times, and barons brave, is the account, which the sheriffs, severally, settled in the exchequer, for the royal dues. In 1633, the whole charge, for Linlithgowshire, against the sheriff, was £2,392 : 13 : 2; the discharge was £2,179 : 8 : 1 : So, the free money, which was yearly paid in, was £213 : 5 : 1 Scots (*y*). In 1590, the whole revenue, which King James derived from Linlithgowshire, was £184 : 15 : 6 Scots (*z*). It is impossible to trace the history of the *property*, in this shire; and it would not be very exhilarating, if it were possible. During the earliest times, the tribe, rather than the individual, claimed the right to the district. In this polity, the Romans, perhaps, did not make much change. The Saxons, who intruded into this country, after their departure, divided the lands among their chiefs, in commodious divisions. Under the Scots, a kind of mixed policy predominated; the chief enjoyed the district, during his life, with divisions, and subdivisions, under him, to his followers: Yet, after his death, or forfeiture, his district reverted to the clan, who could not be deprived of their property, in the soil. The Scoto-Saxon period brought with it a great change, which was as new, as it proved lasting. The king, in notion of law, was the owner of all property, and the distributor of all jurisdiction. We see this theory, in

(*s*) Lord Hailes's List of the Lords of Session.

(*t*) He died, at Lyons, on the 25th of March 1754. Scots Mag. of that year, 155.

(*u*) Scots Mag. 582. (*x*) Dougl. Peer. 640; Stat. Acco. x. 73.

(*y*) Of the whole rental, which the sheriff accounted for, the lordship of Linlithgow was charged 2,179l. 8s. 1d.; the town of Lithgow paid 52l.; the town of Queen's Ferry 3l.; and other lordships, and lands, 158l. 5s. 1d.: But, during several years, the lordship of Linlithgow had not been accounted for; as the whole sum was assigned to the earl, for keeping the palace. Sir William Purvis's MS. Account.

(*z*) There were, moreover, paid the king, from Linlithgowshire, of *wheat*, 6 chalders, 5 bolls, 2 firlots, 2 pecks; of bear, 6 chalders, 7 bolls, 1 firlot; of oats, 6 chalders, 14 bolls, 1 firlot; of capons, 16; and of poultry, 6 dozen. MS. Account of K. James's whole Revenue, which was presented to his consort, on her arrival; and which is preserved in the Advocates Library.

its

its practice, reflected to us from the satisfactory evidence of the earliest charters. In the grants of David I., we perceive him exercising ownership over property, and jurisdiction over persons, within this shire. Waldeve, the son of Cospatrick, who granted the charter of Dundas, is the most ancient private proprietor, within Linlithgowshire, of whom any record appears (*a*). If we except Dundas of Dundas, it may be doubted, whether any of the present proprietors, in this shire, can be traced back, through so many revolutions, and forfeitures, to that early age. From the commencement of the 18th century to the present, there have been many alterations of property, and still more changes of family, a consideration whereof leaves the mind to muse on the vicissitudes of life (*b*).

§ VII. *Of its Agriculture, Manufactures, and Trade.*] It may be easily supposed, that the area of this shire has all the varieties of soil, from bad to good, which can depress, or invigorate the husbandry of any country. The subjoined *table* will exhibit to the inquisitive inquirer more specific information, with regard to all those intermixtures of surface, than the most elaborate description (*c*). The coldest soil is chiefly in the south, and south-western parts of this shire, which have also the worst climate. In the same parish, there are specimens of every sort of soil. Within Dalmenie parish, in the north-eastern part of this shire, there is what long experience has called *perpetual soil*, which, without renovation, continues, through ages, productive (*d*). Much of this shire, from its northerly latitude, may be supposed to be chill; yet, from the flatness of its surface, its nearness to the Forth, and the prevalence of the south-west winds, it is, generally, temperate, being neither very cold, nor very sultry; and being blessed with gentle showers, rather than deluged with violent rains: Owing to

(*a*) Charter of Dundas; Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 73; Dalrymple's Col. 381-2.

(*b*) See Sibbald's Linlithgow.

(*c*) The following detail may be deemed an approximation to the truth:

	Eng. Acres.
Of clay of a good quality, there are	20,000
Clay on a cold bottom	24,500
Loam	10,000
Light gravel, and sand	10,000
Moors, and high rocky land	15,220
Mosses	1,700
Lakes, rivers, and waters	500
	81,920

(*d*) Stat. Acco. i. 230.

all

all those causes, two thirds of this shire may be said to enjoy the second rate climate, within this part of our island (*e*).

The area of this shire, even during the Scoto-Saxon period of its history, was covered with woods, which were extremely congenial to the state of husbandry, in that age; consisting as much of pasturage, as of cultivation (*f*). Near Kinneil house, on the Forth, there is still a natural wood of seventy acres (*g*). During many years, the landowners have paid great attention to planting. On every estate, may be seen many acres of young plantations. And, they are busy, in carrying forward that most useful improvement, the planting of the moorlands upon the heights (*h*). About one third part of the whole country is either in woodlands, old pastures, or in artificial grasses. And there are rather more than four fifths of the shire inclosed, by almost all the variety of fences, which ingenuity has contrived, in a country abounding with stone (*i*).

David I. was the greatest farmer, in Linlithgowshire. He had a *grange* at Linlithgow town, as we know, from the charter of Holyrood. And here he practised husbandry, by his own proper men, though, perhaps, not with the greatest knowledge of the theory of agriculture (*k*). Neither the skill, nor the success, of the barons, during that age, could be much greater than the king's. But, agriculture could not be carried on, during such times, with much amelioration. The cultivators were mostly all *villeyns*, who did not labour, for their own profit, but for the benefit of others. The great facility of every agricultural operation, communications were, in those times, either wanting,

(*e*) Agricult. Survey, 7; and Wight's Present State of Husbandry, in Scotland, [1778], vol. iv. 474, who, however, says, "that the climate of Linlithgow is not the most favourable, for *corn*, by the quantity of rain, that frequently falls."

(*f*) The topography of this shire evinces, that woodlands formerly existed, in every part of this county. Blaeu's Atlas Scotiæ, No. 9—29; and Armstrong's Map of the Lothians. In the south-west end of this shire, large pieces of oak trees are often found in the mosses. Agricult. View, 33.

(*g*) Stat. Acco. xviii. 425. (*h*) Agricult. View, 30.

(*i*) Agricult. View, 14. Wight reported to the Trustees of forfeited estates, in 1778, "that "much had been done, during the last twenty years; yet, that a great part of this county remains "in a state of nature." Present State, 1778, iv. 474. To reconcile those apparent contradictions, we must suppose what, indeed, is inferable from the *Agricultural View* of 1794, that there had been much inclosure, and other improvements, during the twenty years, which elapsed, subsequent to the Survey of Wight, who saw every one busy, in acts of melioration: "All are alive, "he adds, and struggling to excel."

(*k*) There is still a farm at Linlithgow, which Wight inspected; and is called the *King's Field*. Report, iv. 515. The King's Park at Linlithgow is also converted into a farm. Id. The charter of Holyrood speaks of the number of sheep, which died, naturally; a circumstance this, which supposes, that many were kept, with less provision of winter food, than the occasion required.

or

or defective. Without the advantages of public roads, individuals, who possessed property, in distant districts, were obliged to ask freedom of passage through the neighbouring manors (*l*). The monks of Newbotle, as we have just seen, in communicating with Monkland, were obliged to travel along the natural opening of the country, through the valley of Brocksburn, by Bathgate. And this ancient passage is the present site of the Bathgate road from Edinburgh to Glasgow, through Linlithgowshire, which is the boast of Scotland, for the levelness of its track, and the firmness of its surface. The epoch of the first road law of Scotland is 1555 (*m*). The epoch of the first turnpike road, which traversed Mid, and West Lothian, from Edinburgh to the Queen's Ferry, is 1751 (*n*). In the subsequent year, a law was obtained, for repairing the principal post road, through Linlithgowshire (*o*). Meantime, the reign of Charles II. was the period, in which the county roads, and highways, to market towns, were placed, by the Scotish parliament, under the sheriffs, and justices (*p*). By all those means, Linlithgowshire is at length accommodated, with complete communications, in every direction (*q*). And, owing to the same means, agriculture was promoted, by the facility of conveyance, and travel.

(*l*) The monks of Newbotle, who had lands in Lanerk, found it difficult, owing to the want of public roads, to pass, and repass, to and from their several granges; And they were obliged to obtain from individuals permission to travel through their lands. In 1253, Archibald, the master of the house of Torphichen, granted to the monks of Newbotle, that they should pass freely through the lands of Torphichen "per illas vias quibus hactenus usi sunt." Chart. Newbottle, No. 220. In 1320, Thomas de Bosco, the Lord of Ogilface, confirmed a charter of his father to the monks of Newbotle; giving them "liberum transitum per terram meam de Ogilface per seipsos vel cum *plaustris*, "*vecturis*, et animalibus, &c. in eundo et redeundo de terram suam de Dunpeldre apud Newbotle et "retro quotiescunque voluerint, &c." Ib. No. 221. Sir Reginald le Chen granted to the same monks "liberum transitum vie competentis et sufficientis ad aysiamentum earundum per terram "meam et baroniam de Strathbrock *extra segetes* et prata in divertendo de Newbotle ad terram "eorum in valle de Clud, et retro." Ib. 222. In 1333, Walter, the Stewart of Scotland, granted to the same monks, that they might freely pass through his whole barony of Bathket, with their *carriages*, from their monastery of Newbotle, to their land, which is called Monkland. Ib. No. 224.

(*m*) Stair's Inst. 287.

(*n*) By 24 Geo. II. ch. 35, amended by 28 Geo. II. ch. 39.

(*o*) 25 Geo. II. ch. 28, which was amended by 32 Geo. II. ch. 55: And, in 1753, the 26 Geo. II. ch. 81, empowered the repairing of the road, by Livingston to Glasgow. Add to those, the act 49 Geo. III. ch. 38, for repairing the roads of this shire.

(*p*) See the Statute Book of that reign. In 1681, the laird of Hopetoun was empowered to change a highway, at Winchburgh, in West-Lothian. Unprinted Act. In 1696, an act passed, for building a bridge over the river Avon, against which the town of Linlithgow entered a protest. Unprinted Act, 6 Sess. 1 Parl. William.

(*q*) Ainslie's map of Scot.; Agricult. View; Stat. Acco. iv. 467.

Throughout the Scoto-Saxon period, and for ages afterward, every manor had its village; and the tenants of both had common of pasturage, which obstructed melioration, while a general right could not be of much private benefit (*r*). Lying under so many disadvantages, farms could not rent for much, while lands were plenty, and money was scarce (*s*). Every agricultural practice, which we have seen, in actual existence, in the shires of Berwick, Hadington, and Edinburgh, equally existed, during those times, in Linlithgowshire. Every manor had its miln, its kiln, its malthouse, and its brewery, for the use of the village. The husbandmen used oxen, in their ploughs, and waggons (*t*). They cultivated the same grain; they pastured the same beasts; and they aimed at the same profits. The people of those times had their fisheries, and their salt-pans: And, for fuel, they used wood, and peats, and *coals* (*u*). Yet, was there a slow progress of melioration, throughout the Scoto-Saxon period, particularly, in the reign of Alexander III. when peace existed, improvement prevailed, and plenty abounded (*v*).

(*r*) John de Strivelin confirmed to the hospital of Soltre, a toft, and a croft, in his manor of Ochiltree, with common of pasture for four cows, twelve ewes, with their lambs of one year old, and also one thrave of corn from every carrucate of his lands; and of *his men*, wherever they might be, on the southern side of the Forth. Chart. Soltre, No. 27. John of Strivelin, probably, lived under Alexander III.; To that grant, Galfred *prepositus* de Ochiltre was a witness.

(*s*) In 1306, the hospital of Soltre granted a *lease* to Mathew of Kinglas, in Cariden parish, of its whole lands, in Kinglas, and in Philipston, within Abercorn parish; rendering, for the same, yearly, *ten shillings*. Ib. No. 45.

(*t*) Even as low down as January 1549, when a fort was to be erected, at Inveresk, the privy council ordained, that every plough of *eight oxen*, between Linlithgow and Hadington, should furnish one man, provided with pick, mattock, shule, and spade, to work thereat, for six days; and that each *poteh plough* should furnish two men. Keith's Appx. 57.

(*u*) During the reign of William, the lion, William de Vetereponte granted to the monks of Holyrood "totam decimam de *carbonario meo* de Cariden," in perpetual alms. Crawford's MS. Extract, from the Autograph. William de Vetereponte acquired, from that king, early in his reign, the manor of Cariden, in West-Lothian. Caledonia, i. 552. That grant, then, to the monks of Holyrood, must have been made, before the end of the 12th century; and of course, precedes the similar grant of de Quincey to the monks of Newbotle, of the Colliery of Tranent, in the period, from 1202 to 1218. Coal was early worked, in the king's manor of Linlithgow: In 1597, an act was passed by parliament to protect the king's palace, park, and coals. Lord Livingston obtained a grant of the *coal* of Bonytoun, in the lordship of Linlithgow, before November 1600. Act, 8 Parl. xii. Ja. VI.

(*v*) During the reign of Alexander III., the king's rents, and profits, within Linlithgowshire, were assigned to the Norwegian king, who had married his daughter, Margaret; as we know, from the *Rotuli Scotiæ*. This had no salutary effect on the pursuits of the people.

During

During the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, the common division of lands, in this shire, were *carrucates*, bovates, or oxgates (*x*). In the charters of Charles II., the possessions, in Linlithgowshire, are described, by the ancient terms, of pound-lands, mark, shilling, and penny-lands (*y*). Yet, is the carrucate, or ploughgate, the division, which is still in use, within this shire; and it is by the ploughgate, that the whole lands are assessed, for the making of the roads (*z*).

Whatever may have been the happy state of domestic affairs, at the demise of Alexander III., the rancorous war of seventy years, which succeeded that sad event, plunged the whole country into an abyss of ruin (*a*). From the destruction of war, and the depression of misrule, Linlithgowshire did not recover, even down to our own times. Domestic *feuds* were full as destructive, as foreign *inroads* (*b*). The whole intercourses of life were oppressive; the strong constantly overpowering the weak (*c*): Even the levying of rent, or the removing of tenants, was attended with prodigious waste; as we might learn, indeed,

(*x*) The Chartularies, and Robertson's Index. (*y*) MS. Col. of Charters.

(*z*) Agricult. View, 28; Stat. Acco. iv. 467: There are 63 ploughgates, in Torphichen parish. Id. And, there are 68 ploughgates in the parish of Bathgate. Ib. i. 350. Each ploughgate contains not less than 70 acres of land. The *Tax Roll* of the lands, in every shire, was, however, made up, according to parliamentary practice; the lands being valued in pounds, shillings, and pence. The *Tax Roll* of 1613, upon which the assessments were laid, was thus made, and returned to the parliamentary commissioners: And, it may gratify a reasonable curiosity to see, from the Record, the several totals of the Tax Rolls of the *three Lothians:*

Linlithgowshire was returned at	- - - - -	£494	13 4
Edinburghshire	at - - - - -	621	0 0
Hadingtonshire	at - - - - -	567	11 4

(*a*) The charters, which were written in those disastrous times, are crowded with outcries of devastation. The Chartulary of Newbotle speaks of the wars not having left *one stone standing upon another*. In 1327, William, bishop of St. Andrews, granted to the monastery of Newbotle, "per guerram oppressi," the church of Bathgate. Chart. Newbotle, 179. But, the comparison of the *ancient extent* of those good old times, with the *new extent* of David II.'s days, is the best proof of the deterioration of the country, in respect to its agriculture. Roberts. Index.

(*b*) In 1445, during the *feud*, between Crichton, the chancellor, and Earl Douglas, Crichton ravaged the manor of Abercorn, belonging to Douglas; and, among other waste, he drove away a *race of mares*, that the Earl had brought *from Flanders*, and were fostered, in the park of Abercorn. Godscroft, 167. What improvements of *stock* could be made, during such times, and such manners!

(*c*) June 1493, the tenants of Wester-Whitburn complained, in parliament, against Sir James Livingston, for taking from them their cattle. The Lords ordained Sir James to restore the oxen, and cows, as good as they were, or pay the value: The value is specified, a cow, and an ox, four marks; three oxen, six marks. Parl. Rec. 377.

from the Parliamentary Record. During the ancient regimen, the tenants of *churchmen* lived under indulgent landlords, who even afforded them personal protection. The transfer of so many lands, at the Reformation, from the *spiritualty*, to *temporal lords*, brought with it a terrible change "to the poor "commons (*d*)." That transfer was grievously felt, by the husbandmen, during a wasteful century of civil wars; as that transfer was not a small ingredient of the moving causes, which incited the grand rebellion. *The Union*, and *the abolition* of the *heritable jurisdictions*, are the two happiest events, in the history of those changes, which were either adverse, or fortunate, for agriculture.

It is not, indeed, easy, to fix the real epoch of actual improvements, in Linlithgowshire. The year 1723, when the society of improvers was established, may, perhaps, be deemed the true era. From this period, a sort of enterprize may be traced, in every shire (*e*). In 1728, John, Earl of Stair, now a statesman out of place, came from the turmoils of public life, to the quiet pursuits of agriculture, at New-Liston, in this shire. This able man at length introduced new maxims of husbandry, and novel modes of cultivation: It was he, who first practised *the horse-hoeing husbandry*: It was he, who, in addition to the improvements of Lucern, and Saint-foin, which were then uncommon grasses, in that country, cultivated turnips, cabbages, and carrots, by the plough, that answered all the ends of summer fallow, says Maxwell, the agriculturalist (*f*). Charles, the first Earl of Hopeton, followed the encouraging example of that illustrious statesman. And, even going beyond him, he

(*d*) Old Sir Richard Maitland, who witnessed that change, bestows a whole poem, "aganis "oppressioun of the commouns:"

"Sum commouns, that hes bene weill stakit
"*Underkirkmen*, ar now all urakit;
"Sen that the teynd, and the kirk-landis,
"Cam in grit temporale men's handis.

"Sic extortioun, and taxatioun,
"Wes never sene into this natioun."

Such, then, were the terrible effects on the unprotected husbandmen, by that transfer of the lands, and their labourers, from the indulgent clergy to the lay-impropriators!

(*e*) On the 8th of April 1725, one Higgens, and his copartners, began to sell, at Cuffabout, near Borrowstouness, their *manure*, for improving ground, at one shilling a-bushel. Caledonian Mercury, No. 787. Though this project probably failed, yet, is it an evidence of returning enterprize.

(*f*) Select Transact. of the Society of Improvers. After John, Earl of Stair, left Kirkwood's school, at Linlithgow, he went to Leyden, and spent much of his youth, in the Low Countries.

released

released to his tenants a thousand pounds of his rents, "in consideration of the "bad crop, in 1740 (*g*)." By this act of generosity, he gave to the farmers on his estates a thousand pounds of additional capital, for the improvement of husbandry. But, they both died too soon, to do all the good, which they intended (*h*): Neither the country, nor the husbandmen, were sufficiently prepared, to profit from their agricultural examples. Thirty years, after those two noble agriculturalists had ceased to instruct by their practice, and to encourage by their generosity, a race of projectors arose, who went beyond them, in usefulness: Some practical farmers, with clear heads, enterprising hearts, and sufficient capital, undertook, as a profession, to rent farms, and estates, with design to improve them; and then to relinquish them to other farmers, for an adequate profit (*i*). Such speculative farmers do more, for the improvement of a country, than many nobles, who, as they farm, for amusement, are too high, for the imitation of common husbandmen.

Meantime, there was introduced into the Lothians "the practice of draining, "inclosing, summer-fallowing, sowing flax, hemp, rape, turnip, and grass "seeds; of planting cabbages, and potatoes, with the plough, in fields of great "extent; and there was adopted other such commendable husbandry (*k*)." All this was said to have been done before the year 1743. And we may thus perceive, who were the earliest improvers, in this shire; and to what extent their improvements had been carried, by rational management, in the busy period, which succeeded the epoch of 1723.

The forming of turnpike roads, by tolls, as we have seen, and the improving of the cross roads, by assessments, have enabled diligent husbandmen to carry those beginnings of "commendable husbandry" to great perfection. Since the days of Stair, and Hopeton, this shire has been mostly all inclosed (*l*). The implements of farming have been rendered more commodious: And, the *threshing mills*, which are said to have been *lately* invented, are allowed to be of great advantage (*m*). The number of draught cattle for the plough has been

(*g*) Select Transactions, Dedication.

(*h*) The Earl of Hopeton died, in 1742; and the Earl of Stair, in 1747.

(*i*) Wight speaks of the practice of several such improvers, in Linlithgowshire. Report, iv.

(*k*) Maxwell's Select Transactions, which were published, in 1743.

(*l*) Agricultural View, 14.

(*m*) Ib. 19: Yet, it appears, from the Select Transactions of the Society of Improvers, 276, that Mr. Michael Menzies, an advocate, at Edinburgh, had invented a *threshing machine*, which was driven, by water; and which that society recommended to general use: So seldom is it, that any thing *new* can be found.

lessened

lessened one-half. Farm steadings are generally much improved, during late times (*u*). This shire is possessed by thirty, or forty landholders, whose yearly incomes are from £200 to £6,000, besides some inferior holders of lands, who enjoy small heritages, near Linlithgow, and Boroustowness. The extent of the farms are from 50 to 300 acres; the greater number whereof being from 70 acres to 200. And the leases are, commonly, for the space of 19 years; though there are some instances of leases being extended to 57 years (*x*). The town of Linlithgow has long enjoyed mills, which are profitable to the burrough, and advantageous to agriculture (*y*). This shire-town has a weekly market for corn. Bathgate has also seven fairs a-year, which are also helpful to husbandry (*z*).

Horticulture was probably introduced into this shire, in early times. As David I. had a castle here, he must necessarily have had a garden. And, where the royal family resided, a garden must always have been. Early in the reign of James VI., the practice of gardening became general, in Linlithgowshire. In 1623, John Reit, and Alexander Dean, were convicted, and executed, for stealing herbs, and roots, and bee-hives, from the gardens of Barnbugle, Craigiehall, and Carlowry (*a*). When John Ray came abotanizing to Linlithgow, in August 1661, he found "Baillie Stewart had nourished, in his "garden, divers exotic plants, more than one would have hoped to find, "in so northerly, and cold a country (*b*)."

Linlithgowshire seems never to have enjoyed the benefit of manufacture, except domestic fabrics, for family use. The linen, which was once made here, is no more manufactured (*c*). The town of Linlithgow has, indeed, some manufacture of *white leather*, which is, however, sent off, for further improvement (*d*). The shire town formerly enjoyed the exclusive traffic, throughout the whole country, from Cramond to the mouth of the Avon, when Blackness

(*u*) Agricult. View, 18—28. (*x*) Ib. 11-12.

(*y*) Stat. Acco. xiv. 457—9: Jane Livingston, the prioress of the nuns of Manuel, conveyed, in 1556, their mills upon the Avon, to the corporation of Linlithgow. Keith's Rel. Houses, 282.

(*z*) As far back as 1594, there was an act of parliament, in favour of the fair, at Bathgate. Unprinted Act.

(*a*) Arnot's Crim. Trials, 305.

(*b*) Ray's Itinerary, 200: And he particularized "some such as he had not before seen."

(*c*) In 1728, it appears to have manufactured, for sale, 6,353 yards, and 29,128, in 1729; in 1792, it still manufactured 9,040 yards: But, in 1801, and 1802, this shire had completely lost the manufacture of linen. Official Account.

(*d*) Pennant, ii. 233; and a Detail of the number of skins, and hides, tanned, and tawed. Stat. Acco. xiv. 552.

was

was its port: And, like other corporate bodies, struggled a while to preserve its monopoly; but, in 1672, the parliament, considering that, *many hands*, and *many purses*, make a *rich trade*, and a *wealthy people*, declared, that burroughs of regality, and of barony, were entitled to the same freedom of trade, as royal burroughs (*e*). But, whether Linlithgow was formerly a place of *considerable trade, opulence, and splendour*, as we are told, may well be doubted; though it must be allowed, that *considerable* admits of degrees of comparison (*f*). Salt is one of the earliest of the manufactures of this shire; and is still one of the greatest (*g*). Lime is manufactured to a great extent, for domestic use, and formerly for foreign export (*h*). Freestone is also wrought, to a considerable amount, for both those purposes (*i*). The traffic of coal, perhaps, employs the greatest number of hands, except agriculture (*k*). There are considerable distilleries, and breweries, which enrich various parts of this shire; as they are so intimately connected with its husbandry (*l*). The spinning of cotton has reared a new village, at Blackburn, in Livingston parish (*m*). The Queen's Ferry has found the art of making the manufacture of soap, and the catching of herrings, profitable to its enterprizing people (*n*). At Whitburn, the influence of Glasgow is felt; the industrious inhabitants being employed by it, in flowering muslins, in weaving, and in working cottons (*o*). Such, then, are the various branches of manufacture, which begin to spring up, in this shire, while it cannot boast of its trade, or its shipping (*p*).

After the persevering struggles of many years, the custom-house district of Borrowstoness was settled, in December 1713; in opposition to Blackness, which was the earliest port, and the shipping-place of the shire town (*q*). The

(*e*) Fountainhall's Decisions, i. 81; and Sir Geo. Mackenzie's Pleadings, 134.

(*f*) Linlithgow town, however, enjoys the benefit of large breweries, and distilleries; of tambour factories, of bleaching, and printing cottons, of shoes, for export, and of snuff, for domestic use. Stat. Acco. xiv. 552—56.

(*g*) Sibbald, 18-19: In 1498, Sir Patrick Hamilton was appointed the governor of the castle of Blackness, with leave to build *salt-pans*. Scotstarvit's Calendar.

(*h*) Stat. Acco. xx. 390. (*i*) Ib. i. 237. (*k*) Ib. i. 98; xviii. 436.

(*l*) Ib. iv. 467, 556; xviii. 431. (*m*) Ib. xx. 3. (*n*) Ib. xvii. 489. (*o*) Id. 361.

(*p*) On the 6th of October 1724, being the next day after the annual election of the magistrates of Linlithgow, came on the election of a Preses, for *the society*, called, "The Neighbourhood of "this Burgh, *for the Propagation of Trade*; when John Bell, writer, was unanimously elected, for the ensuing year. Caledonian Mercury, No. 707.

(*q*) During the reign of William, the lion, William de Vetereponte granted to the monks of Holyrood, "decimam denarium de omnibus *navibus* et batellis, in terra mea de *Blackenes*." Crawford's MS. Note, from the Autograph. The shipping here have been often burnt, by the English; as we have seen.

port

port of Borrowstoness extends along the Forth, and upon the shore of Linlithgowshire, from Cramond to Higgen's-Nook, twenty miles; and it comprehends sixteen miles of the opposite coast (*r*). The Queen's Ferry was undoubtedly *a port*, as early as the reign of Malcolm IV. (*s*). In 1656, the Queen's Ferry possessed one vessel of eighteen tons. Before 1692, this creek had acquired seven vessels, carrying in all 770 tons. They continued to increase. And Sibbald talks, magnificently, during the reign of Anne, that Queen's Ferry, and Borrowstowness, had *six-and-thirty ships*; when Glasgow, Stirling, and Linlithgow, carried on, from thence, a great trade to Holland, Hamburgh, and the Baltic (*t*). There appear to have been registered, in 1787, within the several creeks of the port of Borrowstowness, 139 vessels, bearing 11,910 tons(*u*). They seem to have increased to 165 vessels, in 1792. But, the shipping of this port appears to have somewhat decreased, before the year 1802, when Leith, upon the east, and Carron, on the west, of Borrowstowness, began to gain an obvious ascendency. We may form an accurate judgment, with regard as well to the employment of those shipping, as to the trade of this port, from the subjoined detail, as it appears in the Custom-house Registers:

Years.	Foreign Trade.		Coast Trade.		Fishery.		The Total.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
In 1760 - - -	11	1,111	42	1,910	2	522	55	3,543
1770 - -	20	2,000	93	4,135	4	451	117	6,536
1780 - -	24	2,710	116	6,255	—	—	140	8,965
1790 - -	43	4,885	133	8,284	2	719	178	13,888
1800 - -	23	2,339	111	6,415	—	—	134	8,745

Yet, whatever may have been the melioration of the agriculture of this shire, the increase of its manufactories, the extension of its trade, and the progress of

(*r*) A MS. Custom-house Detail: On the south side of the Forth, this port comprehends, the creeks of South Queen's Ferry, Blackness, Avon water, Grangemouth, being the eastern entrance into the Forth, and Clyde Canal, and Carronshore: On the north side of the Frith, this port comprehends the creeks of Culross, Tory-burn, Crombie-point, Limekilns, Inverkeithing, North Queen's Ferry, and St. David's castle. Id.

(*s*) Chart. Scone, No. 5. Robert I. granted to the abbey of Dunfermlin, *Cocketam, cum nova magna custuma*, tum de burgis de Dunfermlin, Kirkaldie, Musselburgh, et *Passagio reginæ*. MS. Monast. Scotiæ.

(*t*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 17.

(*u*) MS. Regist. of Shipping.

its

its shipping, its population seems not to have been much affected: In the whole shire, there were scarcely fifteen hundred more people, during the year 1801, than it contained, in 1755. It is, however, consoling to consider, that they are more employed, more opulent, and more comfortable, in their several situations, whatever may be the vicissitudes of the world.

§ VIII. *Of its Ecclesiastical History.*] Little has been transmitted, with regard to ecclesiastical notices, in this shire. At the epoch of the union of the Picts, and Scots, in 843, the bishoprick of Lindisfarn extended to the Avon, perhaps beyond it; comprehending within its ample range the whole area of West-Lothian (*a*). The monastery of Abercorn, within this county, had been settled, in a prior age, as the venerable seat of the Pictish episcopate, with Trumwin, for its bishop (*b*).

The extinction of the Northumbrian monarchy, and the fall of its bishoprick, seem to have left whatever churches existed, under the authority of the bishop of St. Andrews, whose authority appears to have been co-extensive with the Scotish territories. At the era of record, we see him exercising his functions, over every district of the Lothians (*c*). And, the *Decanatus* of Linlithgow contained not only the churches of this shire, but even several parishes, in Edinburgh, and Stirling shires (*d*). At Kirkliston, which was a town of regality, and the seat of its court, the bishop of St. Andrews had a sort of sovereignty, under the king's grant; extending to the whole lands of the bishoprick, on the south of the Forth. The Earl of Wintoun was long the heritable baillie of this extensive regality. The Earl of Hopetoun, who succeeded him, in this office, by purchase, was compensated, for the loss of it, when heritable jurisdictions were happily abolished (*e*). When the bishoprick of Edinburgh was erected,

(*a*) Smith's Bede, l. iv. c. 26; Appx. ii.; Anglia Sacra, i. 698.

(*b*) Simeon of Durham, 62—139; Hoveden, 418. (*c*) Smith's Bede, Appx. xx.

(*d*) Sibbald's Lithgow, 3-4; MS. Chart. of Arbroath, for a detail of the churches, in the *deanry* of Linlithgow. The *archdeaconry* of *Lothian*, as we know, from the *ancient Taxatio*, was of old subdivided into three *deanries*: 1st, The *deanry* of *Linlithgow*; 2d, The *deanry* of *Lothian*; and 3d, The *deanry* of the *Merse*. The *archdeaconry* extended, at the epoch of that *Taxatio*, from the Forth, at Stirling, on the north-west, to the Tweed, as high as the influx of the Gala, on the south-east: And, it comprehended, within its ample bounds, the east half of Stirlingshire, the whole of Linlithgowshire, Edinburgh, Hadington, and Berwickshire, and those parts of Roxburghshire, which lay on the northern side of the Tweed. In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood, under James v., the *archdeaconry* of *Lothian* was rated at 20l. Currie was the *mansio*, or seat of the archdeacon of Lothian.

(*e*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 12-13; List of Claims, and Compensations.

in 1633, the churches of Linlithgowshire were placed under his authority, with a reservation, however, of the archbishop's regality, and other temporal rights (*f*): But, his authority, after successive struggles, was, in 1690, abolished, for ever. In the town of Linlithgow there were a monastery of *Carmelites*; and one of *Dominicans:* The first was founded by the burgesses, in 1290; and consecrated to *the Virgin* (*g*): The origin of the Dominican convent is more obscure, though the vestiges of their house may still be traced, in the eastern division of the town (*h*). In the vicinity of this town, there was of old an establishment of the *Lazarites* (*i*). This house seems to have fallen into decay; and was restored under James I., as an *hospitium*, for the entertainment of pilgrims; which was dedicated to Mary Magdalene, and was governed by a preceptor (*k*). There were several chaplainries, and altarages, about this town, which had been founded by pious persons, in pious times; and which were all dilapidated, by interested men, in a fanatical age (*l*). There was another convent of Carmelites, near the Queen's Ferry, which was founded, in 1330, by the laird of Dundas, and consecrated to *the Virgin*. The remains of their house may still be seen by antiquarian eyes: And their church, which is almost entire, may still be examined by those, who delight to trace Gothic architecture (*m*). In this shire, however, there were not many *religious houses*, though it contained the seat of the *Templars*. The knights of St. John had their principal seat, at Torphichen. This order came into Scotland, during the reign of David I.,

(*f*) See the Charter of Erection, in Keith's Bishops, 29.

(*g*) Spottiswoode, 505. The rising ground, on the southern side of the town, whereon their convent stood, is still called *The Friars Brae*; and an adjacent spring is called *The Friars Well*. Stat. Acco. xiv. 569.

(*h*) Id.

(*i*) Under Alexander II., John White, the son of John, the grandson of Gilbert, gave to Liulph, the son of Liulph de Preston, a perticate of land, with a croft, and part of a toft, which he held "de fratribus de *Sancto Lazaro*," in Linlithgow town, in burgage. Chart. Newbotle, 205.

(*k*) Keith, 291; This *hospitium* stood on the eastern side of the town, at the base of an eminence, that is still called *Pilgrim's Hill*. One of the ancient fairs of Linlithgow is still named *Mary Magdalen's Fair*. In 1426, James I., on his queen's recommendation, appointed Robert de Lynton the preceptor of Mary Magdalen's hospital. Spottiswoode, 534. In 1528, James Knolls, canon of Ross, and preceptor of this house, granted, with the consent of the archbishop of St. Andrews, the whole lands, which belonged to this establishment, to Sir James Hamilton of Finard: And this grant was confirmed by James V. This favourite, having plotted against the life of his sovereign, was convicted, and executed, as we have seen.

(*l*) MS. Rec. of Donations.

(*m*) It stands, within Dalmenie parish, though it be close to the burrough of Queen's Ferry. Stat. Acco. i. 238.

who

who endowed it with many lands, uncommon privileges, and valuable exemptions (*o*): And these were all confirmed, and enlarged, by successive kings; and allowed by several popes. In July 1291, Alexander, "prior hospitalis "Sancti Johannis Jerusalemitani, in Scotiæ," swore fealty to Edward I., in the chapel of Edinburgh castle (*p*). In August 1296, Alexander de Wells, "gardeyn de hospital de Saint John de Jerusalem, en Escose," swore fealty to the same king (*q*). The gallant Wells, was probably succeeded, by Radulph de Lindsay, who was preceptor, under Robert I. (*r*). Sir Henry Livingston was preceptor, under James II.; and died, in 1463: He was succeeded by Sir Henry Knolls, who governed this order, in Scotland, during half a century; and was commonly called Lord St. John. He was appointed treasurer, by James III., in 1468; and was removed, in 1470: He now joined the rebellious faction, who pursued that unfortunate king to his unhappy end. He was restored, by the influence of the same faction, in 1488, to whom, there is reason to believe, he lent money, for accomplishing their treasonous purpose. Knolls was amply repaid by the new rulers (*s*). After being much employed, by James IV., Knolls fell, fighting by his side, on Floddon-field. He was succeeded by Sir George Dundas, in 1513, who was the school-fellow of Hector Boece, at Paris; and is praised, for his learning. Under James V., Sir George was succeeded, as preceptor, by Sir Walter Lindsay (*t*). Soon after his death, he was succeeded, by Sir James Sandilands. In 1560, he joined the reformers;

(*o*) MS. Monast. Scotiæ; Chart. Newbotle, 242; and Chart. Aberdon, 21-27-34.

(*p*) Rym. ii. 572.

(*q*) Prynne, 656: This prior was slain, in the battle of Falkirk, on the 22d July 1298. Lord Hailes's An. i. 261. Meantime, Edward I. had issued precepts to almost every sheriff in Scotland, to restore the property of the knights of St. John. Rot. Scotiæ, 25. They seem to have had no estates in Argyle, Bute, and Orkney.

(*r*) Roberts. Index, 11.

(*s*) He was appointed, in February 1489-90, to collect the king's revenues, in Linlithgowshire. Parl. Rec. 364. He also received many grants of much property. Ib. 367. In October 1488, the rights of this order were considered by the parliament. Ib. 340.

(*t*) In February 1533-4, Sir Walter Lindsay, as the head of this order, granted to James Dundas of Craigton, and Elizabeth Hamilton, his wife, the lands of Nether-New-Liston. He rose to be Justice-General of Scotland. He was remembered, in Lindsay's *Testament of Sqwyer Meldrum*:

"The wise Sir Walter Lindsay they him call,
"Lord of St. Johne, and knight of Torphichane,
"By sea, and land, a valliant capitane."

Sir Walter died, in 1538, as we may learn, from the inscription on his tomb. Sibbald's Linlithgow, 25: And Monteith's Theatre of Mortality.

foreseeing that, he might thereby obtain the remaining estates of his order, as a temporal barony: And, he obtained this desirable end, by a grant from Queen Mary, in January 1563-4, on paying 10,000 crowns, and yielding a rent of 500 marks, for ever. Much was dilapidated: Yet, much remained of the knights estates, when Sir James died, as Lord Torphichen, in 1618 (*u*). The hospital of St. John, at Torphichen, stood at a little distance, from the village, on the north-east. There only remain a square tower, and the choir of the ancient church, which still has Gothic remains, sufficient to gratify antiquarian eyes (*x*).

The Reformation, by casting down all those establishments, left the religious houses, and the ecclesiastical districts, in this shire, under the regimen of a presbytery, consisting of nineteen parishes; whereof Linlithgow is the seat; and this presbytery, with those of Edinburgh, Dalkeith, Hadington, Dunbar, Peeblis, and Biggar, form the synod of Lothian, and Tweedale (*y*).

Fable, and Sibbald, trace up the origin of Linlithgow town to King Achaius, who is said to have erected a cross here, which vulgar antiquaries have called *King Cay's Cross*. On the promontory, which projects into the middle of the lake, there appears to have been erected, indeed, a chapel, even before the accession of David I. Of old, every royal castle had its peculiar chapel. The castle, and the royal residence, gave rise to a village, in the royal demesn, which required a church. The present parish of Linlithgow comprehends the ancient parishes of Linlithgow, and Binning, which were united, after the Reformation. And, upon the height, near the royal palace, stands St. Michael's church, whose statue yet remains upon the steeple, which is very high, and is of excellent structure, in the judgment of Sibbald (*z*). David I. granted to the prior

(*u*) In December 1618, James, Lord Torphichen, was served heir to James, his father, in many lands, with the privilege of a free chapel, and chancery, with the advowson of churches. Inquisit. Speciales, vii. 108.

(*x*) Stat. Acco. iv. 469.

(*y*) During one-and-twenty years, indeed, the churches of Linlithgowshire were placed under the rule of a superintendant. This presbytery was not formed till some years afterward: And, it contains nineteen parishes, of which two are in Mid-Lothian, four in Stirlingshire, and the remaining thirteen in Linlithgowshire. The ancient seal of this presbytery has been lately found, with the year 1583 engraved upon it. This curious, and long-lost seal, was made of brass, of a size somewhat larger than a crown piece: Round the edge is this inscription: "Sigillum Presbyterii "Linlithcu." And, in the midst of some decorations, it has these words of instruction: "Verbum "autem Dei nostri stabit in æternum." Stat. Acco. xiv. 570.

(*z*) Linlithgow, 15: One of the wells, in the town, bears the name of St. Michael: And, the arms

prior of St. Andrews the church of Linlithgow, with the chapel, and with their lands, both within, and without the burrough (*a*). In the *ancient Taxatio*, there is the *ecclesia* de *Linlythku*, which was assessed at 120 marks. In Bagimont's Roll, there is the *vicaria* de *Lynlythgu*, which is valued at £5; the rectory being in the prior of St. Andrews. In the days of David II., there appears to have been, in Linlithgow, a *perpetual vicar*, who was incidentally the king's chaplain (*b*). There were several chaplainries erected within St. Michael's church (*c*). There was, in ancient times, a chapel dedicated to St. Ninian, at the West Port of Linlithgow. In 1606, there was a *general synod* of the church held, at Linlithgow. And, there was a *conventus ecclesiasticus*, at the same town, in July 1608 (*d*).

Of old, Binning parish lay eastward of Linlithgow, having its appropriate church. In the ancient Taxatio, there is the *ecclesia* de *Bynyn*, in *decanatu* de *Linlithcu*, which was assessed, at ten marks. From those intimations, we may infer, that this district formed, in those times, a distinct parish, which was, subsequently, annexed to the parish of Linlithgow. The town had formerly two ministers to perform this double duty; but one of them was dismissed, by the magistrates, when it was forgotten, that there were two parishes to be served (*e*). *Binning* derived its name, from the Gaelic *Binn*, or *Bein*, a hill: And this appellation was no doubt applied to a neighbouring hillock: And the

arms of Linlithgow exhibit him, with this inscription: "Vis Michaelis collocet nos in cœlo." Stat. Acco. xiv. 567. James v. erected a throne, and twelve stalls, in this church, for himself, and *the knights of the Thistle*. Ib. 568.

(*a*) Reg. of St. Andrews, and Crawford's MS. Collections, 437. In 1497, there was an agreement, between John, the prior of St. Andrews, and the corporation of Linlithgow, about the building, and upholding, the quire of the church of Linlithgow. MS. Chart. in the Adv. Library.

(*b*) In 1363, David II. granted to Ade, the perpetual vicar of *Lynlithcu*, the king's chaplain, 10l. Sterling, yearly, out of the *royal customs* of that *burrough*, during the life of the vicar. Regist. David II. lib. 72. In a charter of David, the bishop of St. Andrews, 1240 A. D., he reserved the dues of *the vicar* of *Linlithcu*, who performed the service, according to the *taxation* of William, his predecessor. Charters in Harl. Library. John Laing, the vicar of Linlithgow, rose, in 1474, to be bishop of Glasgow. George Crichton, the vicar of Linlithgow, became abbot of Holyrood, in 1500, and bishop of Dunkeld, in 1522. His attachment to his old vicarage induced him to erect, on the chancel, a durable roof, which is adorned with the arms of the see of Dunkeld, and with the initials of his name. He died, in January 1543-4.

(*c*) MS. Donations; Wight on Elections, 465.

(*d*) Spottiswoode's Church Hist. 500—5.

(*e*) There are now two seceding churches, in Linlithgow; a Burger, and an Antiburger. Stat. Acco. xiv. 576.

diminutive

diminutive of *Bein* is Bein-an, a little hill. In October 1495, the lords auditors, in parliament, heard the suit of the executor of the parson of *Bennin*, claiming the tithes, and other dues, of the church of *Bennin* (*f*). In the 12th, and 13th century, the manor of Bynyn belonged to the family of Lindsay: Before the year 1195, William de Lindsay granted to the monks of Cambuskenneth a carrucate of land, in the manor of *Bynyn* (*g*). In the reign of James VI., the barony of Binning was acquired by Sir Thomas Hamilton, who was created Lord *Binning*, and Earl of Hadington (*h*). After the Reformation, the parish of Binning was annexed to that of Linlithgow. In 1633, the minister of Linlithgow was constituted one of the prebendaries of Edinburgh diocese. In 1635, the advowson of the church of Linlithgow, which had belonged to the prior of St. Andrews, with the other churches, and lands, of that priory, were conferred on the archbishop of St. Andrews, as a compensation, for the loss of that part of his diocese, that formed the bishoprick of Edinburgh (*i*). On the abolition of episcopacy, in 1690, the patronage of the church of Linlithgow, whose British name has been already explained, fell to the king (*k*).

Of the name of the parish of *Abercorn*, nothing more than probable conjecture can now be stated, saith the learned minister, with respect to its etymology. The church, and village, of Abercorn, are situated upon an angular point, which is sixty or eighty feet above the level of the Frith. About a hundred yards below the church, the Cornie and Midhope burns unite; and, after running a hundred yards further, fall into the Forth. The minister thus describes the location of the thing signified, without being able to etymologize the name, which denotes the place. But, neither the history of the various settlers here, nor the dictionaries of their several languages, were at hand. *Aber*-cornie is, merely, the *confluence* of the *Cornie*, in the British speech of the first settlers, near the two confluences, which have been mentioned of the Cornie, with the Midhope, and both with the Forth (*l*). During the middle ages, this place was called

(*f*) Parl Rec. 469. (*g*) Chart. Cambusken. 29.

(*h*) In June 1637, Thomas, Earl of Hadington, and Lord *Binning*, was served heir to his father, in the barony of *Binning*, with the mills, and church-lands of Easter and Wester Binning, with the pertinents. Inquisit. Speciales, xv. 140.

(*i*) Reliq. Divi. Andreæ, 181.

(*k*) The church is ancient, and forms a specimen of Gothic architecture. Many of its ornaments were destroyed, at the Reformation: The statue of St. Michael escaped; as on the top of the steeple it could not be reached. For other particulars, see the Statistical Account, xiv.

(*l*) *Aber* is the well-known British term, which is so familiar, in the topography of Wales, and of North-Britain, for a *confluence of waters*, the junction of streams, the fall of a lesser river into a greater,

called Abercurnig, or rather Abercornie; as we may learn from Bede, and Usher (*m*). In the successive charters of Robert I., David II., Robert II., and other kings, this district is called the barony of Abercorn, and of Abercorne (*n*). Of the monastery, which is mentioned by Bede, there is not a vestige, saith Sibbald. This ancient monastery, the seat of the bishop of the Picts, seems to have been early transferred to the bishoprick of Dunkeld. In Bagimont's Roll, among the churches *without* the bishoprick, the *vicaria* de *Abercorn* was valued at fifty-three shillings and four-pence. The church-lands of Abercorn, which belonged to the bishops of Dunkeld, were, with the other lands, which they held on the south of the Forth, included in their barony of Aberlady. The manor of Abercorn belonged, as early as the reign of David I., to Robert Avenel. His descendant, John Avenel, contended for the patronage of the church of Abercorn, with the bishop of Dunkeld, who prevailed. During the reign of Alexander III., the heiress of Avenel carried the manor to Nicolas de Graham of Dalkeith, whom she married; and their descendant, Sir John Graham, conveyed it to Sir William More: And, in the reign Robert III., the manor passed from David More to Archibald Earl of Douglas; and it was forfeited, by his descendant, Earl Douglas, in 1455 (*o*). In 1601, James VI. granted this barony to James Hamilton, the eldest son of Claud, Lord Paisley: In 1603, he acquired a charter from the same king; erecting Abercorn, and other lands, into a free barony: And, in 1606, he was created Earl of Abercorn; and died, in 1618 (*p*). This barony, afterward, passed from this family: And, in 1678, it was sold by Sir William Seton to John Hope, from whom it descended to his son, Charles, the Earl of Hopeton, who acquired the patronage of the church, after the abolition of episcopacy, in 1690 (*q*).

The name of the parish of Carriden, which is vulgarly pronounced *Carrin*, is certainly of Celtic origin, saith the learned minister (*r*). The site of the ancient

greater, or the confluence of a river into the sea. Owen's Dict.; as Camden, and Usher, had said before him. The *Cornie* takes its rise about a mile above its junction, from a marshy piece of ground, and runs through Lord Hopeton's park; but, it is so narrow, and feeble, that you can scarcely perceive it to be a burn. Its course is circular, or bending, as we may see in the map of the Lothians: Now, *Cor-an* signifies the bending water.

(*m*) Primordia, 602. (*n*) Robertson's Index.

(*o*) Robertson's Index, i.; Chart. Incheolm; Regist. Dav. II. lib. i. 74; and Regist. Rob. II. Rot. F. 16.

(*p*) Dougl. Peer. 2.

(*q*) The church is ancient; and stands at the village of Abercorn, on the angle formed, by the union of the Cornie, with the Midhope burn. Stat. Acco. xx. 383-395.

(*r*) Ib. i. 97.

church

church formed the eastern extremity of the Roman wall. *Caer-Adin*, or *Eden*, signified, in the British language of Roman times, the *fort* on the wing, or projection, like a wing (*s*). Carriden house, near which stood the ancient church, stands on the brink of a high, and perpendicular bank of the Forth: And, at Caereden, there are vestiges of a *fort*, saith Horseley (*t*). This place was mentioned by Gildas; and it was called *Caer-Eden*, during the middle ages, as we know from Usher (*u*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, there is the *ecclesia* de *Karedyn*, in decanatu de Linlithgow, which was rated at 25 marks (*x*). The church of Caereden was bestowed, by William de Vetereponte, on the monks of Holyrood, in the twelfth century. It was confirmed to them, by successive bishops of St. Andrews, and particularly by David, the bishop of the same see, in 1240 (*y*). When the bishoprick of Edinburgh was erected, this church was transferred to it, with the other churches, which belonged to that monastery; and was disannexed from it, when that episcopate was abolished (*z*).

The parish, and the name of Borrowstouness, are both very modern (*a*); and were of old known by the name of *Kinneil*. It has been supposed by some, that *Kinneil* was the *Penuahel*, and Penueltun of Bede, and Nennius, the head, or end of the Roman wall. But, the fact does not warrant the supposition: Bede's *Penuahel* is only two miles from Abercorn; and Kinneil is nearly seven miles, from the same place. The ancient spelling of this kirk-town was *Kynell*. In the charters of the 14th century, the name is written Keneill, and *Kineill*. There are other places in Scotland of the same name (*b*). Those names are obviously Gaelic, though the etymon cannot be decisively settled. *Cin*-aill, in the Gaelic, signifies the *head*, or *end* of the steep bank. *Kineill*-house, in this parish, stands on the top of a bank, fifty feet above the

(*s*) See Owen's Dict., in vo. Aden. The etymology above may be supported, by the ancient form of the name.

(*t*) Brit. Rom. 159. (*u*) Primordia, 602.

(*x*) It is often mentioned, as a barony, in the charters of David II., by the name of *Carriden*, and Caredyn. Robertson's Index.

(*y*) Reg. of St. Andrews.

(*z*) Keith, 33. After that abolition, the patronage of the church was acquired by the family of Hamilton.

(*a*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 17.

(*b*) Kinnell is the name of a parish in Forfarshire: And there is, in Perthshire, a place named *Kinnell*, which, in a charter of Robert I., is written Kinneill. Roberts. Index, 16.

level

level of the Forth (*c*). These coincidences seem to establish the real origin of the name of *Kinneil*. In the ancient *Taxatio*, the church of Kynell is rated at 25 marks. It was granted, in the 12th century, to the canons of Holyrood; and it was confirmed to them, by the successive diocesans, particularly by David, the bishop of St. Andrews, in 1240 (*d*). It continued with them, till the Reformation dissolved such connections. The canons enjoyed the revenues of the rectory; and the cure was served by the vicar. This barony was probably forfeited, during the succession war: It was granted by Robert I. to Walter, the son of Gilbert, with the lands of Lethberd, and Alcathie (*e*). Robert III. granted the barony of Kinneil to James Hamilton (*f*): And with the family of Hamilton it still continues. In 1633, this parish, and church, formed a part of the episcopate of Edinburgh, and followed its fate. The site of *Borrowstouness* upon a promontory, or *ness*, which projects into the Forth, in the vicinity of the ancient burgh of Linlithgow, gave a name to a flourishing port. In 1634, the inhabitants of Borrowstouness built a church for themselves; and they petitioned the parliament, in 1649, to declare it a parish church: This rising town, during an active age, was, with a determinate district, erected into a separate parish. In 1669, the Duke of Hamilton obtained an act of parliament, for uniting this with the old parish of Kinneil; and declaring the church of Borrowstouness to be the parish kirk of both the parishes, as well as the barony of Kineil (*g*). Such are the changes, which society, in its progress, is constantly making; and which confound the weakness of ignorance, and embarrass the researches of learning.

The present parish of Dalmenie comprehends the ancient parishes of *Dumanie*, and *Aldcathie*. *Dalmenie* is merely a corruption of *Dumanie*. In charters, from the 12th to the 16th century, the name is written, in the Latin form, *Dumanyn*,

(*c*) Stat. Acco. xviii. 425. The church of Kinneill, in Forfarshire, stands on the end of a height, which forms the bank of Lunan water, and is about forty feet high. The Kinneill, in Perthshire, stands on the bank of the river Dochart, where it joins the Lochty.

(*d*) Reg. of St. Andrews. In 1512, John Stirling granted 10l. sterling, yearly, from his lands of Easter-Craikey, to a chaplain, for performing divine service, at one of the altars of Kinneill church. MS. Donations.

(*e*) Roberts. Index, 11. (*f*) Ib. 139.

(*g*) Unprinted Act, 1669; Sibbald, 17; Stat. Ac. xviii. 423—437: The ruins of the old church of Kineil, with its burying-ground, are still to be seen, a little westward from Kineil house, which was once dignified, by the residence of the Duke of Hamilton; and was ruined by the reformers; as we have seen. The two parishes, with the old, and new stipends, were now merged in one parish. In 1672, an act of parliament was made, for repairing the kirk of Borrowstouness. For other notices, see the Stat. Acco. xviii.

which changes in the vulgar speech to Dumanie: The Scotish termination of (ie), or (y), was uniformly converted into (in), or (yn), by the Latin scribes of the chancery. *Dumanie*, in the Gaelic, is said to mean a *black heath*, of which, probably, a great portion of its higher grounds once consisted (*b*). In the ancient *Taxatio*, there is the ecclesia de *Dumanyn*, in decanatu de Linlithcu, which was valued at 50 marks (*i*). The name is Celtic, but not Gaelic (*k*): And, it is *British*, the original appellation, which was imposed, by the first settlers, a thousand years, perhaps, before the Scotish people advanced to the Forth. The pristine name was *Du-manan*, signifying, in that descriptive language, the black, or gloomy places, or spots (*l*). The church of *Dumanin* was very early granted to the monks of Jedburgh: And this grant was confirmed, by David, who was bishop of St. Andrews, from 1233 to 1253 (*m*). In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James v., there is the *vicaria* de *Dumany*, which is assessed at £2 : 13 : 4. Dumanie was a parsonage, during the 12th century (*n*). It continued to belong to the monks of Jedburgh, till the Reformation dissolved the ancient connection: The monks, meantime, enjoyed the revenues of the rectory; while the cure was served by a vicar (*o*). Before that epoch, there were several altars, in the church of Dumany, with appropriate revenues (*p*). During that period, the parsonage tithes were often, by the monks, leased to the neighbouring country gentlemen, according to the frequent practice of that penurious age (*q*).

The

(*b*) Stat. Acco. i. 227.

(*i*) In a charter of Robert I., it is called the barony of *Dummanyn*. Robertson's Index. And, in Macpherson's illustrations, the name is Dunnanyn.

(*k*) In the Gaelic, Du-monáh signifies the black heath, or moor.

(*l*) The change of the name appears not to have taken place till the 17th century; In an act of parliament, 1597, it is written *Dumany*: In Pont's map of the Lothians, it is *Dunmeny*.

(*m*) Reg. of St. Andrews.

(*n*) There is a charter of Waldeve, the Earl of Dunbar, from 1166 to 1182, to the monks of Dunfermlin, which was witnessed by Helia de Dundas, and Robert Avenel, *the parson* of Dumanie. MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 103. During the reign of William, or Alexander II., the church of this parish was granted to the monks of Jedworth; and was confirmed by the diocesan. Reg. of St. Andrews.

(*o*) William, the vicar of Dumany, swore fealty to Edward I., in August 1296; and received back his estates, in return for his submission. Prynne, iii. 661; Rot. Scotiæ, 25.—

(*p*) There was an altar dedicated, in that church, to St. Cuthbert; and another to St. Brigid. MS. Roll of Small Benefices, at the Reformation.

(*q*) In May 1471, the lords auditors, in parliament, assigned a day to the lairds of Dundas, Barnbugle, and Craigie, to prove, that Robert, late Lord Boyd, had a sufficient lease from the

abbot

The church, and hamlet of Aldcathie, appear to have borrowed their names, from the rivulet, on which they stood: Aldcathie, in the Gaelic, signifying the rivulet of the breach, or defile. The church was but of little value of old: In the ancient Taxatio, it is rated at only four marks. It appears not to have been taxed in Bagimont's Roll; as it seems to have belonged to some religious house. After the Reformation, this parish, which was of small extent, was annexed to Dalmenie; and the church of Aldcathie was suffered to fall into ruins: The antiquarian eyes of Sibbald saw it in a very ruinous state (*r*). The ancient lords of the manor of Aldcathie seem to have forfeited their estate, during the succession war: And, it was granted, by Robert I., to Walter, the son of Gilbert, as we have seen (*s*). The manor of Dumany appears to have belonged to the Moubrays, during the 13th century: It was forfeited, early in the succession war, by Roger Moubray: And, Robert I. granted the manor to Murdoch Menteith (*t*). It was, after various transmissions, acquired, during the reign of Charles II., by Archibald Primrose, who was created Viscount Primrose, in 1700; and Earl of Roseberry, and Lord *Dalmenie*, in 1703. His descendant, the Earl of Roseberry, is now the proprietor of the parish, and patron of the church, which is very ancient; and is interesting to those, who delight in the study of architectural antiquities (*u*).

The parish of Queen's Ferry is co-extensive with the limits of the burrough. It was comprehended in the parish of Dalmenie, as we have seen, till the year 1636, when it was erected into a separate parish (*x*). There was, indeed, in ancient times, saith Sibbald, a chapel of ease at this place, which had been built by Dundas of Dundas; and which might still be traced, from its ruins, by antiquarian search (*y*). The name is modern, as well as the district. This place was first distinguished, as we have perceived, in the charters of Mal-

abbot of Jedworth of the tithes of Dumany church: In August 1473, the lords auditors adjudged, that the lairds of Craigie, and Dundas, should pay to the abbot of Jedburgh 100 marks for the tithes of Dumany, during the bygone year. Parl. Rec. 162—180.

(*r*) Hist. Linlithgow, 20: But, he mistakingly placed the ancient church in Abercorn parish, which does interpose between them. The parliament of December 1597 passed an act, with respect to Dumany kirk. Unprinted Act.

(*s*) Roberts. Index, 11. After various transmissions, it passed, before the reign of Charles II., into the hands of a gentleman, named Menteith: And, from him, it passed to the Hopes; and the Earl of Hopetoun now claims a portion of the patronage, as proprietor of Aldcathie; but, he has not yet made good his claim. Stat. Acco. i. 236.

(*t*) Roberts. Index, 11.

(*u*) Stat. Acco. i. 235-6, for more particular details.

(*x*) Stat. Acco. xvii. 489. (*y*) Sibbald's Lithgow, 41.

colm IV., by the designation of *Passagium Reginæ*, from the frequent use of this ferry by his great-grandmother, Margaret, the celebrated queen of Malcolm Canmore. The opposite landing-place on the Forth was also called Queen's Ferry, North Queen's Ferry, and North Ferry (*z*), which must always be distinguished, from this burrough, and parish, on the southern side of the Firth.

The ancient name of the parish of Kirkliston was Temple-Liston, says the minister, who adds, that *Lioston*, in the Gaelic, signifies an *inclosure on the side of a river* (*a*). The ancient name of the district was *Liston:* And it was, probably, a mere compound of the British *Llys*, signifying a court, a hall, a manor-place, to which some Saxon settler added *tun*, the notation of his dwelling. The word *kirk* was prefixed to Liston, during the 16th century, to distinguish the kirk-town, from other places, within the parish of the same appellation of Liston (*b*). The manor of Liston was granted, during the 12th century, to the knights of the Temple, from whom it acquired the name of *Temple-Liston.* Their successors, the knights of St. John, enjoyed this manor till the Reformation, though not without dilapidations (*c*). Sir James Sandilands, the chief of the order of St. John, now acquired their whole estates, as a temporal lordship, as we have seen. The church of Liston was early of great value; and, in the ancient *Taxatio*, was rated at 70 marks. The church, with the village, the mill, and much of the adjacent lands, called the *mains*, or demesn, and kirk-lands of Kirkliston, were granted to the bishop of St. Andrews, though at what time is uncertain: But, Liston was formed into the seat of the regal jurisdiction, which the bishop, and his successors, acquired over their estates on the southern side of the Forth (*d*). Liston was of old a rectory (*e*). A perpetual

(*z*) Stat. Acco. xvii. 489; Ib. x. 506; Blaeu's Atlas, No. 9-10; Map of the Lothians.

(*a*) Stat. Acco. x. 68.

(*b*) Such as, Hall-Liston, Old-Liston, New-Liston, and Iliston, or High-Liston.

(*c*) Dundas of Craigton obtained New-Liston, in 1543, whose descendants enjoyed it, till the Revolution; when it was carried into the family of Dalrymple, by Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Dundas, who married the second Viscount of Stair: In 1703, he was created Earl of Stair, and, with other titles, Lord *New-Liston:* And, it was to New-Liston, that the field marshal, Earl of Stair, like another Cincinnatus, retired from wars alarms to agricultural pursuits, and local improvements, which ended only with his life, in 1747.

(*d*) Sibbald's Linlithgow, 12: The hall, wherein the baillie of this jurisdiction held his courts, was standing, when Sibbald wrote.

(*e*) In July 1296, William de Kinghorn, the rector of Liston, swore fealty to Edward I.; and thereupon obtained a return of his property. Prynne, 650—62; Rot. Scotiæ, 24. In 1358, and 1365, W. Houbert, or Hundebit, the rector of Liston, travelled into England, attended by six horsemen. Rym. v., 105-463. In 1406, and 1409, Andrew de Hawick, a canon of Dunkeld, was rector of Liston, secretary to the regent Albany, whose charters he witnessed. Roberts. Index, 160.

vicarage

vicarage appears to have been established, for the cure of the church, while the parsonage was enjoyed by the archbishops of St. Andrew, as a mensal benefice. In 1593, the parliament passed an act, for dissolving the parsonage, and the vicarage of Kirkliston (*f*). During the reign of James VI., Kirkliston, as belonging to the archbishop of St. Andrews, was attached to the presbytery of Dunfermlin, with which it continued, till episcopacy was abolished, in 1690 (*g*). At that epoch, the patronage of the church of Kirkliston fell to the king. The church, which is a very ancient building, stands at the kirk-town, upon a rising ground, on the northern bank of the Amon river (*h*).

Whether the church of *Ecclesmachan* was dedicated to a saint of that name is uncertain, saith the learned minister (*i*). Yet, as the name implies, the church was certainly dedicated to St. Machan (*k*). The church of Ecclesmachan appears to have been of old only of middling value: And, in the ancient *Taxatio*, it is rated at 24 marks. It continued a rectory till the Reformation. In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James V., the rectory of Inchmachan was taxed at £6 : 13 : 4: And, the same rectory appears, in the archbishop's Tax Roll of 1547. Sir James Sandilands, the last preceptor of the knights of St. John, claimed the patronage of this parish, though without absolute right; as we see the church taxed in Bagimont's Roll. Whatever there may be in this, the lands of Ecclesmachan, and the patronage of the church, were afterward acquired, by the Hopes, who are now represented, by the Earl of Hopeton, who is proprietor of one half of the parish.

The parish of *Uphall* was formerly called *Strathbroc*, which is a Celtic word, signifying the valley of brocks, or badgers. The parish consists of a strath, or vale, through which runs Brocks-burn (*l*). The old parish church was dedi-

(*f*) Unprinted Act.

(*g*) In a Roll of the Churches, within the diocese of St. Andrews, 1683, Kirkliston is mentioned, as being in the presbytery of Dunfermlin. Reliq. Divi Andreæ, 59.

(*h*) The hamlet of Old Liston, and about a fourth of the parish, lie on the south-east of the Amon, in Edinburghshire.

(*i*) Stat. Acco. ii. 307.

(*k*) Dempster's Menologia; Keith, 233: He flourished, during the 9th century; and finished his useful career, on the 28th of September. Id. *Eglwys*, in the British, signifies a church; and Eglais, in the Gaelic, equally signifies the same; And both those Celtic terms have been corrupted, by popular use, into *Eccles*. There are several other churches, in Scotland, dedicated to St. Machan; whence we may infer his popularity, arising from his usefulness. By some strange perversion, the name of this parish was converted into *Inch*machan; and so it is called in Pont's Map of the Lothians.

(*l*) Brocs-burn, says Sibbald, Linlithgow, 14, runs through much of the valley of this name, before it falls into Amon water. There are other *Brocs-burns*, in Scotland.

cated

cated to St. Nicholas (*m*). It stood on the northern side of the village of Strathbroc, 700 yards north-east from the the mansion-house of *Kirk-hill*. It seems of old to have been of considerable value: And, in the ancient *Taxatio*, it is rated at 40 marks. The church was a rectory, in early times (*n*). The rectory of Strathbroc was annexed to the provostry of Kirkheugh; and formed one of the prebends of that establishment (*o*): When this provostry was annexed, by parliament, to the archbishoprick, the parsonage of Strathbroc was reserved (*p*). The patronage of the rectory, after the dissolution of the provostry, appears to have been conferred on the proprietor of the lands. The manor of Strathbroc was granted by David I. to *Freskyn*, the Fleming; as we know from an inspeximus charter of William, the lion (*q*). Strathbroc was inherited by the descendants of Freskyn, till the reign of Alexander III., when Mary, the eldest daughter of Freskyn de Moray, carried the manor of Strathbroc to her husband Reginald le Chene of Inverugie. It descended to their son, and grandson: And Reginald le Chene, the grandson, dying, in 1350, left two daughters, Mariot, and Mary, who enjoyed his estates: Strathbroc was inherited, by Mariot, who, in 1366, settled the half of the barony of Strathbroc on her son by her late husband John de Douglas; and, in 1390, she resigned the other half of the same barony to Andrew de Keith, one of her sons, by her second husband. After various transmissions, that part of the barony of Strathbroc, which comprehends the kirk-town, was acquired, by that eminent lawyer, Sir Lewis Stewart, who flourished under Charles I.; and who transmitted his estate to his son, Sir James, whose daughter, Catherine, carried it to her husband Henry, Lord Cardross. The great-grandson of this marriage, the Earl of Buchan, now enjoys from them, this estate, with the patronage of the church. During the 17th century, a new parish church was built, a mile higher up the vale, at a place called *Uphall*, whence the parish obtained its

(*m*) The inscription upon the bell of the old church is, "Campanum Sancti Nicholai de Strath-"broke, 1441." This bell, which was removed from its ancient steeple to the new church, at Uphall, proves the dedication of the church to St. Nicolas. Trans. Antiq. Soc. Edin. 150—5.

(*n*) In 1296, Ferchard, the parson of the church of Strathbroc, swore fealty to Edward I.; and obtained thereupon restitution of his rights. Rot. Scotiæ, 24. In Bagimont's Roll, it was taxed at 10l. And the same rectory appears in the archbishop's Tax Roll of 1547.

(*o*) In march 1594-5, the parson of Strathbroc signed a deed, as one of the prebendaries of Kirkheugh, with the provost. Reliq. Divi Andreæ, 217.

(*p*) Unprinted Act, 1621.

(*q*) Freskyn afterward acquired, from David I., various lands in Moray; and he thus became the unquestionable progenitor of the Morays, and Sutherlands, who both trace their pedigrees to the same source.

present

present name (*r*). There appears to have been a chapel of old, at Bangour, in this parish. This estate was long the inheritance of the Hamiltons; and it was dignified, at length, by the birth of the elegant poet Hamilton of Bangour.

The name of the parish of *Torphichen* is said to signify *ten hills*: A range of hills, having so many particular tops, lie in the vicinity of the village of Torphichen (*s*). But, there is a mount, having a fine prospect, called *Torphichen hill*, in the southern parts of Edinburghshire (*t*). The old form of the name is *Torfechin*, and *Torfichen*. This Celtic word seems to be most naturally derived from the Gaelic *Torfeachan*, signifying the mount, having a good view, or *prospect hill*. The village, and church, stand on an elevated terrace, which commands a beautiful view: And they are at the base of several small *tors*, or hills, which command extensive prospects of the Forth, and of the countries, on either side of that firth. Torfichen was the great seat of the knights of St. John, in Scotland; and it furnished their last preceptor, Sir James Sandilands, with the title of Lord Torphichen, to whom it was granted, as a temporal lordship, in 1563-4. The chapel appeareth to be old, says Sibbald (*u*). And, the church of Torphichen does not exist, in the ancient *Taxatio*; being exempted from assessments, as the peculiar of those knights of Jerusalem, whose last preceptor has long enjoyed their estates, and is now the patron of the church.

The parish of *Bathgate* had once the honour of being a sheriffdom; and has been long dignified by the location of many gentlemen's seats, within it. In the charters of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, the name of this place is written, *Bathket*, *Batket*, *Bathkat*, and *Bathcat*. The name is obviously Celtic; but the etymology is difficult. *Bad-cad*, in the Gaelic, would signify the high bush, or clump of wood; *Bad-caid* would mean the bush, or clump on the summit; and Bad-coed, *Bad-cat*, would convey the idea of a bush of wood. It seems impossible to fix the meaning of the name, which has been corrupted, on any satisfactory principle. The church of old appears to have been of middling value. In the ancient *Taxatio* of the churches in decanatu de Linlithcu, there is the ecclesia de *Bathket*, which was assessed at 30 marks (*x*). Malcolm IV. granted to the monks of Holyrood the church of *Batket*, with the land, which was set out, by Galfrid de Malleville, and Uchtred, the sheriff of

(*r*) In 1524, Archdeacon Dingwall granted to the church of Strathbroc a mansion, and yard, called the principal mansion of Strathbroc-Wester, with four acres of land, and six acres, called Seiterland, and also an acre, called the Tenand-land, lying in the barony of Strathbroc: This donation was confirmed, by a charter of James V. MS. Donations.

(*s*) Stat. Acco. iv. 465. (*t*) Map of the Lothians. (*u*) Linlithgow, 24.

(*x*) *Bath* is a very frequent prefix to the names of places in Scotland.

Linlithcu:

Linlithcu (*y*). Robert, the diocesan, who died about 1159, confirmed to those monks the church of Bathcat, with a carrucate of land, and the tithes, and pertinents (*z*). During Robert I.'s reign, the church of *Bathcat*, and its tithes, lands, and pertinents, were transferred, by the abbot and monks of Holyrood, to the abbot and monks of Newbotle, in satisfaction of a long arrear of rent, which was then due, for some salt-works, and estates, in the Carse of Callender; and this interested transfer of difficult times was confirmed, by the diocesan bishop Landels, in 1327 (*a*). The monks of Newbotle now enjoyed the church of Bathgate, till the Reformation; the cure being served by a vicar. Since the Reformation, the patronage of the church has been enjoyed generally, by the proprietor of the estate. The church was built in 1739, within the ancient town of Bathgate: And, here also, have the seceding Burgers a meeting-house, though they are not very numerous.

As to the name of the parish of *Livingston*, the learned minister says, he will not offer a conjecture (*b*). The name was originally Levings-tun, the *ton*, or dwelling-place of Leving, who lived here as early, perhaps, as the age of Alexander I. In a charter of Robert, the bishop of St. Andrews, confirming David I.'s grant to the monks of Holyrood, Thurstanus filius *Levingi* is a witness (*c*). The *peel* of Livingston still remains, the undoubted memorial of a baronial strength; having high ramparts, with deep ditches, which are full of water (*d*). The church is a little way to the west of it; and half a mile further west is the town of Livingston (*e*). Livingston parish was formerly of great extent: It comprehended the present parishes of Livingston, and Whitburn; the last, containing nearly two-thirds of the ancient parish, was disjoined, and made a separate parish, in 1730. The church of Livingston appears to have been of old only of middling value: And, in the ancient *Taxatio*, it was rated at 25 marks (*f*). The monks of Holyrood enjoyed the church of Livingston, till the Reformation dissolved such connections; and the cure was served by a vicar (*g*). After the Reformation, the patronage of the church appears to have

(*y*) Chart. Newbotle, 159: The land thus laid off was merely a carrucate, or plough of land.

(*z*) Ib. 160. (*a*) Ib. 179. (*b*) Stat. Acco. xx. 12.

(*c*) Sir J. Dalrymple's Col. 421: Sir James says, the original charter Thurstani filii *Levingi* is yet to be seen; whereby he granted to the monks of Holyrood "ecclesiam de Levingestune" [Livingstun]: And he adds, that Thurstan, and *Living*, were the predecessors of the Livingstons; and gave their name to the land, and to the surname of Livingston of that *ilk*. Ib. 421. Dougl. Peerage, 409-10. (*d*) Sibbald's Lithgow, 21. (*e*) Id.

(*f*) In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James v., the vicarage of Livingston was taxed 2l. 13s. 4d.

(*g*) In 1488, Alexander Curror, the vicar of Livingston, granted a perpetual annuity of 20 marks Scots to the Trinity altar in St. Andrews church, near the castle of Edinburgh. Maitl. Edin. 206.

been

been transferred to Dundas of Dundas, who obtained a parliamentary ratification of it, in 1612 (*h*). The parish church, and manse, which stand on a dry mount, in a curve of the river Amon, are modern, and convenient (*i*).

Whitburn, as we have seen, was of old a large portion of the parish of Livingston, till it was separated, in 1730, and formed into a new parish, the most modern of any in Linlithgowshire (*k*). The learned minister supposes, that it took its name of Whitburn, from the settlement here of many families of the name of *White* (*l*): Yet, was it obviously named Whiteburn, in contradistinction to Blackburn, which, on the eastward, runs at no great distance. For the purpose of erecting the church of Whitburn, money was raised by subscription, throughout Scotland. So much more was thus raised, as to buy land, which rents for £100 sterling, yearly; and which forms much of the stipend. To this was added £28 : 6 : 8, from the teinds of the parish, by a decree of the commissioners, for plantation of kirks. A contest immediately ensued, for the patronage of the church, thus newly erected; the patron of the old, claiming the patronage of the new: And, on an appeal, the House of Lords decided in favour of the old patron of Livingston parish. This decision, however consonant to law, gave such disgust to the parishioners of Whitburn, that two-thirds of them seceded from the established church: And there are now in Whitburn parish two seceding congregations; the one of burgers, and the other of Antiburghers (*m*).

To the foregoing notices of ecclesiastical history, there is here subjoined, as an useful supplement, a *Tabular State* of the several parishes, in Linlithgowshire: Yet, it may be proper to remember, that a fourth part of Kirkliston parish, lying on the eastern side of Amon river, is in Edinburghshire. The stipends of all the parishes, in this shire, except Torphichen, Queen's Ferry, and Whitburn, have been lately augmented. In 1755, Linlithgow had two ministers, whose stipends were, for the first, £84 : 7 : 11; and for the second, £55 : 11 : 1. In forming the estimate of all those stipends, the value of the glebes are included; but not the value of the manses. And, the victual, which forms so much of the stipends, was valued, according to an average of the fier prices of the middling sorts of victual, in this shire, during the seven years, ending with 1795 (*n*).

(*h*) Unprinted Act. (*i*) Stat. Acco. xx. 13. (*k*) Ib. xvii. 302.
(*l*) Stat. Acco. xvii. 298. (*m*) Ib. xviii. 302-3.
(*n*) The Linlithgow boll of wheat contains 4 bushels 10 pints, and 6.7 cubic inches; of barley, and oats, 6 bushels 3 pints, 25.5 cubic inches, English standard measure: And, the boll of meal is 8 stone, or 128 pounds Scots Troy. The wheat was valued at 25s.; the barley, at 18s. 0½d.; the oats, at 14s. 2d.; and the oat-meal, at 16s. 2d., all per boll.

The TABULAR STATE.

The Presbytery.	The Names of the Parishes.	Their Extent.		Their Inhabitants.			The Number of Ministers.	Their Stipends.		Their Patrons.
		Length Miles.	Breadth Miles.	In 1755.	In 1791.	In 1801.		In 1755.	In 1798.	
								£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Of LINLITHGOW	Linlithgow	5	3½	3,296	3,221	3,596	1	84 17 11 / 55 11 1	193 10 5	The King.
	Dalmenie	4	2½	1,103	900	765	1	75 4 2	149 12 7	The Earl of Roseberry.
	Kirklistoun (part of)	5½	3½	1,070	1,101	1,206	1	88 16 0	162 4 3	The King.
	Cairiden	2	1	1,164	1,450	1,504	1	75 15 0	160 6 8	The Duke of Hamilton.
	Bathgate	7	2	1,594	2,325	2,513	1	73 8 11	141 4 1	The Earl of Hopeton.
	Queen's Ferry	½	¼	451	505	454	1	60 16 3	108 3 5	The Magistrates.
	Borrowstouness	4	2½	2,668	3,100	2,790	1	85 13 4	161 1 10	The Duke of Hamilton.
	Abercorn	4	3	1,037	870	814	1	74 17 11	178 6 8	The Earl of Hopeton.
	Whiteburn	6	2½	1,121	1,322	1,537	1	49 14 7	133 6 8	Thomas Gordon.
	Torphichen	9	2½	1,295	1,069	1,028	1	64 11 9	93 13 3	Lord Torphichen.
	Livingston	4	1½	598	500	551	1	68 17 9	143 18 0	Cuningham of Livingston.
	Uphall	3	1½	690	693	786	1	67 19 7	128 12 8	The Earl of Buchan.
	Ecclesmachan	3	1	351	215	303	1	64 11 1	123 1 4	The Earl of Hopeton.
	The Total 13	—	—	16,438	17,271	17,847	13	985 15 4	1,877 1 10	

CHAP. VII.

Of Peeblis-shire.

§ 1. *Of its Name.*] THE appellation of this county is obviously derived from the Celtic name of the shire-town. In ancient records, the old word is written *Peblis*, or Pebles (*a*). The first British settlers here, no doubt, imposed this name, which, in the British *Pebyll*, is the same, in sense, as the Saxon *Shiels*; signifying moveable habitations; being merely the plural of *Pabell*: And, *Pebyllias* means a place, where tents, or moveable habitations, are placed (*b*). It is, however, probable, that the (s) final, in this name, is the English plural termination, which has been added, by colloquial corruption, to the British word *Pebyll* (*c*). The learned minister of Peeblis, however, derives the obscure name of his parish, from a more obvious origin, the *pebbles* under his feet, though we are not told, indeed, that pebbles are very plentiful in this ancient town of the British tribes. We thus sometimes see antiquaries "collecting toys, as children gath'ring *pebbles* on the shore." When the British Gadeni pitched their tents on this commodious site, the English speech had never been heard on "smooth-meand'ring Tweed." The ancient

(*a*) We first see it, in the *Inquisitio* of Earl David, 1116 A. D., which found, that there had belonged to the episcopate of Glasgow, "in le *Peblis*," one carrucate of land, and a church.

(*b*) Davis, Owen, and Lhuyd's Arch. 287: In the sister dialect of the Irish, *Pubal* has the same signification, as the British *Pabell*. O'Brien, and Shaw.

(*c*) Several other places, both in North-Britain, and in Wales, derive their names from the same source. *Peeblis* is the name of an estate, a mansion-house, and a hamlet, in St. Vigian's parish, Forfarshire; a hamlet, in Kirkmabreck, in Kirkcudbright, is named *Pebble*, or *Pebbil*; and a hamlet, in Fortingal parish, Perthshire, is named, according to the Irish idiom, *Pubal*. Such are the similar names in North-Britain! In Wales, the place, near Bala, on Lynn Tegid, where the British bard, Lywarch hên, long lamented his misfortunes, is called *Pabell* Lywarch hên; signifying the *tent*, or dwelling of Lywarch, the aged. Another place, in Wales, is called *Cil-y-Pebill*, the recess, or retreat, where stood the *tents*, or moveable dwellings. Owen. The reader, to feel the full force of this investigation, must constantly recollect, that the site of Peeblis was originally settled by British tribes, who imposed this descriptive name, in their significant language: For, without this recollection, such disquisitions were made in vain.

town, or *shielings*, stood upon the northern side of the Tweed, and on the western side of Peeblis water, which here "pours its sweetness in its genial "bosom." A new town afterward arose, on the opposite side of the Peeblis water, northward from the Tweed, to some distance. The two towns are connected, by two bridges over Peeblis water; and at the south-west corner of the new town, there is an old, but well built bridge, of five arches, over the Tweed (*d*). The colloquial name of this shire is *Tweedale*; signifying, in the Saxon tongue, and Norman idiom, the dale, or valley of the *Tweed*. This river, which is the fourth of Scotland in size, rises from a spring, fifteen hundred feet above the sea level, on Tweed-moor, on the western verge of this shire (*e*): And, meandring through its center, while it receives many tributary streams, the Tweed drains the ridgy country, "where stray the muses, in what lawn, and "grove." The earliest record notice of this celebrated river, the favourite of the lyric muse, is in the charter of Selkirk, by Earl David, before he became king, by the Latin name of *Tweda*, the British *Tued*: The most ancient mention of Tweedale is in the charter of Kelso, 1126, by the name of *Tueddal*, before the district had been yet placed under the useful regimen of a sheriffwic (*f*). It was, probably, the Anglo-Norman people, who came in here, soon after the Norman invasion of England, who imposed upon the country, which was washed by the Upper Tweed, the appropriate name of *Tweddal*, which was soon softened to Tweedale.

§ II. *Of its Situation, and Extent.*] The county of Peeblis has Dunfries-shire, on the south; Lanerkshire, on the west; Edinburghshire, on the north; and north-east; and Selkirkshire, on the east (*g*). Peeblis-shire lies between

(*d*) Stat. Acco. xii. i.; and the plan of Peeblis, on Armstrong's Map of this shire.

(*e*) "The Twede aforesaid, saith Camden, runneth through the midst of a *dale*, taking name "of it; a very goodly river, which springing more inwardly westward, runneth by Drummellier "castle to Peblis, a market town."

(*f*) David I. granted to the monks of Kelso the tenth of the cheeses, yearly made, in *Tueddal*. Chart. Kelso, No. 1. This is a high authority, for the popular pronunciation of *Tuaddal*, for the name of the marquisate. Before the year 1159, the most ancient name of *Tueddal* had been softened to *Twede-dale*; as we may learn from a charter of Malcolm IV., in the Diplomata Scotiæ. In several Bulls, during the reign of William, the lion, the name is softened still more into *Twedale*; as we may see in the Chartulary of Glasgow. In the charters of more recent times, Tweedale is called "*Valle* de *Twede*."

(*g*) Armstrong, the surveyor of this shire, has mistaken, in his map, the boundary between Peeblis, and Selkirkshire, on the northern side of the Tweed: The real boundary, between these shires, on this quarter, is Gaithope burn, from its influx into the Tweed, along its whole course to Windlestraw law.

55° 25′ and 55° 50′ north latitude, according to Ainslie, and Armstrong: And, it is placed, in Armstrong's map of this shire, 0° 14′ east to 0° 22′ west of Edinburgh, or from 2° 58′ to 3° 34′ west from Greenwich (*b*).

By an average mensuration of Armstrong's map of Peeblis-shire, and of Ainslie's map of Scotland, the full length of this county extends from north to south about twenty-eight miles; the mean length being twenty-seven miles: The north end of it is twelve miles broad, the middle is eighteen miles, and the southern end is rather more than ten miles: So that the mean breadth is thirteen, one half, miles: And, of consequence, the superficies of this shire ought to be 364 square miles, and its contents 232,960 English acres. But, from a minute calculation made, by dividing the surface on Arrowsmith's map of Scotland into several parts, and by ascertaining the contents of each, it appears, that the superficies of the whole shire is 338 square miles, containing 216,320 statute acres (*i*). The number of people in Peeblis-shire being 8,735, according to the enumeration of the year 1801, gives 25.84 for each square mile of its real population: And, the recent returns evince, that 5.¼ persons to each house is the average rate of the inhabitation, within this pastoral shire.

§ III. *Of its natural Objects.*] The outline of the surface of Peeblis-shire, consisting of alternations of hill, and dale, is the most striking of its natural features. From the *dale* of the Tweed, which forms the center of the county, the surface rises on both its sides, to the south, and to the north: The lofty hills, towards the extremities of the shire, mount to the greatest heights: And, the mountains, which separate Tweedale from Annandale, are the highest of the hills in Southern Scotland (*k*). On the boundary with Selkirkshire, Blackhouse

(*b*) According to Armstrong, the meridian of Edinburgh runs through the shire-town of Peeblis; which, therefore, is 3° 6′ west from London: This metropolis of Tweedale is situated in 55° 38′ 40″ north latitude. Armstrong's Map.

(*i*) From those calculations, upon the Engineer's Survey, the general result, both of the superficies, and contents, is somewhat different from those of Armstrong's Map, the Agricultural View, and the Agricultural Survey.

(*k*) Hartfell rises 2,918 feet above the level of the German sea. The conical top of Whitecomb edge is supposed to be somewhat higher, though its cloud-capped summit can seldom be seen, through its surrounding mists. Broad law raises its flat, and circular top 2,850 feet above the sea level: Of *Broad* law Armstrong remarks, that its summit would admit a horse course of two miles circuit, without the smallest inequality of surface. Companion to the Map of Peeblis-shire, 107-10-11. Near the utmost acclivity of Broad law, there is an excellent spring, which is known, popularly, as Geddes's Well. Dollar law rises 2,840 feet above the sea level. Id. Stat. Acco. iii. 388. Scrape hill also rises nearly to the same height.

heights

heights rise 2,360 feet above the level of the German ocean. About two miles northward, from those eminences, Scamed law mounts to 2,120 feet above the same level (*k*). On the south-east of Peeblis-shire, where it marches with Selkirkshire, the wide-spreading mountain of Minchmoor rises 2,285 feet above the sea (*l*). On the north-east of Peeblis-shire, the huge mountain, called Windlestraw law, rears its mossy summit 2,295 feet above the same level (*m*). And, Dundroich rises to the height of 2,100 feet above the sea (*n*). On the north, and north-west of Peeblis-shire, the hills are not so high, as those upon the south, and south-west. Cairn hill, at the springs of Lyne water, rises 1,800 feet above the sea level (*o*). On the west, the Pykitstane rises 2,100 feet above the same level (*p*). Broughton heights rear their head 1,483 feet above the level of the sea. From these mountains, south-south-west, Cadon hill mounts to an elevation of 1,400 feet above the level of the Tweed, and upwards of 2,200 feet above the level of the sea: And this is the highest mountain on the western side of Peeblis-shire (*q*). This country, saith Doctor Pennycuick, is almost every where swelled with hills, which, for the most part, are *green*, *grassy*, and *pleasant*, except a ridge, betwixt Minchmoor, and Henderland, which is black, craggy, and of a melancholy aspect, with deep, and horrid precipices (*r*). This range of hills lie along the south-eastern border of

(*k*) Armstrong's Companion, 92; Stat. Acco. xii. 370. And, eastward from those, Gums-cleugh, and several other hills in Traquair parish, are still higher. Id.

(*l*) Companion to the Map, 100: On the north side of Minchmoor, near the road from Peeblis to Selkirk, there is a fine spring, called, from whatever cause, the *Cheese* Well. In travelling from Tweedale to Selkirk, from the summit of Minchmoor, are first seen Newark castle; the water of Yarrow, and the forest, lying on either side of it.

(*m*) This mountain has a deep mossy surface to the very summit. Companion, 48.

(*n*) Dun-droich, in the Gaelic, signifies the Druid's-hill. This name intimates, that the druids must have left here some memorial of their worship. In fact, there is, on the summit of this huge hill, which is also called Brown Dod, a large collection of stones, that now marks the conjunction of three contiguous estates. In this vicinity, and within the parish of Inverleithen, there are several other mountains, which are also remarkable, for their elevations; such as, Dunslair, Sole, Whitehope law, Blackhope Scars, and Bowbeat. Companion, 49.

(*o*) In the north-east part of Linton parish, upon the Black burn, there is a natural curiosity, called the Harbour Craig. Ib. 58.

(*p*) Ib. 30. On the summit of this mountain, there is a rude collection of stones, which now marks the contiguous marches of three estates: We may easily suppose, that the rude stones existed here, many an age, before those estates existed.

(*q*) Stat. Acco. iv. 325.

(*r*) Description of Tweedale, 3. One of those terrible chasms is called *Gums-cleugh*, upon the head of Quair water: The cliffs, that form this chasm, are called *Glendenus banks*; and are more than half a mile in length, and from 200 to 300 feet high. Stat. Acco. xii. 378.

this

this shire, along the marches of Etterick forest; and is the most inhospitable part of Peeblis-shire. Most of the hills of this shire, says the surveyor of its mountains, and vales, wear an agreeable aspect; are easy of ascent; and are abundant in herbage: Nor, are they so often deformed by hideous mosses, nor so frequently interrupted by horrid precipices, as many of the Scotish mountains (*s*).

From the hills of this shire, to the valleys below, the transition is easy. The *dale* of the Tweed forms, indeed, the great body of Peeblis-shire. From it, many vales branch off along the channels of the streams, which hasten to mingle their kindred waters with "the Tweed's silver flood." These vales must necessarily be of various extent, and different fertility. The most considerable, and the most fruitful, are the valleys on the Lyne, and Edlestone waters. In general, the dales, and the dingles, are most fertile, and the hills the most pleasant, in the north, and west of this shire, while in the south, and east, the vales are more barren, and the mountains are more bleak.

In the midst of all those inequalities of surface, Peeblis-shire cannot boast of her *lakes*. Neither can the topographers of this county be allowed to assume the St. Mary loch of Selkirkshire, as their own, though its western margin, for more than a mile, forms the boundary of Peeblis-shire. The most considerable lake, in this county, is the *Water-loch* in Edleston parish (*t*). This beautiful lake is nearly three quarters of a mile long, and half a mile broad; and abounds in pike, and eels, while it is the periodical resort of wild-fowl, which dip the wing in water (*u*). On the estate of Slipperfield, in Linton parish, there is a lake of nearly a mile and a half in circumference, which breeds pike, and perch, but not eels, as the water is impregnated with moss (*x*). The only other lake, which diversifies this shire, is Gameshope loch, within the bosom of an uninhabited glen, in Tweedsmuir parish; and which is emptied by Gameshope burn, one of the sources of Talla water (*y*).

Yet, is Peeblis-shire well watered by many streams. The *Tweed*, however, is the great channel, which collects, and carries off, the whole moisture of "this misty mountain ground." This celebrated river rises on the mountainous ridge, that separates Tweedale from Annandale; and that sends the Tweed to the

(*s*) Armstrong's Companion to his Map, 26.

(*t*) This absurd name of *Water* loch it may have obtained, during ignorant times, from its being the source of the *Esk*, which, in the Celtic, literally signifies *the water*.

(*u*) Armstrong's Companion, 40; Stat. Acco. xvii. 182. (*x*) Ib. i. 127.

(*y*) Ib. 111.

east

east sea, and the Annan to the west (*z*). In a rapid course of ten miles, through the mountainous tract of Tweedsmuir, the rivulet Tweed becomes a considerable riveret, by receiving the sister streams of the Fruid, the Cor, and the Talla (*a*). From Tweedsmuir, the Tweed now takes a northern course to Drummellier, where this riveret receives the united streams of Holms, Kilbucho, and Biggar (*b*). The Tweed turns eastward from Drummellier; and runs in an east-north-east direction, till this common channel receives the Lyne river, at the south-east extremity of the Sheriff moor. From this junction, the Tweed continues a winding course to Peeblis town; receiving in its run the water of Manor, from the south; and having also received, at the shire town, Edleston water, the Tweed courses eastward, in a winding direction; and, receiving in its flow the Quair, the Leithen, among smaller streams, this augmented river leaves Peeblis-shire, and enters Selkirkshire, at the influx of Gaithope

(*z*) The stone monument called Tweeds Cross, stands 1,632 feet above the sea level. Armstrong, who is a better surveyor, than an antiquary, supposes this stone to have been an object of druidical worship: But, as it stands on the road-side, where the way passes the summit of this ridge, it was probably placed here as a direction-post, and afterwards converted into a land-boundary.

(*a*) *Fruid* is a large stream, which falls down from the Hart-fell mountain; and is, merely, in the origin of its name, the British *Frwd*, signifying a stream, a *torrent*. Davis, and Owen. The Cor hastens, in many a *turn*, to join the Tweed; and derived its significant name, from the British *Cor*, which, in this, as well as in the congenerous speech of the Irish, means a *round*, or *turn*. The *Talla*, coming down from the northern face of the mountainous ridge, which sends the Moffat to the south, is remarkable, in both its sources, for its many cataracts, which are here called *linns*, from the British *linn*, that is commonly applied, in Scotland, to the cataract, rather than the pool below: The *Talla* may have taken its British name, from the lofty precipices under which it tumbles; *Tal*, in the British speech, signifying what is *over*, or tops, what towers; or from the kindred Gaelic *Talla*, murmuring. The eagle, called the *ern*, finds among those precipices a secure place, for her frequent incubation.

(*b*) After draining the whole parish of Glenholm, the Holm water, at the lower end of it, joins Biggar water: Both the parish, and the stream, take their analogous names, from the *holms*, or meadows, along the water side. The Biggar derives its name from the town of Biggar, by which it glides; and coming soon upon the north-west corner of Kilbucho parish, it courses along the whole northern boundary of this district, when it receives the Kilbucho water; and falling into the Holms water, they all find repose in the Tweed. The Kilbucho water derives its name, from the parish, which it drains. The Clyde, which has its sources in the same ridge with the spring of the Tweed, by a congenerous curvature, comes within a mile of Kilbucho parish; and, if it were expedient, the Clyde might be easily conducted, as Armstrong observes, through the channel of Biggar water to the Tweed: In high floods, indeed, some of the waters of the Clyde overflow into the Biggar water, and are carried with it to the Tweed. Agricult. Survey, 4.

burn.

burn (*c*). The Tweed, from its source to the sea, descends from a height of 1,550 feet; one half of which it falls before it has coursed twenty miles. It has only one cataract, within eight miles of the spring, before it has been swelled by so many streamlets (*d*). The Tweed is the longest river in the south of Scotland, but not the largest, within that country, as Armstrong supposes; and as we have seen from mensuration. Tweed formerly abounded with salmon, which have been nearly destroyed, by artifice, at the call of interest; yet, Tweed, and all its streams, abound with trout. Tweed turns few mills; nor has its waters been contaminated much, by noxious manufactures (*e*).

Of the numerous streams, which bestow their waters on the Tweed, within this shire, the most considerable are the Lyne, the Edleston, and the Leithen, which fall into this common reservoir, on the north, and the Manor, and Quair, on the south. The Lyne rises in the southern declivity of Cairn hill, on the north-western limits of Peeblis-shire; and collecting in a course of one-and-twenty miles the streamlets, that drain the parishes of Linton, Newlands, Kirkurd, and Lyne, it consigns all their cognate waters to the Tweed. The *Lyne* has retained, through many a change, its British appellation, which is nothing more than the British *Llynn*, signifying what flows, a fluid (*f*).

Edleston

(*c*) The whole course of the Tweed through Peeblis-shire is about - - 41 miles.
Through Selkirkshire - - - - - - 9
Along Roxburghshire nearly - - - - - - 30
Along Berwickshire somewhat more than - - - - 22

The whole course of the Tweed - - - - - 102 miles.

Thus, the Tweed, in the south, runs - - - - - 102 miles.
The Tay, in the center of Scotland, runs - - - - - 108
The Spey, in the north, runs - - - - - - 102

And, those large rivers fall into the east sea.

(*d*) The cataract, which is near Tweedsmoor bridge, is called Carlow's linn.

(*e*) The Tweed was called *Vueda*, by Ptolomy, and Tueda, by Richard; Tuid, by Bede; and Tued, by the British people, in whose speech the word signifies what is on a side, border, or region. Davis, Lhuyd, and Owen. All the blandishments of poetry have been bestowed on the Tweed. Drayton speaks of "Tweed's fair flood;" Ramsay delights to sing of "smooth-"meand'ring Tweed;" Burns laments "the Tweed's silver flood;" Hamilton of Bangour chants of "the flow'r-blushing banks of the Tweed;" and Crawford, the Scotish Shenstone, carols of "the sweet-winding *Tay*, and the pleasanter banks of the *Tweed*."

(*f*) Davis, and Owen. Upon Lyne water, there were, in Dr. Pennycuick's time, four bridges, and two corn mills. Descript. of Tweedale, 10. Of the streamlets, which the Lyne receives, the principal are the Tarth, and the West water. The Tarth is chiefly formed, by the eastern branch

Edleston water rises from Kings-seat hill, in Edleston parish, and forms the great drain of this district, by running through its centre from north to south; and entering Peeblis parish, falls into the Tweed, at Peeblis town, after a course of thirteen miles (*g*). This stream has long lost its Celtic appellation; and takes the unmeaning name of the village, through which it glides: Lower down, in its course to the Tweed, it assumes the name of the shire-town. Leithen water rises from a spring, called the Water-head, in the north-west extremity of Inverleithen parish, throughout the extent of which, it runs a rapid course of twelve miles; collecting, in its descent, the streamlets, that drain that mountainous country; and falling into the Tweed, a mile below Inverleithen church, which derives its Celtic name, from that influx, or *Inver*. The ancient British name, which the Leithen still retains, denotes its qualities of overflow; *Llidd*, or *Lith*, according to the English pronunciation, signifying an *effusion*, a *gush*, a *flood*. In fact, this mountain torrent frequently floods the adjacent grounds, and often threatens the village on its bank (*h*). Manor water rises at Foulbrig, in the southern extremity of Manor parish, through which it runs a course of twelve miles; and which it drains, as it courses, with other streamlets to the Tweed. The Quair rises at Glendean Banks, in the south-west of Traquair parish; and,

of the Medwin, which, rising at the base of Hinchy hill, courses four miles between the contiguous shires of Lanerk, and Peeblis, till, at the Salmon Leap, it separates into two streams; the western falling into the Clyde, and the eastern into the Lyne, and Tweed. This remarkable separation may explain the fact, which has puzzled naturalists, who caught salmon above the impassible cataracts of the Clyde, at Corhouse, Stonebyres, and Bonington. The British name of the *Tarth* seems to allude to that well-known separation of it, from the Medwin: For, *Tardd*, which is pronounced as *Tarth*, in English, signifies a breaking through, an issuing from. Davis, and Owen. The Tarth is also famous for its trouts, owing perhaps to its slow motion, and commodious pools. The West water, which joins the Lyn, in Linton parish, retained, in Pennycuick's time, its Celtic name of *Pol-an-tarbh*, which, in the Scoto-Irish, signifies the *bull's rivulet*, with an allusion, perhaps, to the ancient superstition, that supposed the existence of a *water bull*, or *Tarbh-uisque*, that possessed the power of working good, or ill, to those, who feared him: And, hence too the Gaelic *Tarbh*, which is pronounced as *Tarw*, or *Tarf*, appears in the names of many waters: As, Tarf water, and Tarf loch, in Inverness-shire; Tarf-water, in Perthshire; Tarf water, in Kirkcudbright; and Tarf water, in Wigton: So, Loch-an-tarf, in Moray, and Loch-an-tarf, in Sutherland.

(*g*) One of the branches of this stream forms a cataract of thirty-five feet fall, which is called *Cowie's Linn*. Companion to the Map, 40; Stat. Acco. xvii. 183.

(*h*) The Companion, 46; and the Rev. Charles Findlater's MS. Description: This torrent is mentioned by the same name in several charters of Alexander II. Chart. Newbotle, No. 129-30. Leith*an* is either the diminutive, or the plural of *Llith*. Owen. The *Leith* water of Mid-Lothian derives its British name from the same source; and is remarkable for the same qualities.

receiving

receiving many rivulets in its course, falls into the Tweed, below Traquair house. The *Qair* derived its Celtic name, from its *curvatures*; *Qwyr*, in the British, and *Cuar*, in the Irish, signifying *crooked*, or bending (*i*).

The only stream, in Peeblis-shire, which does not convey its waters to the Tweed, as the common receiver of the moisture of this country, is the Megget. Originating in two sources, the one rivulet from the declivities of Cairn law, and the other rill from the moss of Winterhope, the Megget drains the dreary parish of Megget, and pours its collected waters into St. Mary's loch; whence they pass on to the Yarrow, and the Etterick, while both join the Tweed, as we have seen. The Megget derives its name from the Celtic *Meag*, intimating the whey colour of its waters: And, the sister Megget, in Dunfries-shire, the kindred *Meag*, and the congenerous Maig, in Limerick county, all derive their Celtic appellations from the same source, owing to similar circumstances (*k*). The two Esks of Lothian have, indeed, a slight connection with Peeblis-shire: The South-Esk, as we have seen, springs from *the water* loch in Edleston parish; and, after running a course of nearly four miles, enters Mid-Lothian, and finds its influx in the Forth. It joins, in its career, the North-Esk, which also rises, within Peeblis-shire, from two sources; from the eastern base of Cairn hill; and from Weather law; and after meandering for six or seven miles along the northern border of this county, it enters Mid-Lothian, joins South-Esk, and is absorbed in the Forth. Every water, in streamy Tweedale, produces trout, some of them par, and some of them salmon; and each gives its usefulness, and each contributes its ornament (*l*).

Peeblis-shire abounds as much in minerals, as Selkirkshire is deficient. Newlands, and Linton parishes, supply the whole county with coals, except the eastern districts, which derive their coal, and lime, from the Lothians. The coal of Tweedale is only an extension of that vast seam of seventy, or eighty

(*i*) Davis, and Owen; O'Brien, and Shaw.

(*k*) The two Megg-ets, as they are streamlets, probably, acquired the diminutive form, from that circumstance. See O'Brien, and Shaw, in vo. Meadhg, and Owen, in vo. Maiz: A zealous Briton might perhaps derive the name of *Maig*, from the British *Maig*, signifying a sudden turn, or curvature: But, this circumstance does not apply to the whole class of those names: In fact, the Ross-shire *Meag* is remarkably free from *turns*, or curves. Of the various streamlets, that fall into the Megget of Peeblis-shire, two are remarkable for having retained their Celtic names: Cram-alt, signifying a crooked rill, which is descriptive of its course; and Glean-gabhar, meaning the goats valley: A third streamlet, that joins the Megget, forms, near Henderland, a *cataract*, called the *Dow-linn*, signifying the *black-pool*, both in the British, and Irish languages, which is descriptive of the pool, formed below, by the water-fall above.

(*l*) Stat. Accounts; Agricult. Survey; and Companion to the Map of Tweedale.

miles broad, which runs from the Forth along the North-Esk, throughout an extent of fifteen miles. The abundance of the supply has produced the general use of coal, since the days of Pennycuick, when the gentry, and the town of Peeblis, only used this coaly fuel (*m*).

Limestone also abounds, in Peeblis-shire. It happily abounds the most, where there is the most coal. Much lime was manufactured, for manure, even in the days of Pennycuick. The farmers, however, of the eastern districts of this county, bring their lime, for all the uses of agriculture, from the many lime-works of Mid-Lothian (*n*). Marl, also, is found, where the lime-stone exists. In Linton, and Newlands, are various beds of marl, of the white, or shelly, and also the blue kind. Yet, marl was here known, and used, when Pennycuick perambulated Tweedale (*o*). In Newlands parish, on the estate of La Mancha, there is an endless variety of clays. It has, particularly, a very thick bed of *fire* clay, like that of Stourbridge. It has *alum slate*, in abundance. And there are also in Newlands parish both red, and yellow ochres, with veins of *Manganesia* (*p*). In Linton parish, a small seam of *fullers earth* has been discovered on Lyne water, near Bridge house (*q*). Newlands, and Linton parishes, also abound with *freestone*. Between both those parishes, on the hilly ridge of Broomy lees, there are several quarries of red freestone, which is of a firmer texture than the white (*r*). These are the only freestone quarries, which are worked for public sale, and general use. But, whinstone is the prevailing rock, throughout Peeblis-shire, though, being very plenty, it is not much demanded (*s*). The slate quarries in this shire have long been famous. In Tramore hill, within Stobo parish, there are two seams of *blue slate*, which have been manufactured for many uses, during several years. They are sent far beyond the limits of this shire. And, indeed, Pennycuick informs us how far the slate of Stobo was carried, in his time, for covering the houses of the nobles, and gentry (*t*). Marble, too, white marble, has been found at White-

(*m*) Pennycuick's Description, 4; Companion to the Map, 43; Agricult. Survey, 21; and the Stat. Acco. i. 131-149.

(*n*) Agricult. Survey, 21. (*o*) Description, 5; Stat. Acco. i. 131; Ib. xxi. 52.

(*p*) Stat. Acco xxi. 52-53; i. 149. (*q*) Stat. Acco. i. 131.

(*r*) Id.; Agricult. Survey, 20. (*s*) Id.

(*t*) Description, 29. A blue slate quarry, in Glenholm parish, was long worked with great advantage: But, it gave way, at length, to the competition of the Stobo slates. Companion, 44. At Grieston, in Traquair parish, another slate quarry, which was once in repute, also feels the competition of the Stobo quarries, which, perhaps, have some local advantages. Pennycuick, 5; Stat. Acco. xii. 370.

field,]

field, in Linton parish, which is rich in minerals (*u*). Newlands parish abounds in iron ore, and iron stone; but, experience has shown, that it is not metallic enough, to bear the carriage to distant founderies (*x*): And Pennycuick, who was a mineralogist, as mineralogy was in his day understood, assures us, that there are both ironstone, and copper, in Linton parish (*y*). But, the hills of La Mancha are superior to every other district, in the variety, and richness of its iron ores (*z*). And, in one of those hills, thus fruitful in minerals, there is a vein of stone, which is supposed to be a native *loadstone*, that is to be found, in most places, where iron ore abounds (*a*).

In Lead law, a hill above Linton, several *lead* mines were formerly wrought; and some silver were extracted from the ore: The sinks, or pits, which were wrought on *Lead law*, are still apparent; and even now bear the appropriate name of *Silverholes*. About sixty years ago, these mines were again tried; but the attempt was soon discontinued, as unprofitable (*b*). They were, probably, unable to withstand the competition of the richer mines of *Lead hills*, and Wanloch-head, upon the Clyde. In Traquair parish, several attempts have been made to discover *lead* mines; and some ore has been found, though not sufficiently rich to pay the expence of working. A specimen of *Galena* ore was found not long since, in one of the streams, that fall into the Quair. In this parish, a feeble attempt was made, in 1775, to sink a *lead* mine above the village of Bold (*c*).

If we may believe our ancient historians, Boece, and Buchanan, *gold* has been formerly found, in Glen-Gaber water, which traverses Megget parish, the poorest district, with all its *gold*, in Tweedale (*d*).

Mineral springs may be expected in a country, which is thus fertile in minerals. Chalybeate waters, having a blue scum, an irony taste, and an ochry sediment, abound every where, in the parishes of Linton, and Newlands. One of these, called *Heaven aqua Well*, near Linton, on the north, resembles the waters of

(*u*) Pennycuick's Description, 5. (*x*) Agricult. Survey, 22. (*y*) Description, 5.

(*z*) Stat. Acco. xxi. 52. (*a*) Id.

(*b*) Pennycuick's Description, 5; Agricult. Survey, 22-3.

(*c*) Companion, 100, with Mr. Findlater's MS. Note; Stat. Acco. xii. 371.

(*d*) We must remember, that there is another stream of the same name, in Traquair parish. Stat. Acco. xii. 564. Dr. Pennycuick, who seems willing to enlarge the list of minerals, in Tweedale, says that, sixty years before he wrote, [1700], there was found, in the Mount hill of Skirling, within a mossy turf, a parcel of *gold*, which Mr. Mossman, a merchant, in Edinburgh, caused to be polished, and made into rings. Appx. prefixed to his Description.

Tunbridge,

Tunbridge, and is said to be equally strong (*e*). At La Mancha, in Newlands parish, there is a chalybeate spring, called the *Vertue Well*, which contains a large quantity of fixed air, that holds the iron in solution (*f*). Within these fifteen years, there has been discovered, at the base of Lee-*Pen*, near the village of Inverleithen, a mineral spring, which is impregnated with salt, and sulphur; and is of a similar nature with the Harrowgate waters. This spring gives out about a quart, in a minute, in dry weather. Before its properties were known, the place, where its waters oozed through the furface, was much frequented by pigeons; and it was hence called the Pigeons Well: Since the salubrious waters have produced many cures, the *Pigeons Well* has become a place of resort, where accommodations have been built for the patients (*g*). In the vicinity of Kirkurd house, there is a copious spring, which is impregnated with sulphur, and of which Black, the chemist, made a chemical analysis; and found it to be stronger than the Moffat waters, but weaker than the Harrowgate (*h*). More knowledge, and more capital, may produce more profit to Peeblis-shire, from its abundant minerals.

§ IV. *Of its Antiquities.*] At the epoch of the Roman invasion, in 80 A. D., the British Gadeni, who possessed the interior country, from the Northumbrian Tine, to "besouth Forth, that principal river, of right fair waie (*i*)." During the Roman period, that Celtic tribe remained, within Antonine's rampart. After the abdication of the Roman government, the Gadeni naturally associated themselves with the kindred Britons of Strathclyde, which easily communicated through several openings of the strong, and secluded country, on the Upper Tweed. The descendants of the ancient settlers continued here, though perhaps not without molestation, throughout the Pictish period. After the overthrow of the Pictish government, in 843 A. D., the posterity of the Romanized Gadeni enjoyed on the Tweed their own government, till the fortune of the Scotish kings prevailed, in 974 A. D., in suppressing the peculiar government of the ancient Britons of Strathclyde: Yet, though their government was undone for ever, the British people remained long within their fastnesses, and mixed with their congenerous invaders. The forest of Etterick, which then consisted of woody ravins, and steep hills, formed a strong barrier against the intruding Saxons, on the south-east. Throughout the middle of this impervious forest, was

(*e*) Stat. Acco. i. 132. (*f*) Ib. xxi. 52. (*g*) Id.
(*h*) Ib. xx. 185. The Kirkurd spring has been since used, with success, in several distempers.
(*i*) Wyntown.

carried

carried the *Catrail*, which formed a strong dividing fence, between the Saxons on the Tiviot, and the Britons on the Tweed. The vast, and dismal mountains, which on the east, and north-east send their waters to the Forth, formed also an impassable barrier against the Saxons of Lothian. And, the only natural openings, through the mountain barricades, to the country on the Upper Tweed, were from Strathclyde.

Of the British people, there are many *remains*, in Peeblis-shire. And, their antiquities consist of their language; of their places of worship; of their sepulchral monuments; of their memorial stones; and of their hill-forts.

The people, and their speech, are the earliest antiquities of every country. As the Britons remained longer unmixed, in Peeblis-shire, than in any other district, they left more traces of their language. *Peeblis*, the name of the shire-town, and the county, is a British word, as we have seen. The whole topography of this country is full of denominations, from their significant speech. *Pen*, we may see, frequently applied to the summits of several hills, as it signifies a head, or crest, or end (*i*). The British *Caer*, signifying a fort, or strength, or fortified place, may still be traced, in several names, however disguised (*k*). The British *Pil*, signifying a fort, is still applied to several towns, under the form of *Peel*. *Craig*, in the British, as well as in the Irish, signifies rocks, a rocky height, or cliff; and enters into the formation of many names of places, in Peeblis-shire (*l*). *Carn*, in the British, as well as in the Irish, signifies a prominence, a heap, a pile: And, *Cairn* is the common appellative, for many piles of stones, which were raised by the earliest people of this district (*m*). *Bre*, in the British, as well as in the Irish, signifies a hill, a *Brae*, a brow: And, *Bre*, or *Brae*, are very commonly applied to hills, and to acclivities, in this shire (*n*). *Tor*, in the British, as in the Irish, signifies a swell, a bulge, a prominence: And, *Tor* is here applied to various hills, or protuberances (*o*); and enters into the formation of many names of places, in this county (*p*). The British *Llynn*, signifying what flows, a *pool*, a *lake*, is the common name, for the numerous cataracts, in this shire, and for the pools, which are

(*i*) There is Lee-*Pen*, a very high conical hill, in Inverleithen parish; and there are three hills, in Stobo parish, which are named *Pen*-ain, *Pen*-valla, and *Pen*-venny. Armstrong's Companion to his map of this shire, 49.

(*k*) There are *Car*-lavin hill, in Tweedsmuir parish; *Car*-dan, and *Car*-don hill, in Glenholm; *Car*-pet, in Linton; and *Car*-drona, in Traquair.

(*l*) Companion to the Map, throughout. (*m*) Ib. 49. (*n*) Id. (*o*) Id.

(*p*) As, *Tor*, in Peeblis parish; *Tor*-y-kneis hill, *Tor*-pedy hill, in Drummelier parish; *Tor*-tie hill, *Tor*-ereish hill, and *Tor*-heune hill, in Stobo parish. Pont's Map, in Blaeu's Atlas.

formed.

formed from the water-fall (*q*). Nearly all the waters, in this county, have retained their British names, through the successions of people, and the revolutions of ages; As, the Tweed, the Lyne, the Leithen, the *Cor*, the *Talla*, the *Megget*, the Logan, and others, as the map evinces. Several other names of places, in this district, remain intelligible, in the British speech (*r*). Many names have, however, been so corrupted, by time and chance, in the course of ages, as to be unintelligible; and many more have been obviously superseded by Scoto-Irish, and Scoto-Saxon names. Several appellations are of a mixed nature; Scots, and Saxon syllables, superinduced upon Celtic words; as *Lin*-ton, Linfoot, Kirk*urd*; and there are frequently pleonasms; as *Knoc* hill, *Cairn* hill, Glen-*dean*; and so of other pleonastic forms, by superinducing more recent names on ancient places, as the original language was not understood, by a different people (*s*). Of the names of sixteen parishes, in Peeblis-shire, eight are wholly British; one was changed from the British Penti-achob to Edleston; four are half British, that is, Scoto-Irish, and Scoto-Saxon, grafted on British; one is half British and half Irish; two are Scoto-Irish; and three are Scoto-Saxon, or English: So prevalent are the remains of the British people, in Tweedale, even at the present day!

The British people have also left here many druid remains, which the Saxons destroyed in Lothian. At Hairstanes, in Kirkurd parish, there are the remains of a druid temple, or oratory, consisting of a number of large stones, standing in a circular form. Tradition still speaks of the *Hairstanes*, as a place of worship, rather than the scene of conflict (*t*). On the remarkable peninsula, which is now called the Sheriffmuir, and which is formed by the Tweed and Lyne, there are the remarkable remains of a druid temple: From each of two standing stones, there run out to the east, in a curvature, two rows of smaller stones, which also stand upright. The tradition of the country states this curious remain to have been a druid temple; yet, the surveyor of this county speaks of

(*q*) Such as, Carlows *lin*, on the Tweed, Cowies *lin*, on the Leithen, Dow *lin*, on the Megget; several water-falls, and pools, on the Fala water are called Fall-*lins*; and a similar series of cataracts, and pools, on Gameshope burn, are called Gameshope *lins*.

(*r*) As, Traquair, Trahenna, Tramore, in Stobo parish; Finglan, in Newlands, Finglan, in Traquair, and Finglan, in Tweedsmuir; Cademuir, in Peeblis, Posso, which was of old *Possa*, and Caver, in Manor parish.

(*s*) Pentejacob, or Penjacob, was changed to Gillemoreston, before the year 1170. Windy law was substituted, in the 13th century, for the Celtic *tor*, signifying a hill, the same as the Saxon *law*.

(*t*) In the same parish, a small *ring*, which was supposed to be a druidical amulet, was found, in a British sepulchre. Companion to the map, 53; Stat. Acco. x. 168.

it,

it, idiotically, as the site of a grave (*u*). Near Tweedsmuir church, there is the remain of a druid oratory, consisting of several large stones, which are placed upright, in a circular form. The tradition of the country states, that the small eminence, which is called the Quarter-know, and on which stands Tweedsmuir church, was anciently a place of druid worship (*x*). Near Gaithope, on the border between Peeblis and Selkirk, there are the remains of a druid oratory; consisting of a circle of standing stones, whereof only five now continue in upright positions (*y*). Such are the only remains of druid *oratories*, which this Celtic district can show, after so many successions of people, revolutions of power, and changes of property. But, they undoubtedly exhibit the mode of worship, which the pagan inhabitants practised, in the earliest times; as the Scoto-Irish, and the Scoto-Saxons, who came in, successively, on the ancient Britons, had already adopted the Christian discipline.

From the mode of worship, to the manner of burial, the distance is not far. In Linton parish, between Garwald foot and Kingseat, there are three sepulchral *tumuli*, in one whereof was found an earthen urn, containing human relics (*z*). In the same parish, at the base of Mundick hill, there were found, about the year 1775, several skeletons of a gigantic size (*a*). In Linton parish, have been often discovered stone coffins, with human bones, particularly, in *Chapelhill* park: And, above *Spital*-haugh, several stone coffins, having human bones, have also been found (*b*). Below Linton, half a mile, where the Lyne washes away a piece of ground, called *Temple*-land, many coffins, consisting of flag-stones, and containing human bones, have been disclosed (*c*). In the parks of Kirkurd, there are two small mounts, called the *Castle*, and *Law*, which are surrounded by a little raised inclosure of an irregular form: Gordon, who inspected them, thought the small mounts to be artificial (*d*); and must of course be sepulchral barrows of ancient construction, though they were afterwards converted to *mote* hills, for administering justice to a coarse people. In the same parish, at Mount

(*u*) Companion to the map, 96; and the minister of the parish was so idle as to adopt his misconception. Stat. Acco. iii. 326.

(*x*) Companion to the map, 104.

(*y*) Companion to the map, 48: Armstrong says of this remain, that tradition states it to have been a burial place for those, who died of the plague: He must misrepresent the tradition, which states thus, "the common chat of gossips when they meet."

(*z*) Companion to the map, 61. (*a*) Ib. 59. (*b*) Stat. Acco. i. 147.

(*c*) Description of Tweedale, 11. No church, or chapel, or cemetery, appear about this ground, which, however, is called *Temple*-land.

(*d*) Itin. Septent.; Stat. Acco. xx. 185.

hill, there was found, about the year 1754, a stone chest, inclosing a large clay urn, containing human bones. More recently, there have been discovered, at the same hill, a stone coffin, 4½ feet long, 2½ feet wide, and 2½ feet deep, which contained the bones of a human body, that seemed to have been about six feet high (*e*). In Glenholm parish, on a plain, by Tweedside, there are several sepulchral tumuli: When one of these was opened, by order of the proprietor, there was discovered a stone coffin, inclosing a human skeleton, with *bracelets* on the arms; and near the coffin was found an urn. In another of these barrows, there were found the remains of a human body, which was much consumed (*f*). In a cairn, upon King's muir, in Peeblis parish, there has been discovered an inverted urn, containing the ashes of some ancient warrior, with the blade of his dagger (*g*). In Edleston parish, near the *Ship-law*, there is a barrow, called the *Ship-horns*; as it resembles the inverted hull of a ship (*h*). Near Easter place of Hartree, in Kilbucho parish, there is a sepulchral barrow, of a circular form (*i*). In the vale of the Tweed, between Bield and Tweedhope-brae foot, there are four, or five sepulchral cairns (*k*). On that remarkable peninsula, which is called the Sheriffmuir, being a flat, but uncultivated heath, on the junction of the Lyne with Tweed, there are two sepulchral cairns; the one considerably larger than the other; and there are several other tumuli of a small size, and round shape (*l*). We have now seen the modes of sepulture of the ancient Britons, with their weapons, their ornaments, and their amulets.

But, what are the barrows of the warriors to the *grave of Merlin!* Near the influx of Powsail with the Tweed, a thorn tree marks the sacred spot, where lies inhumed the prophet Merlin. Tradition has preserved his tale; superstition

(*e*) Among those bones were found three flint stones, one resembling a halbert, another of a circular form, and a third of a cylindrical form, with a small ring, which was supposed to be a Druid amulet. Ib. 186. Such were the weapon, the ornaments, and preservative of this ancient warrior!

(*f*) Stat. Acco. iv. 435. (*g*) Ib. xii. 15. (*h*) Companion, 40.

(*i*) Companion, 51. (*k*) Ib. i. 10; Stat. Acco. viii. 89.

(*l*) Stat. Acco. iii. 326-7. Near the largest cairn, there is a circular cavity of about 150 paces, in circumference, which is obviously artificial: And, on the same moor, there is a similar cavity, called Pinkie's-hole, which is about 90 paces, in circumference; and, at the center, the excavation is between six and seven feet below the level of the circumjacent plain. Id. It is uncertain, in what age, or for what purpose, all those remains, were formed, or whether they be all connected with the same object. It is probable, that this moor may have been once the scene of civil conflict: And it exhibits also several stones of memorial, which seem to show, in rude silence, that the Sheriffmoor had been a field of battle, before that minister of peace administered justice on this singular peninsula.

has

has repeated his saws; and the finger of age points to the eye of curiosity the very grave of Merlin (*m*). Our prophet was the cause of prophecy in others: And during King James's time, some seer foretold that,

> "When Tweed, and Powsail, meet, at Merlin's grave,
> "Scotland, and England, shall *one* monarch have."

Doctor Pennycuick has recorded the fulfilment of this prophecy: On the same day, says the doctor, that our King James was crowned king of England, the river Tweed so far overflowed its banks, that it met with Powsail, at the said grave, by such an extraordinary flood, as had never been observed before, nor since that time (*n*). Yet, has the doctor left it undecided, whether the prophecy begat the flood, or the flood the prophecy. The vaticination of Merlin was known, and respected, even before the age of Edward III, as we know from Minot, the chief poet of his lengthened reign. Even the popular voice conferred extraordinary powers of prophecy, and song, on Merlin, the Caledonian. Much of the poetry of this Pictish-Briton has come down to the present times (*o*). At the epoch of printing, indeed, which was also the era of popular prophecy, every absurd saw was attributed to noted men, who still lived in the popular voice; to Merlin of the sixth century, to Bede of the eighth, and to Waldeve of the twelfth. During ages of ignorance, and times of superstition, the prophecies of traditional characters, in the vulgar tongue, became extremely grateful to the popular taste. It is to this source, that we must trace up the vaticinal couplet of the Tweed, and Powsail, and the grave of Merlin. It is, indeed, curious to remark, that the Merddin of the Cambro-British, the Merlin of the Scoto-Saxons, who was undoubtedly a Strathclyde Briton of the sixth century, should

(*m*) Doctor Pennycuick has outdone himself, when speaking of Merlin, while the prophecies of this obscure rhymer had their political effect. The doctor says, his grave is on the side of the Powsail, a little below the church-yard of Drummellier. "The particular place, he adds, at the "root of a Thorn-tree, was shewn me, many years ago, by the old and reverend minister of "this parish, Mr. Richard Brown." Description of Tweedale, 26.

(*n*) Descript. of Tweedale, 27. King James was crowned, on Monday, the 25th of July 1603; being the festival of St. James, the apostle. How's Chron. 1611, 436. This ascertains the day of this uncommon flood of the Tweed.

(*o*) Mr. Lewis Morris, a very intelligent Cambro-Briton, says, he had seen many MSS. containing some of *Myrddin's* [Merlin] poetry, which, though it was written by a Pictish-Briton, so long ago as the sixth century, is intelligible to a person only tolerably versed in the Welsh. [MS. Celtic Remains.] Myrddin's poetry, in the ancient British language, may be seen in the Welsh Archaiology, lately published, by Owen, i. 154.

have been buried, according to the popular tradition, in the remotest part of the Strathclyde kingdom, at the junction of the Tweed and Powsail (*p*).

From monuments of the dead, to stones of memorial, the transition is easy. In Traquair parish, there is a remarkable *standing stone*, which is called the *Cross* (*q*). Westward from this, on the southern side of the Tweed, there is another upright stone, near a hamlet, which, from it, is named *the Standing Stone* (*r*). In Manor parish, on Bollanrig, there is a large rude monument, which is known by the name of the *Standing Stone*; and which may have been placed on Bollanrig, as a memorial of some ancient conflict (*s*). On the Sheriffmuir, the isthmus, between the Lyne, and Tweed, there are several memorial stones, as well as tumuli, which evince, with still greater certainty, that a battle had here been fought, during some age, before inscriptions were deemed necessary, for transmitting the event (*t*). On *Cade*-muir, in Peeblis parish, there are several standing stones, in the vicinity of some British strengths (*u*). Yet, in treating of stones of memorial, we must always remember that, in the good old times, when the kings, with their bishops, and barons, went out personally to perambulate disputed boundaries, large stones were often erected, to ascertain the true limits, as we know from the chartularies, which speak of those stones, as *grandes lapides* (*x*).

The *strengths* of the Britons are better preserved, than the *memorials* of their *conflicts*. In Peeblis-shire there are many hill-forts. They are generally placed, in this district, on the summits of the smaller, and middling hills, but not on the higher mountains. Their form generally approximates the circle; but is often made to suit the summit, or the ground, whereon they are placed. Some of those strengths were surrounded with

(*p*) MS. Celtic Remains; Owen's Cambrian Biography; and, Leyden's Complaint of Scotland, Introd. 193—9.

(*q*) Companion to the map, 100. (*r*) Ib. 102.

(*s*) Ib. 69; Armstrong had this so strongly in his head, that he has called this place Bellon, or War-rig. (*t*) Stat. Acco. iii. 326.

(*u*) Ib. xii. 10. The name of *Cademuir* pretty clearly intimates, that the standing stones were erected here, to preserve the remembrance of some battle: *Cademuir* is merely a corruption of the British *Cad-maur*, signifying the *great battle*. Davis, and Owen.

(*x*) Such stones were sometimes called *Cruces*, which were probably the appropriate boundaries of the church-lands. An agreement, between the abbot of Kelso, and the abbot of Melros, about the boundaries of Boulden, Eldun, and Dernewic, repeatedly mentions the *Cruces*, "que posita "est," &c., and "que sita est." Chart. Melros, No. 59. During the reign of Alexander II., a charter of Alfric, the daughter of Edgar, in describing the limits of some lands, in Nithsdale, mentions *le Cruce*, "que dicitur *Cross* gariauch, que est *meta* inter terram Canonicarum de Dercongal, "et Derrangoram," &c.; There is also mention of a *Cumulum lapideum*. Ib. No. 103.

only

only one rampart and fosse, while others of them have two, and some have three. Their ramparts were mostly formed of the materials, which were thrown from the ditch; a mixture of earth and stones: And, where the stone abounded, the ramparts were formed of stones, without cement. On the hill of Cademuir, in Peeblis parish, there are four British strengths, which are all of a circular form; and one of them, that seems to have been intended to be the strongest, is surrounded by a rampart of stones, without cement: This rampart, in part of its circumference, is double; but, where it is single, it is of a prodigious thickness (*y*). In Peeblis parish, on a round hill called *Janet's brae*, there are two British strengths of a circular form, which are each surrounded by a rampart, and fosse (*z*). In the same parish, on the summit of Meldun, a pretty large hill, there are the remains of a British strength, in a round form, and of considerable circumference. In the same parish, there are the remains of several strengths of the same kind (*a*); particularly, one on the hill above Hutchin-field, another near Hayston-craig, a third on the hill above Wham, and a fourth on the hill called Ew-hill-rig (*b*). In Manor parish, there are the remains of several British hill-forts, which are of a circular form; particularly, two on Hound hill, one on Caver hill, one near Hundleshope, and one on a small hill, named the *Ring* know, the entrenchments whereof are called *the Rings* (*c*). In Traquair parish, there are the remains of several British forts, which are of a round form, and are called *Chesters* (*d*). On a height, adjoining the village of Inverleithen, there are the remains of a British strength, which appears to have been surrounded, by three ramparts, and fosses, that secure an area of more than an English acre (*e*). In Edleston parish, there are the remains of several British forts: One of these, called Milkingston *Rings*, stands on a hill above Milkingston; is of a circular form; and is surrounded by ramparts, and fosses, that are very entire: From Milkingston *Rings*, about two and a half miles, on the north, there is another British fort, called Northshield *Rings*, on the summit of a hill, at Northshield: And there is another hill-fort, on the most northerly summit of Kings-seat-Edge (*f*). In Newlands

(*y*) Stat. Acco. xii. 9; and Companion, 92.

(*z*) Id. In the Stat. Acco., the name of Janets hill is blundered into *Frineti*.

(*a*) Stat. Acco. xii. 11. (*b*) Companion to the map, 92. (*c*) Companion, 69.

(*d*) Stat. Acco. xii. 378. *Chester* is applied to many British forts, in the south of Scotland. The *Caer* of the Britons was by the Romans called *Castrum*; and by the Anglo-Saxons *Ceaster*, which was softened to *Chester*. Verstegan's Antiq. 213; and Somner in vo. The old English, says Lhuyd, turned every *Caer* of ours into Ceaster, Chester, &c. Adversaria.

(*e*) Stat. Acco. xix. 603. (*f*) Companion to the map, 40.

parish,

parish, there are the remains of several British forts, on the tops of several hills: One of these is on the summit of the Terrace hill, above the church (*g*); there is another on Whiteside hills; there are two other forts above Drochill, which are pretty entire (*h*); there is one of those forts on Henderland hill; and there is another on Broad hill (*i*). On a rising ground above Linton, there is the remain of a British fort, of a circular form: And there was formerly the remain of another such fort, on the top of Lead law (*k*). In Kirkurd parish, there are the remains of several British strengths: There is one of a circular form, called *the Rings*, on an eminence, near Ladyurd, and about two and a half miles, north-west, from the Roman camp, at Lyne: And there is another British strength, called the Chesters, on the farm of Lochurd, to the westward (*l*); and there is another, named the *Green Castle*, on the hill above Blyth (*m*). On a small hill, called the Gallow law, near Skirling, there are the remains of a British fort, of a round form; and there are the remains of another such fort, on a hill, near Muirburn, in this parish (*n*).

Armstrong, the surveyor, was induced, by his folly, to laugh at the country people, who believe those British hill-forts to be Roman, because most of them are called *Chesters*; and he is prompted, by his ignorance, to talk confidently of those hill-forts being constructed "not only to secure cattle," but as exploratory camps to the *lower forts*. By the *lower forts*, he absurdly alludes to the *old towers* of recent times, which were built, during the anarchy, which succeeded the sad demise of Robert Bruce. The map-maker thus confounds the open hill-forts of the earliest people, with the close fortlets, of the latest proprietors. With the same absurdity, he talks of the druid temples being

(*g*) The hill is so called, from having, on its acclivities, those singular works, called *Terraces*. Pennycuick mentions this British strength, as surrounded by a rampart of earth and stones, with its accompanying ditch; as if, he adds, it had been some Roman garrison. Description, 16.

(*h*) These are the *Chesters*, which are mentioned by Gordon, in his Itinerary, as at Drochill, and at Cowthrople: They are three statute miles, north-north-west, from the Roman camp, at Lyne: Armstrong mistakingly asserts, "that Gordon imagines them to have been Roman exploratory castles." Companion, 76. On the contrary, Gordon refutes the notion of these, and other British forts, in that part of the country, being Roman; because they are of a round, or oval form, and not rectangular; and have not the elegancy of workmanship, which characterize the Roman labours.

(*i*) Gordon's Itin. Septent. 115; Companion to the map, 74—6.

(*k*) Companion, 57. (*l*) Stat. Acco. x. 183.

(*m*) Gordon's Itinerary, 115: Gordon also mentions two circular forts on the Broomy-Law, westward from Kirkurd parish, which seems to have been defaced, before Armstrong's Survey, in 1775. Id.; Companion, 53.

(*n*) Companion, 94.

constructed,

constructed, for the worship of Woden: And, with an extraordinary stretch of stupidity, he supposes some of the sepulchral *tumuli* of the ancient Britons, to have been erected "to direct travellers from one place to another (*o*)." The popular tradition of the country, however, assigns those hill-forts, as well as all the British works, to *the Picts*, who were ancient Britons, as we have seen. Some of the less intelligent of the local antiquaries, ascribe those very primitive works to the Roman legionaries.

Connected with the strengths of the Britons, are their *weapons* for war. Near to Lour, in Drummellier parish, was found, a short while before the year 1775, a stone axe, or British *Celt* (*p*). We have already seen, that there was discovered, in a British sepulchre, three flint stones, one whereof was formed like a halbert (*q*): This was, no doubt, a large *Celt*, which resembles the head of a halbert, with its point broken off. About the year 1775, was found, near some sepulchral tumuli, in Linton parish, a short sword, or poinard, of brass. In the King's muir, within a barrow, was discovered, as we have seen, an inverted urn, containing, with the ashes of the warrior, the blade of his dagger (*r*).

The Romans were undoubtedly the first people, who came in upon the British aborigines, in this district. Neither of the great roads, which that enterprizing people carried northward, with their Caledonian conquests, pass through any part of Peeblis-shire. The Watling-street, which courses from Cumberland into Clydesdale, traverses the country, within half a mile of the western extremity of Peeblis-shire, where there is a natural passage, from the Clyde to the Tweed. It was, probably, through this opening, that the Romans found their way, and kept up the connection, between their posts, in Clydesdale, and their camps, in Tweedale.

There is a very strong Roman post, on the eastern side of the Lyne, near to Lyne kirk, and about ten miles eastward from the Watling-street, as it traverses Clydesdale. This camp was first noticed by Pennycuick, who says, the country people call it *Randal's walls* (*s*): It was next mentioned by Gordon, who idly supposes it to have been one of the works of Severus. It was afterward surveyed by Roy, who has left us an elaborate plan of Lyne camp (*t*). It next fell under the inspection of Armstrong, the surveyor, who has added some new

(*o*) Companion, 20-70. A sepulchral *tumulus*, near East-Hartree, he says, "is probably "*Danish*;" and seems to have been either a burial mount, or an object of direction, through *this marshy vale*. Ib. 51.

(*p*) Companion to the map, 34. (*q*) Stat. Acco. x. 186. (*r*) Ib. xii. 15.

(*s*) Description of Tweedale. (*t*) Milit. Antiq. pl. xxviii.

notices

notices to the intimations of Gordon (*u*). Armstrong concurs with Pennycuick, in saying, that this Roman camp is called by the country people *Randal's wall*; as Randolph, the Earl of Murray, is supposed to have built Lyne kirk, and to have had a house within the camp. This camp, the surveyor says, is 495 feet square, and contains six acres, and two roods. The minister says, the ground within this camp has been often ploughed; and Roman coins are said to have been frequently found within its area (*x*). In the country, for several miles round this Roman post, there are various British hill-forts, which this camp was probably designed to bridle, on some hostile occasion, which cannot now be traced.

From the post at Lyne, about nine miles, north-north-west, there are the remains of a Roman camp, on the northern side of Upper-Whitefield, in Linton parish. This camp is in the form of a paralellogram, and is surrounded by a single fosse, and rampart, which are now nearly obliterated. Its dimensions, says Gordon, are much the same with the Roman fort, at Ardoch (*y*). From the eagerness of this antiquarian tourist to connect Roman works with *Romanno*, he states this Roman camp to be only one mile north-west from that place: But, it is, in fact, three and a half statute miles, north, of Romanno: And there is not the least vestige of any Roman remains at Romanno (*z*).

The minister of Manor informs us, that there is in his parish, a Roman camp, which is pretty entire; and in the neighbourhood of which were found, on digging some ground, a Roman urn, and some ancient coins (*a*). It were to be wished,

(*u*) Armstrong speaks, particularly, of the *Prætorium*, in the center, and of the redoubt, and the causeway to the eastward. Companion, 64. In p. 22, however, he says, "we find no visible track to, or from, Lyne camp." But, the minister of Lyne says, positively, "that the road "leading to it is still visible, and runs through the present glebe." Stat. Acco. ii. 564.

(*x*) Id. The last person, who inspected this camp, with an accurate eye, was the late Mungo Park, the African traveller, who kindly sent me his observations, with some sketches, in October 1802. Lyne camp, he says, is situated on a rising ground, five miles west of Peeblis, a little to the north of the road to Glasgow, and about 600 yards west of Lyne kirk. It is in tolerable preservation, except on the north side, where 112 yards of the trench have been filled up, and ploughed, but the hollow is still visible. This camp, considered as a military post, must have possessed considerable advantages: From its elevation, it must have been always dry, and healthful; and being situated farther to the westward, than the places, where the Lyne, the Manor, and Edlestane waters, join the Tweed, it is evident, that the communication could be seldom interrupted by floods, even during the winter months; as the troops could ford each of those streams, separately, with much more ease, than after their junction. Such is the solid sense of Mungo Park!

(*y*) Itinerary, 114; Companion to the map, 59. (*z*) Companion to the map, 74.

(*a*) Stat. Acco. iii. 388; Yet, no such camp is intimated, by Armstrong, who made his Survey, before the minister wrote his Account: The minister says, it is at a small distance from *a tower*, raised

wished, that the minister had been more particular in the description of the size, the form, and the situation of his camp, that we might have determined, from the circumstances, whether it had been formed by Roman hands (*b*).

During the ninth century, the Britons of Strathclyde, and of Tweedale, appear to have been pressed upon by the Scoto-Irish, on the west, and the Scoto-Saxons, on the east. Those several pressures were so much felt, that a considerable emigration of Britons, from both those countries, to Wales, took place, in 890 A. D. (*c*). By this emigration of the most enterprizing Britons, the kingdom of Strathclyde must have been greatly weakened. And, its government was overpowered, by the Scotish king, in 974 A. D. (*d*). From this epoch, the Scoto-Irish intermingled with the remaining Britons on the Upper Tweed, not so much as hostile intruders, as fellow subjects of a congenerous people (*e*). The Scoto-Irish people have, indeed, left many indications of their settlements upon the Upper Tweed, by the numbers of their words, that may be now traced in its topography. There is, indeed, so great an analogy, between the sister dialects of the British, and Irish speech, and so much of the topographical language of Peeblis-shire is common to both those languages, that it is often difficult to determine, whether some names were originally applied by the Britons, or, subsequently, by the Scoto-Irish. To that analogy, may be traced the cause why so many of the British words have remained, within this district, in their first forms: The Scoto-Irish, knowing the significance of the words, and seeing the fitness of their application to the several objects, allowed them to remain, or new-modelled them, to their purpose. The *glen* of the Irish

raised upon an eminence, commanding the best view, in the parish. This *tower* is, probably, the lofty ruin, which stands on a steep knoll, called *Castle hill*, three and a half statute miles, south-east from Lyne camp.

(*b*) An octangular vase of brass, nine inches in height, was dug up near Traquair; and was presented by the Earl of Traquair to the Antiquarian Society of Edinburgh. Acco. of the Society, 55. But, the antiquaries have not settled to what people this curious vase belonged.

(*c*) See before, book iii. ch. 5. (*d*) Id.

(*e*) That the Scoto-Irish intermingled with the Britons here, is apparent, from the *topography* of Peeblis-shire. In it, we see Irish vocables grafted on British names: Inver-leithen was formed, by prefixing the Irish *Inbher*, which signifies an *influx*, on the British name of the river *Leithen*: This formation, then, evinces, that the Britons must have preceded the Irish; as, indeed, we know was the fact, from the tenor of the history of both those people. In the same topography, we may find the Saxon *dene*, pleonastically, superinduced upon the Irish *glen*; both signifying a deep narrow valley: And this indicates, sufficiently, that the Irish preceded the Saxons, in this shire. The Saxon *law*, a hill, has also been superinduced upon some of the Scoto-Irish names; Such as, Duill-*ard law*, Sy-*ard law*; and so of others.

signifying, as we have seen, a deep narrow vale, is merely the *glyn* of the British, which may be seen very often on the map of this shire (*f*). The many names, which we thus perceive, in every part of Peeblis-shire, with the prefix *glen*, were all undoubtedly imposed, by the Scoto-Irish people, with some reference to the British *glyn*, which may have here existed before. The Irish *cnoc*, signifying a hill, is merely the British *cnwc*, signifying a swelling, a knob, and, metaphorically, a hill, and is applied to many hills in Peeblis-shire (*g*). The Scotish people, who imposed their name *knoc* on so many hills, in this district, recognized the *cnwc* of the British, which signified the same thing: But, when the Scoto-Saxon people formed so many pleonasms, by affixing *hill* to *cnoc*, they did not understand the meaning of the word *cnoc*. The Irish *druim*, signifying a ridge, is applied to several *heights*, in Peeblis-shire; and is still retained, in some names of places; as *Drum*mellier, *Drum*maw. The Celtic *dun*, signifying a hill, is retained in the names of several hills; as *Dun*droich, the Druid's hill, *Dun*slair, Hamil-*dun*, Drider-*dun* of Pont, which is corrupted into the Driter*ton* of Armstrong. Several of the smaller streams, in Peeblis-shire, retain the name of *alt*, which had been given them by the Scoto-Irish settlers; as Cram-*alt*, the winding rill, Garw-*alt*, the rivulet, in Linton, and Garw-*alt*, in Inverleithen: And we may even now recognize the Irish *poll*, signifying a rivulet, in *Poll*-mood, within Drummellier, *Pow*-sail, the vulgar pronunciation of Pol-sail, the willow rill of Merlin's prophecy, *Pol*-an-*tarf*, the bull's rivulet. Many other names, which were applied by the Scoto-Irish settlers, in Peeblis-shire, still remain, though some of them have been corrupted (*h*). A very long list of Gaelic names of places, in Peeblis-shire, might be given, as the best evidence

(*f*) Davis, and Owen. We may here see *Glen*-isco, *Glen*-breck, *Glen*-whaip, which has been changed to *Glen*-whappen, *Glen*-umfra, *Glen*-muick, *Glen*-keirie, *Glen*-achan, *Glen*-cotho, *Glen*-harvey, *Glen*-lude, *Glen*-holm, *Glen*-rath, *Glen*-gaber, Glen, *Glen*-bide, *Glen*-glaber, in Traquair, *Glen*-tress, *Glen*-sax.

(*g*) The Welsh Dict. There are *Knock* hill, in Linton; *Knock* hill, in Skirling; *Knock* hill, in Tweedsmuir; *Knock* knows, in Kirkurd. The word *know*, that is every where applied, in Scotland, to a little hill, is merely the vulgar pronunciation of *knoll*, which is itself the British *cnoll*, a hillock. Johnson gives the word *knoll*, from Ainsworth; but, he did not know, that the word is pure British, and had been simply adopted into their speech, by the Saxons, with many other British words.

(*h*) Duill*ard* hill, in Pont, is corrupted by Armstrong into Dollar law; Tarf water, in Pont, is called Polintarf by Pennycuick; *Blair*bog, in Pennycuick, has, by an absurd perversion, been called the Whim, though the Scotish name was very descriptive of the soft mossy field. Such whimsical men, as change the descriptive names of their places, for *La Mancha*, and such like, do not reflect, that they are destroying the best evidences of their obscure history.

how-

how far the Scoto-Irish people had spread over this country, and how long they had remained (*i*).

The Scoto-Saxons, as we have seen, may have pressed upon the Britons of the Tweed, from Selkirk, from Roxburgh, and from Lothian, during early times: But, it is apparent, from the foregoing intimations, that the Scoto-Saxons came in upon the Upper Tweed, after the settlement of the Scoto-Irish there, as they came in themselves upon the aboriginal Britons, many an age, after the Gadeni had bravely fought for Tweedside, with the Roman legionaries. The year 945 is the epoch, when Malcolm I. became sovereign "of all Cumberland (*k*)." The year 974 marks the period when the Britons of Upper-Tweed, as well as in Strathclyde, ceased to govern themselves, as their government was then suppressed by the superior power of Kenneth III., the son of Malcolm I. The year 1020 is the era, when Malcolm II. became sovereign of Lothian (*l*). If the Scoto-Saxons came in upon the Upper Tweed, subsequent to those dates, they must have settled there gradually, by some right, as subjects, and not forcibly, by conquest, as enemies. When, or by whatever title, they came in, the Scoto-Saxons ultimately prevailed in this district, and finally established a permanent settlement among the Scoto-Irish, and the descendants of the original Britons (*m*). In Peeblis-shire, the Celtic names, both British, and Irish, bear a much greater proportion to the Scoto-Saxon, than in the more eastern countries of Selkirk, Roxburgh, and Berwick: This superiority of Celtic to Teutonic names, undoubtedly, proceeded from the long, and late possession of the Britons here, and from the thorough mixture of the Scoto-Irish among them, not as enemies, but as friends, many a day before the Scoto-Saxons intermingled with both, as fellow subjects of the Scotish kings. The Scoto-Saxon names of places, in this district, are the same as those of Selkirk, and Roxburgh (*n*); a coincidence

(*i*) Such as, *Glack*, in Manor parish; Cloch, and Cloch hills, *Cringletie*, *Kilrubie*, *Calacairn*, in Edlestoun; Inverleithen, and Colquhar, in Inverleithen; Kailzie, Fethein, and Teniel, in Traquair; Clochmore, Craigdilly, and Syart, in Megget; *Lour*, and *Pateruan*, in Drummelier; *Gairlet*, *Ballaman*, *Badlean*, *Badenhay*, *Badentary*, *Blairsheep*, and *Graigmad*, in Tweedsmuir, *Glack*, and Rathan, in Glenholm; *Kilbucho*, and *Blenewing*, in Kilbucho; *Dalfindow*, in Linton; and Wham, in Peeblis parish.

(*k*) Saxon Chronicle. (*l*) Sim. of Durham.

(*m*) There are charters of Malcolm IV., and his brother, William, specially addressed to the Welsh people of Strathclyde, and Upper-Tweed. Caledonia, i. 353. Those charters evince, then, how low down, the descendants of the original Britons remained, as a known people, in some districts of Peeblis.

(*n*) Such as *law*, a hill, *cleugh*, a ravine, *dene*, a valley, *shiel*, a pastoral habitation, *shaw*, a copse-wood, *dod*, which is applied to half a dozen hills, and is probably the same, as the old

a coincidence this, which evinces, that the Scoto-Saxons came in, from the east, and not through Dumfries-shire, where the Scoto-Saxon names of places are of a somewhat different cast. Many of the Scoto-Saxon appellations, in Peeblis-shire, are obviously grafted on the previous Scoto-Irish, and British names, in pleonastic forms, by a people, who being of a different lineage, were unacquainted with the prior names. This fact, then, evinces, decisively, that the settlements of the Scoto-Saxons here were made, in much more recent times, than the establishments of the original Britons, and the later colonization of the Scotish people of Gaelic descent.

We have now traced four lineages of men into the well-watered vale of Upper-Tweed, the Britons, the Romans, the Scoto-Irish, and the Scoto-Saxons: Yet, it is very difficult to assign to each of them their appropriate antiquities, particularly, the *terraces*, which abound in this district. Of such works, the most considerable are those on a beautiful green mount, called Terrace hill, above Newlands. Along the whole face of this hill, there are eleven, or twelve terraces, from fifteen to twenty feet broad, which rise by a regular gradation to the top (*o*). Somewhat more than half a mile northward from Terrace hill, there is a smaller mount, called the *Moot hill*, which has several tiers of terraces on it; and which, from its name, appears to have been appropriated, in more modern times, for the administration of justice to a rustic people (*p*). At Kirkurd, and at Skirling, the former three miles, and the latter seven and a half miles, from *Terrace hill*, there are the appearances of similar rows of terraces (*q*). At Smithfield, in the vicinity of Peeblis, there are also terraces (*r*). And, Pennycuick, after describing the terraces, at Newlands, says, that there are like terraces to be seen upon several other hills, in Tweedale (*s*). When, or by whom those terraces were formed, it is not easy to ascertain. The tradition among the inhabitants is, that they were made by *the Picts*; to whom, like the giants of other lands, the country people attribute all the more ancient works, that were formed by the Britons, who, as we have seen, were the proper

English *tod*, a bush, or tuft, *lee*, a field, a pasture-field, *ham*, a dwelling, and *by*, a habitation: *Hope*, a little vale, without a thoroughfare, is an old Norman-French word, as we may learn, from Bullet, and as we have seen: And the word *hope* could not of course have existed here long before the arrival of so many Anglo-Norman families under David I. It was, in the same age, that the Upper-Tweed obtained the name of Tweed*dale*; and perhaps from the same people.

(*o*) Pennycuick's Description, 16. Gordon speaks, in his Itinerary, more magnificently: For a whole mile, says he, it appears like a large amphitheatre; and may be seen, at four, or five miles distance. And see the Companion to the map, 73.

(*p*) The Rev. Charles Findlater intimates as much in his MS. Note on the Companion, 73.

(*q*) Gordon's Itinerary, 115. (*r*) Companion, 93. (*s*) Description, 16.

Picts.

Picts (*t*). From the example of the *Catrail*, we know, that the Romanized Britons were capable of undertaking, and executing, much larger works. But, whatever people did construct those terraces, they were evidently intended, for the accommodation of spectators, to enjoy some sport, of whatever kind, though some of them were afterward, appropriated to the administration of juctice (*u*).

From the *terraces*, we may naturally turn to *the castles*, which seem, indeed, to have been built by the Scoto-Saxons. At Traquair, the Scotish kings had a castle, in the twelfth century, where they, occasionally, resided, for the purpose of hunting in Traquair forest (*x*). It is not quite certain, whether this ancient castle stood on the site of Traquair house, which Pennycuick calls a palace, and praises, as stately. This building, which stands on the junction of the Quair, and Tweed, was obviously constructed in different ages: The oldest part, as it is of great antiquity, and seems to have been a strong tower, was doubtless the king's castle (*y*). The modern part was built, during the reign of Charles I., by the great Earl of Traquair, the Lord Treasurer of Scotland, who is praised, by Clarendon, for his knowledge of affairs, and skill in the management of them. At Peeblis, there appears to have been an ancient castle on the eminence, which has been called *the castle hill*, on the point of land, that is formed by the junction of the Peeblis water with the Tweed. There is no notice of any existing ruin, on this pleasant height. And, the summit of the hill, where once stood the castle, has been converted into a bowling-green (*z*).

On Wood hill, in Manor parish, there are some remains of an ancient building, which bears the name of *MacBeth's* castle (*a*). There is a ruin, in Broughton parish, which is also called *MacBeth's* castle; and which tradition tells was the well-known MacBeth (*b*). There were, however, considerable persons of this name,

(*t*) Gordon's Itinerary, 115. Armstrong considers the British hill-fort, on the summit of the Terrace hill, as an indication, that the terraces were made, by the Britons. The surveyor, we see, does sometimes write with sense. Companion, 74.

(*u*) The plain below the terrace on the height, at Markinch, in Fife, retains, at this day, the appropriate name of *Playfield*. Stat. Acco. xii. 552.

(*x*) From this castle, several of the charters of William, the lion, were dated.

(*y*) Description of Tweedale, 39; Stat. Acco. 378; Companion to the map, 99. This castle, and the forest about it, remained in the crown, probably, till the reign of Robert Bruce, who granted both to his zealous supporter, Sir James Douglas. Robertson's Index. This forest came from the Douglases to the Murrays. It returned to the crown, by the forfeiture of William de Moravia, "the outlaw Murray:" And, in 1478, was granted, by James III., to James, Earl of Buchan, who transmitted it, in patrimony, to James Stewart, his son. Crawford's Peerage, 480.

(*z*) Description of Tweedale; Stat. Account of Peeblis; and Companion to the map.

(*a*) Companion to the map, 70. (*b*) Stat. Acco. vii. 159.

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in Mid-Lothian, under David I., particularly, MacBeth of Liberton (*c*): And, this personage may have had lands, and a castle, in Peeblis-shire (*d*). Of *Oliver* castle, the early residence of the Frasers, in Peeblis-shire, there exists only a small remain, to mark its site, in Tweedsmuir parish. Oliver castle was probably erected here, towards the end of the twelfth century, and was long the residence of an influential family (*e*). On Fruid water, in Tweedsmuir, there are the remains of *Fruid* castle, where the Frasers also resided, of old (*f*). Drummellier castle, which stood on the east bank of the Tweed, and which Armstrong supposes to have been very ill to assail, or defend, was also built, by the Frasers, probably, in the twelfth century, from whom, by marriage, it came to the Tweedies (*g*). A mile north-north-east, from Drummellier castle, stands the ruins of Tinnis castle, upon a pointed rock, which rendered it a more safe retreat than the former: And, Tinnis castle was the residence of the Tweedies, who domineered here through ages of anarchy (*h*). Neidpath castle, which is also said to have been a residence of the Frasers, and Tweedies, stands upon a projecting rock, on the northern bank of the Tweed above Peeblis (*i*). This castle, as it has been inhabited in more recent times, is one of the completest specimens of such buildings, both as to its architecture, and strength (*k*). The ruins of *Shielgreen* castle stand on an eminence, in Peeblis parish (*l*).

(*c*) Chart. Holyrood, 1128.

(*d*) In fact, Simon, the son of *MacBeth*, was sheriff of Traquair, in 1184 A. D. Chat. Newbotle, No. 30. A late proprietor caused this ruin to be searched, for treasure, and antiquities: But, there was only found, by the search, some pieces of old armour, and some coins of no great consequence, saith the minister. Stat. Acco. vii. 159.

(*e*) *Oliver*, the son of Kylvert, granted to the monks of Newbotle a carrucate of land, and common of pasture, within the manor of Hale. Chart. Newbotle, No. 81. To this grant, Jocelin, the bishop Glasgow, from 1175 to 1199 A. D. is a witness. And, this grant was confirmed by the nephew of *Oliver*, Adam, the son of Udard Fraser; and it is witnessed by Dominus Bernard Fraser. Ib. 82. Oliver, then, was a Fraser.

(*f*) Stat. Acco. viii. 89.

(*g*) Description by Pennycuick, 26; Companion by Armstrong, 32.

(*h*) Description, 26. Tweedie, saith Pennycuick, obliged all passengers "to strike sail, salute, "and pay homage to his hautiness." Armstrong, indeed, relates, from the tradition of the country people, who delight in such tales, that King James V., who was not of a temper to bend to border chiefs, passing this way, was challenged, and detained, by Tweedie, who easily obtained forgivenes, on making an apology: The king was perhaps pleased with the humour of this stout fellow, who domineered over smaller men, in a wild recess.

(*i*) Ib. 30; Companion, 87: And there is a view of Neidpath castle, in Grose's Antiq. ii. 222-3.

(*k*) The walls of this castle were formed of whin-stones, which were cemented by run lime, being twelve feet thick. Companion, 87.

(*l*) Ib. 92.

Horsburgh

Horsburgh castle is also a strong tower, which is pleasantly situated on a height, in Inverleithen parish, on the northern bank of the Tweed. Such were the principal strengths, which the Scoto-Saxons built of "stane and lyme," within Peeblis-shire, in ancient times (*m*). Those ancient towers were all extremely like each other, in situation, in construction, and in use. They were generally placed on an eminence of difficult access: They were commonly three or four stories high, the lower floor being vaulted, with walls eleven or twelve feet thick, of stones cemented by lime, which are now as firm as a rock. The entrance into the lower story was secured by a strong wooden door, which was strengthed by an iron grate within. The invention of gun-powder, and artillery, rendered such towers as useless, as fortlets, as they had always been inconvenient, as dwellings. Some antiquaries suppose, that a continued series of those towers was built upon a systematic plan, along the Tweed, from its source to its issue. It is, however, sufficiently obvious, that those several towers were all built, at successive times, by distinct proprietors, for their residence, and safe-guard, during a long period of tumultuous times (*n*). Drochil castle, indeed, which was begun on the Lyne water, in Newlands parish, in 1578, was left by the regent Morton, who fell under the axe, in June 1581. But, this large edifice was designed, saith Pennycuick, more for a *palace* than a castle; and now exhibits, in its mighty ruins, the disgrace of its ambitious founder (*o*).

§ v. *Of its Establishment, as a Shire.*] The thirteenth century had almost expired, before the several districts on the Upper-Tweed were formed into *one shire*, or constituted a sheriffdom. The earliest charter of David I., in

(*m*) There were, indeed, in this country, a number of other strong towers, which are of more recent erection, during anarchical ages. In Inverleithen parish, there are the tower of Nether-Horsburgh, and the Peel-house of Ormiston; and there were castellated houses, at Caverstone, at Purvis hill, and Inverleithen. In Traquair parish, there are several ruins of strong towers: There is one at Cardrona, which is almost entire; and there are others at Bold, and at Grieston. There was a tower at Lyne. There were such castellated strengths, at East-Happrea, at East-Dawik, and at Drevah, in Stobo. There was a tower, in Manor parish, on a lofty knoll, called the Castle hill. There was a Peel-house, at Lour, in Drummellier. There are still the remains of ten towers in Broughton. The mansion-house of Hartree, in Kilbuko, is merely an old tower repaired. In Glenholm, there are no fewer than six old castles. In Tweedsmuir, there are the remains of a strong tower at Hawkshaw, which was the residence of an old family of the name of Porteous. In Megget parish, there were two towers, one at Cramalt, and the other at Henderland, the residence of Cockburn, the king of the thieves.

(*n*) Companion to the map, 21; Stat. Acco. x. 12.

(*o*) Description, 16; Companion to the map of Peeblis, 75-6.

1118 A. D.

1118 A. D., describes this country, by the name of *Tueddal* (*p*). Malcolm IV., who died, in 1165, speaks of the same country, by the name of *Tuedcdale* (*q*). We perceive, then, that neither of those kings, when thinking, and writing, of Tweddal, had within their contemplation *a shire* (*r*).

We know, however, that there were two sheriffs, in Tuededale, during the subsequent reign: One at Traquair, and another sheriff at Peeblis; owing to the co-existence of two royal castles, in Tuededale, at Traquair, and at Peeblis; having each an appropriate jurisdiction. The first sheriff, in Tuededale, whom my researches have discovered, is Symon, the son of MacBeth, who was *vicecomes* de Travequeyr, in 1184 (*s*). The first sheriff of Peeblis, whom I have found, in the chartularies, was John, *vicecomes* de *Pebblis*, in November 1227 (*t*). The second sheriff of Traquair, whom I have seen, in the chartularies, is Gilbert Fraser, who held a court, for deciding a contest, about some lands in Stobo, between William, the bishop of Glasgow, and Mariota, the daughter of Samuel. This law-suit was carried, by the king's precept, before Gilbert Fraser, "tunc "vicecomes de Travquer:" And, Mariota resigned her claim to the lands, in contest, "in curia vicecomitatu de Travequer (*u*)." There is a very curious precept of Alexander II., which is addressed to his sheriff, and baillies, of Traquair; commanding them to imprison all excommunicated persons, within their jurisdictions (*x*). The second sheriff of Peeblis, whom I have perceived, in

(*p*) Chart. Kelso, No. 1. (*q*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xxiv.

(*r*) In Dugdale's Monast. i. 399, there is a charter of Alexander de *Trevaquer*, which is witnessed, among other inhabitants of Traquair, "*Roberto Vicecomite*;" and which seems to be of the age of David I.: This Robert, then, was, no doubt, the king's sheriff of Traquair.

(*s*) Chart. Newbotle, 30. Nisbet, indeed, talks of the Frasers being great proprietors here, and sheriffs of Traquair, during the reign of Malcolm IV.: But, he does not produce any authority, for such assertions, except the interested fictions of the decapitated Lord Lovat. Heraldry, ii. Appx. 114; Shaw's Moray, 133.

(*t*) He was one of the witnesses, who were present, in the church of Peeblis, at the determination of a controversy, between Walter, the Bishop of Glasgow, and William, the abbot of Paisley. Chart. Glasgow, 181.

(*u*) Ib. 275. We are to remember, for settling the epoch of this contest, that William was bishop of Glasgow, from 1233 to 1258. Gilbert Fraser, the sheriff of Traquair, was a witness to a charter of Eugine, the son of Amabill; resigning his right to the same William, bishop of Glasgow, in the manor of Stobo. Ib. 279. As sheriff of Traquair, Gilbert was again a witness in a charter of Christiana, granting lands to the church of St. Mary, during the reign of Alexander III., and the prevalence of the Comyns. Ib. 445.

(*x*) This precept, which the king commanded to be published, in all his bailliewick of Traquair, was dated the 15th July 1242. Ib. 235. There remains another precept of Alexander II., which was dated somewhat earlier, perhaps, addressed to John de Vallibus, the sheriff of Edinburgh, *Gilbert Fraser*, the

in the chartularies, was Simon Fraser, who was sheriff of Peeblis, before the year 1263 (*y*). He witnessed a deed, in favour of the monks of Kelso, in 1266 (*z*). This Simon Fraser, who is called *the father*, in the records of that period, was a person of great property, and power, in Peeblis-shire; was one of the *Magnates Scotiæ*, at the demise of Alexander III.; and, by the name of Simon Fraser, was the only Fraser, who sat in the parliament, which met at Brigham, on the 12th of March 1289-90; being the only Fraser, probably, who then held lands in chief of the crown (*a*). On the 12th of June 1291, he swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick (*b*). And, he died soon after, retaining, undoubtedly, till his decease, the office of sheriff of Peeblis (*c*). Simon Fraser's lands, and perhaps his sheriffship, and certainly his consequence, descended to his son, Simon, who was equal to the father, as a statesman, and superior to him, as a soldier. When so many of the Scotish chiefs were in the power of Edward I., Simon Fraser was his prisoner, in 1296: And, in 1297, among greater men of his country, Simon Fraser engaged to serve the English king, in his foreign wars (*d*). He probably never executed his involuntary engagement. He fought strenuously against Edward, in 1302. The English king would no longer hear of pardon, for this enterprizing warrior: And, again getting him in his power, at the battle of Methven, he ordered him to be put to

the sheriff of *Trauequayr*, N. de Heris, forestar, and W. de Pennycok; commanding them, with the honest men of the country, to ascertain the extent of the pasture of Lethanhop, with the pertinents; and to return the same, with the yearly value thereof, to him, by their writ, signed, and sealed. Chart. Newbotle, 130.

(*y*) Simon Fraser was a witness to a charter of Alexander III., which was dated, at Traquair, on the 12th of December 1264. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 36. There is a precept of Alexander III., addressed to Simon Fraser, on the 25th of July 1263; directing him to pay, yearly, to the hospital of Soltre, half a chalder of oat-meal, out of the mill of Peeblis. Chart. Soltre, 8.

(*z*) Chart. Kelso, 189. (*a*) Rym. Foed. ii. 471.

(*b*) Rym. Foed. ii. 567. Simon *Frestbell*, probably, Simon Fraser, the son, swore fealty to Edward, at Lindores, on the 22d of July 1291. Ib. 570.

(*c*) On the 15th of January 1291-2, Edward I. granted to William, the son of John Comyn, during pleasure, the keeping of the *forests* of *Trequer*, and *Selechirche*, with the pertinents, in the same manner, as *Simon Fraser*, lately deceased, had the keeping of the same. Rot. Scotiæ, 7. On the 18th of June 1292, Edward appointed William de Peret to be sheriff of Trequeyr. Ib. 8. These notices, from the Record, prove the death of Simon Fraser, the Father, in 1291; and convey the latest intimation of a sheriff of Traquair.

(*d*) Rym. ii. 769: And, for his faithful performance, he pledged his wife, and his children, and all that was his. His cousin, Richard Fraser, entered into the same engagement. Id.

death, in 1306 (*e*). The two sheriffs of Tweedale probably continued throughout the disastrous times, which succeeded the sad demise of Alexander III. In 1304, Edward I. undoubtedly appointed Ademar de Valence, the Earl of Pembroke, and his heirs, to be sheriff of Peeblis (*f*).

Yet, when Edward I.. by his well-known ordinance, settled the government of Scotland, in 1305, he considered Peeblis, as a sheriffwic, and appointed, for his sheriff, Robert de Hasting (*g*). The sheriffwic of Traquair had, before that memorable epoch, become merged in the sheriffdom of Peeblis. The forest, castle, and bailliewic of Traquair, were granted, by Robert Bruce, to Sir James Douglas: But, it does not clearly appear, to whom that great prince gave the office of sheriff of Peeblis (*h*). In 1334, Edward Balliol conveyed to Edward III., "Villam, et castrum, et *comitatum* de Pebles (*i*)."

The Hays of Locherworth certainly became sheriffs of Peeblis, before the beginning of the fifteenth century (*k*). This family appears to have enjoyed this office, hereditarily, beyond the accession of King James to the English throne. Sir William Hay, *the sheriff of Peeblis*, married Johanna, the eldest daughter of Hugh Gifford, with whom he obtained the barony of Yester. His grandson, John, Lord Hay of Yester, continued sheriff of Peeblis, from 1462

(*e*) That eminent man, who was probably sheriff of Peeblis, at his death, did not leave a son to avenge his fall: But, he left two daughters; the one of whom married Sir Patrick Fleming; and the other Sir Gilbert Hay of Locherworth, the progenitor of the Marquis of Tweedale: And both Fleming, and Hay, quartered, in their armorial bearings, the *cinque foils* of the Frasers. Officers of State, 272; Nisbet's Essay on Armories, 98, pl. iii.

(*f*) Abbrev. Rot. Origin. 151. (*g*) Ryley's Placita, 505.

(*h*) Douglas says, indeed, that it was granted by him to Sir Patrick Fleming, who had married one of the daughters of Simon Fraser; quoting for this intimation a charter, in the archives of the Marquis of Tweedale. Peerage, 695. But, the Record, at least Robertson's Index, is silent, as to such a charter.

(*i*) Rym. iv. 615. Of that great concession, Edward III., immediately, received seisin. And, he, at the same time, appointed Gilbert de Bourghdon sheriff of Peeblis. Ib. 617.

(*k*) Sir William Hay, who was appointed one of the Scotish commissioners, in 1409, to treat of peace with England, was called "Vicecomes de Peeblis." Rym. viii. 584. The office became hereditary in this family. In May 1491, Christian Hay, the widow, and executrix of Thomas Hay, the late sheriff-depute of Peeblis, pursued, in parliament, Thomas Tweedie, and others, for debts, severally, owing by them to her husband. Parl. Rec. 406-7—420. In 1503, Lord Zester was sheriff of Peeblis. Balfour's Practicks, 16. And, Camden, at a later period, in speaking a few words of this shire, subjoins that, "it hath for the sheriff thereof Baron Zeister." Holland's Camden, 10.

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till 1509, when he died (*l*). The Hays of Yester, thus enjoyed the office of sheriff of Peeblis, throughout three centuries, till John, the second Earl of Tweedale, sold it, in 1686, with his whole estates in Tweedale, to William, Duke of Queensberry, who settled the office, and estates, on his second son, the Earl of March (*m*). In 1724, the Earl of March was hereditary sheriff of Peeblis (*n*); and this office he held till 1747, when all heritable jurisdictions were abolished, by a wise policy (*o*).

There does not seem to have been, in early times, any *regalities*, in this sheriffdom, to diminish the power, or restrict the jurisdiction of the sheriff: There appears to have been only one, at the epoch of the suppressing of such unfit authorities. David II. granted to William Douglas the lands of Kilbothock, and Newlands, on the resignation of John Graham of Dalkeith (*p*). Robert II. granted to James Douglas of Dalkeith, on the resignation of his father, the barony of *Kilbothock*, and Newlands, with the barony of Linton-Rotherick, in Peeblis-shire (*q*). Pennycuick asserts, without quoting his authority, that Kilbucho was erected into a regality for Lord Haltree, one of the senators of the College of Justice, the granduncle of Dickson of Kilbucho (*r*). But, when that lawyer's descendant claimed £1,000, for the regality of Kilbucho, his claim seems not to have been allowed, by the proper judges (*s*). Linton is said, by Pennycuick, to have been a burgh of regality: The Earl of March, he adds, is now lord of this regality, and distributes justice, by his sheriff-depute. The Earl of March claimed nothing for the regality of Linton, but was allowed a compensation for the regality of Newlands (*t*). James Montgomery, of the family of Magbiehill, who rose to be Chief Baron of the Exchequer, was appointed the first sheriff of Peeblis-shire, after the abolition of the heritable sheriffdoms, at a salary of a hundred and fifty pounds, a-year (*u*).

(*l*) He was created Lord Hay of Yester, on the 29th of January 1487-8. Parl. Rec. 325. In June 1493, the lords auditors of parliament ordained John, Lord Hay of Yester, *the sheriff of Peeblis*, to put in execution the letters directed to him, to distrain Thomas Middlemast for 27½ marks, owing to Sir James Crichton of Cairns, and to cause the same to be paid to Sir James, as he undertook, in presence of the lords; and if he should fail, in doing this, the lords ordered letters to be issued, to distrain the sheriff's own goods, for the same. Parl. Rec. 381.

(*m*) Douglas Peer. 682. (*n*) MS. Paper Office.

(*o*) For the sheriffship of Peeblis, he claimed 4,000l.; for the regality of Newlands, 1,500l.; and he was allowed, for both, 3,418l. 4s. 5d. List of Claims, 8.

(*p*) Robertson's Index, 54. (*q*) Ib. 121; Hay's Vindication, 24.

(*r*) Description, 28. (*s*) List of Claims, 12. (*t*) Ib. 8.

(*u*) Scots. Mag. 1748, 155.

Such, then, are the notices, which, by carrying the mind back to the times that are long passed, show the origin of the office, the rise of the abuse of an hereditary officer, and the final establishment of a regimen, having the common good for its salutary end.

§ VI. *Of its Civil History.*] From the survey of the antiquities of Tweedale, we have seen, how many remarkable events must have happened here, during very early times. From the notices, with regard to the establishment of the sheriffdom over Tweedale, we have perceived some of the most noted of its civil transactions. From the many towers, and fortlets, which have been erected, through this county, during the Scoto-Saxon period, we may easily conceive, what feuds must have existed among irascible barons, and how much kindred blood may have been spilt, in Tweedale, though such "bloody facts" did not rise to the dignity of civil war. Tweedale was too distant from the scene, and too well defended by defiles, and forests, to have been much involved in border conflicts. And even during the succession war, Tweedale suffered little from the contests, between Bruce and Baliol, and little more from the inveterate, and long-continued collisions, between the sister kingdoms, for Scotland's independence. Owing to the midland position of Peeblis-shire, it lay out of the track of the invading, or retreating armies, either on the east, or on the west.

The only representative, whom Tweedale can be said to have had, in the great parliament of Brigham, whose resolutions involved so many interests, was Simon Fraser, the sheriff. The Frasers, who influenced Peeblis-shire, were all connected with Baliol, and supported his claims (*x*). When John Baliol was obliged to submit to a power, which he could not resist, Tweedale submitted to Edward I., in August 1296 (*y*). Nor, did the people of Peeblis-shire partake much, in the gallant struggles of Simon Fraser, the younger, for his country's rights. They shared in the fortune of Robert Bruce. They were involved in

(*x*) John Baliol appointed the Frasers, as his nominees, for supporting his pretensions against Robert Bruce. Rym. ii. 553.

(*y*) Ib. 654. In 1292, Edward I. had already confided the keeping of the forests of *Trequer*, and *Selechirche*, to the charge of William, the son of John Comyn. Ayloff's Calendar, 197. In 1304, Edward I. granted to Adomar de Valence, and his heirs, both Traquair, and Peeblis. Abbrev. Rot. Orig. 151. In opposition to this grant, Robert I. gave Traquair, with its pertinents, to Sir James Douglas. Roberts. Index, 10. This fact explains the reason, why we hear no more of a sheriff of Traquair.

the

the misfortunes of Edward Baliol (*z*). They were, no doubt, freed from this subjection, by the valorous exploits of Sir William Douglas, the first earl, who fought for the great estates, which good Sir James Douglas had left, after all his conflicts. The English are said to have regained possession of Peeblis-shire, after the battle of Durham, in 1346. And, the people of this shire were finally freed from the English yoke, by the tardy restoration of David II. to his liberty, rather than his independence, in 1357. Of the sad effects, which were the necessary result of so much warfare, and devastation, throughou. seventy years, from a comparison of the value of the lands, in Peeblis-shire, at different periods:

According to the *ancient extent*, the rental was - - - £1,274 : 18 : 6
According to the true value, in 1368 - - - - 863 : 13 : 4 (*a*).

From those general views of the whole shire, we may now throw our eyes on the shire town. The name of Peeblis implies, that some habitations were placed on the isthmus, which is formed by the junction of Peeblis water with the Tweed, during British times: And, we may even suppose this isthmus to have been thus early the commodious site of a Gadeni town. At the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, there was, undoubtedly, here, a village, a church, a mill, and a brewhouse (*b*): And there were here, as early, perhaps, a royal castle, with a chapel, and other accommodations, which a town can only supply (*c*). It was the desire of sport, rather than security, that induced the Scotish kings to erect a castle on this commanding situation. We have already seen how early the king had a sheriff, whose jurisdiction appears to have been co-extensive with the constabulary, which seems to have been bounded by a similar jurisdic-

(*z*) In 1334, Edward Baliol transferred his rights, in Peeblis-shire, to Edward III. Rym. iv. 615—17.

(*a*) MS. Paper Office. In more modern times, the sheriff of Peeblis only accounted, yearly, in the Exchequer, for 327l. 14s.; And even this sum was lessened, by several deductions, to 206l. 5s.: So that, there was a difference between the old rental, and the present rental of 1668 A. D., of 121l. 9s. Sol. Gen. Purvis MS. The valued rent of the shire of Peeblis, in 1657 A. D., was 51,878l. 13s. Scots money; or 4,323l. 4s. 5d. sterling. The rental of 1794 is estimated at 19,168l. sterling, which is probably a good deal under the truth. Agricult View, 17.

(*b*) The *Inquisitio* of Earl David, 1116 A. D., found, that there had belonged to the bishop of Glasgow, in *Peblis*, "una carrucata terræ, et *ecclesia*." Chart. Glasgow, 1. Soon after the re-establishment of the bishoprick, the bishops of Glasgow appear to have obtained the whole ecclesiastical rights, while the king retained the demesn of Peeblis.

(*c*) Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow, from 1175 to 1199, confirmed to the monks of Kelso, "capellam castelli de Peblis," with a carucate of land adjacent, and a rent of ten shillings "de firmi burgi de Peblis." Chart. Kelso, 451.

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tion of larger extent. From the earliest record, we may perceive, that Peeblis was a town of the royal demesn, which yielded a *firm* into the royal exchequer (*d*). The kings resided, occasionally, at Peeblis, till the sad demise of Alexander III., who left it marks of his munificence (*e*). The town, with prepossessions for Baliol, was involved in the contests, for the succession to the crown. It was compelled, after the premature abdication of John Baliol, to submit to Edward I.'s usurpation (*f*). We may thus perceive the form of the government of Peeblis, at that disgraceful epoch: As the king's town, it was governed, by his bailiff, with certain burgesses, who held the town in *firm* of the king. In 1304, Edward I. certainly granted to Adomar de Valence, the warden of Scotland, and to his heirs, "burgum nostrum de Pebbles, cum "molendinis," and other pertinents (*g*). On the contrary, there is a charter of Robert I., "burgi de Peebles, super libertatem nundinarum (*h*)." But, when it became a *royal burgh*, with special privileges, is uncertain. It is certain, however, that it sent two representatives to the parliament of 1357, which was called to ratify, and provide the ransom of David II. (*i*). David II. granted Peeblis a charter, dated the 20th September 1367, which made it a royal borough; and which was confirmed by a charter of James II., and by another, from King James VI., in 1621 (*k*). Robert Bruce conferred on this burgh a free

(*d*) There are many remains here of the royal residence, during ancient times, in the names of places about the town: There are, the *King's house*, the *King's orchards*, the *King's meadow*. Companion to the map, 84, which has a plan of the town. Stat. Acco. v. 15. On the 13th of December 1292, Edward I. issued a mandate to William Clausum, "*firmario* burgi, et molendino-"rum de Peblis," directing the 28l., which he owed, as the arrear of the firms of the said burgh, and mills, to be paid to the executors of William de Dunfres, the late chancellor of Scotland. Rot. Scotiæ, 13. He issued a similar mandate to Thomas de Halywell, "firmario molendinorum "de Trakeweir," directing the payment of 20l., which he owed, as arrear of the firm of the said mills, to the said executors. Id.

(*e*) Pennycuick's Description, 33.

(*f*) On the 28th of August 1296, William de la Chaumbre, the *baillyf*, several burgesses, and "tote la *comunate* de Pebles," with John, the vicar of the church, swore fealty to the English king, at Berwick. Prynne, iii. 654. Many other inhabitants of Peeblis-shire "came to meet him, "and bowed themselves to the ground before him." Ib. 655-6-9. *The king's tenants* of the county of Peeblis are specially named. Ib. 656. We have already seen, that such tenants of the king, held in demesn, and not in capite.

(*g*) Abbrev. Rot. Origin. 151. (*h*) Roberts. Index, 15.

(*i*) Rym. Foed. vi. 44: Peeblis stands among the boroughs, the seventeenth, and last, on the list: Its representatives, on that occasion, and perhaps the first, were Nicholas, the son of John; and John, the son of William.

(*k*) From all those charters, the constitution of this borough is formed of a provost, two baillies, a dean

a free market David II. granted to John Grey, the clerk register, the burrow *mails* of Peeblis: In 1369, David gave to the same person, the whole *firm*, and issues "*burgi* de Peblys;" except those, which belonged to the *Chamberlain Air* (*i*). In 1543, the town, and John Lord Hay of Yester, amortized to St. Andrew's kirk, in Peeblis, four-and-twenty marks, with a chamber, and a yard (*k*). At the Reformation, in 1560, there were granted to the corporation, by Queen Mary, several lands in its vicinity, and fishings in its rivers, with a toll upon the bridge, below the town (*l*). Doctor Pennycuick, as a poet, has outdone his own topography, in his description of this town (*m*):

"Peeblis, the metropolis of the shire,
"Six times three praises do from me require;
"Three streets, three ports, three bridges, it adorn,
"And three old steeples, by three churches, born;
"Three mills, to serve their town, in time of need,
"On Peebles water, and the river Tweed.
"Their arms are proper, and point furth their meaning,
"Three salmon fishes nimbly counter-sweeming."

In later times, the burrough of Peeblis sought, and received the protection of parliament (*n*).

At the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, if not earlier, the Scotish kings had the forest of Traquair, in this district, with a castle on the isthmus, which is formed by the junction of the Quair with the Tweed. We first see it mentioned, in record, under David I. (*o*). In the castle here, the successors of David

a dean of guild, a treasurer, eleven counsellors, and one deacon: The whole corporation, consisting thus of seventeen members. The yearly income of this corporation is 272l. 10s. 9d sterling. Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, 1793. In 1556, Peeblis, in people, and wealth, ranked with Selkirk, Dunbar, Lauder, and other towns of a similar insignificance; as we may infer from the assessment of that year, in Gibson's Glasgow, 87. The effluxion of a century and a half did not much change its relative situation: In this period, it had fallen a little below Selkirk, and risen something above Dunbar and Lawder; as we may learn from the assessment of the year 1695. Ib. 103. Some of the royal boroughs were, however, of a still lower order, than those feeble towns.

(*i*) Roberts. Index, 63-85; Regist. David II. lib. i. 198. (*k*) MS. Donations.

(*l*) This bridge is of five arches, and seems to have been built, in early times, but by whom is unknown. (*m*) Description, 31.

(*n*) In June 1640, there passed a ratification in favour of the burgh of Peeblis. Unprinted Act. There was a *protestation* of Lord Yester against the ratification to the town of Peeblis. Id. There was also a protestation of the town of Peeblis against the ratification of the Earl of Traquair. Id.

(*o*) David I. granted to the monks of Melros, in his forests of Selkirk, and *Traquair*, pasturage, and

David resided, occasionally, till the demise of Alexander III. (*p*). There was a bailliewic of considerable extent, which was appurtenant to this castle, as we know from record. There was also of old a considerable village, which had arisen under the shelter of the royal castle (*q*). We may easily suppose, that the town of Traquair enjoyed much merriment, and prosperity, while the kings so often resided here, throughout the whole Scoto-Saxon period. In 1304, Edward I. granted to Adomar de Valence, the manor of Traquair, which then appears to have been more opulent, and populous than Peeblis itself (*r*). Robert Bruce granted to Sir James Douglas the royal forests of Selkirk, Etterick, and *Traquair*, as a free barony (*s*). This forest of Traquair, which was the object of so much desire, and of grant, remained, no doubt, in the family of Douglas, till the forfeiture of the earl, under James II. Being in the crown, the barony of Traquair was granted, in 1478, by James III., to James Stewart, the Earl of Buchan, who transferred it, in 1491, to his second son, James Stewart, the progenitor of the Earls of Traquair (*t*). Besides the barony, there seem to have been other lands, within the forest, which were granted to other proprietors. The *outlaw Murray*, William de Maravia, had forfeited the lands of *Trakware*, before the year 1464; as they were then granted to William Douglas of Cluny; being in the crown, by the forfeiture of the outlaw (*u*). David II. granted the *bondage-lands* of Traquair to William Maitland (*x*). Doctor Pennycuick speaks, rapturously, "of the pleasant place, or rather palace of Traquair (*y*):"

"On fair Tweedside, from Berwick, to the Bield,
"Traquair, for beauty, fairly wins the field;
"So many charms, by nature, and by art,
"Do there combine, to captivate the heart."

and pannage, and wood, and other materials, as freely as he himself enjoyed those easements to his proper use. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xiv.

(*p*) There are two charters to the monks of Cupar, by Malcolm IV., which bear to have been granted, at *Trevequer*. Chart. Cupar, 1-2. There are eight charters of William, the lion, which appear to have been granted at *Travequar*. There are some of Alexander II.'s charters dated at the same place. And, there are grants of Alexander III., dated at Traquair. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 36.

(*q*) In 1334, David II. granted to Richard Halywell the *hostilarie* of Traquair, which John Craig had forfeited. Robertson's Index, 57. The same *hostilarie* was granted to Ade Forrester, by Robert II. Ib. 124. David II. granted to Roger Wodyfield twenty librates of land, with a *burgage* in the town of Traquair, which had been impignorated to him, by Janet, the daughter of Walter de Moffet. Ib. 77. Traquair is now a small hamlet, in the center of this extensive parish, with a public house, at the mill. Companion to the Map, 99.

(*r*) Abbrev. Rot. Origin. 151. (*s*) Roberts. Index, 10. (*t*) Douglas Peer. 94-673.

(*u*) Autograph in the hands of the late Andrew Plummer, the sheriff of Selkirk.

(*x*) Robertson's Index, 37. (*y*) Description of Peeblis-shire.

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The bush aboon Traquair has, however, captivated other poets. This celebrated bush, as it should seem, has dwindled to five lonely trees, comprehending all that remains, to mark the spot, which was so often propitious to the loves of the Murrays, and Stewarts, during more pastoral times (*a*).

Peeblis-shire felt the effects of misrule, during the long period of anarchy, from the burdensome restoration of David II., to the sad demise of James III. (*b*). Peeblis-shire equally partook of the disasters of Floddon-field (*c*). During the perturbed minority of James V., the tumults of the Reformation, the civil wars of the four regencies, Peeblis-shire may be said to have languished in its wretchedness, rather than to have been wasted by war (*d*). Yet, are there reasons to suppose, that the gentry of Peeblis-shire lived, during those unhappy times, in more comfort, than we might be led to suppose, from general notices. The Parliamentary Record evinces this state of manners, while it exhibits so many

(*a*) Stat. Acco. xii. 378. Yet, are we told, that the late Earl of Traquair displayed his taste, by planting a clump of firs, in order to perpetuate *the bush aboon Traquair*, that is sacred to song. Companion to the Map, 100.

(*b*) After a successful faction had brought James III. to an untimely grave, the first parliament of his infant successor, when the partition of the whole kingdom was to be made among the triumphant insurgents, delivered Peeblis-shire to the domination of the Earl of Angus, with Selkirk, and other counties. Parl. Rec. 337.

(*c*) In October 1513, the general council of the state, sitting at Perth, ordained, that if any breach of the king's peace be committed, within the sheriffdom of Tweedale, letters be written to the sheriff, charging him to reform the same: And if he be not of sufficient power, to punish the peace-breakers, that he call to his aid the Earl of Angus, the Earl of Morton, Lord Home, and Lord Borthwick. Parl. Rec. 530. In January 1513-14, the same general council, sitting at Edinburgh, ordained, for good rule among the king's lieges, in Tweedale, that all the headsmen, both in town, and country, landed, and unlanded, both of the *royalty*, and *regality*, should compear before the lords of the council, on the 27th of the same month, upon the pain of treason. Ib. 540.

(*d*) The preamble of King James's charter to the town of Peeblis, in 1621, states, indeed, "that the people of this borough had not only struggled with secret, and open oppressions, in the "borders of England, and Scotland; their *city* being often plundered, burnt, laid waste, and "rendered desolate." This description of ruin would suit well enough some of the towns on the Lower Tweed; but, cannot literally be true, as to any town on the Upper Tweed: In 1549, indeed, Peeblis was burnt, by Englishmen, says Birrel. Diary, 4. The 10th of October 1567 was the day appointed, by the regent, to rendezvous in Peeblis, for going against the *thieves* of Annandale, and Eskdale. Ib. 12. In June 1568, the regent passed out of Edinburgh, with 2,000 men, to Biggar: And, on the morrow, the place of Skirling, by his command, was blown up with gunpowder. Ib. 16. On the 1st of May 1571, there seems to have been a conflict, between the contending factions of the queen and regent, at Tushelaw. Ib. 19. On the 4th of July 1604, a great fire happened, in Peeblis town. Birrel's Diary.

exact views of feeble justice, and penurious economy (*e*). The condition of the people was not much meliorated, throughout the infancy of James v., and the violences of the Reformation. During the peaceful reign of James vi., the freeholders of Peeblis-shire sometimes met, and showed their weapons to the sheriff: But, there were no longer *old adversaries* to oppose (*f*). By the fanaticism of many, and the factiousness of a few, this shire, which is praised for its loyalty, was involved, ere long, in civil conflict. They gave sufficient testimony of their loyalty, says Pennycuick, at the fight of Philiphaugh, where several of them were killed by Leslie's army, and the most eminent of their gentry taken prisoners (*g*). Such victories of Scotsmen over Scotsmen led to the conquest of Scotland by Cromwell. A small detachment of horse, from Cromwell's camp at Biggar, were surprized, and cut in pieces, at Fala moss, by Porteous of Hawkshaw, with the aid of the country people, who, we may suppose, remembered the conflict of Philiphaugh (*h*). Whether revenge carried the torch through Tweedale, on this occasion, we are not told. Pennycuick is studious to tell that, among the fanatical insurgents, at Bothwell bridge, there were not a dozen from Tweedale (*i*). A pastoral country is not, from nature, the seat of fanaticism, or faction, which are usually generated in the hot-bed of towns. We may now advert to a conflict of a different kind, the effect of singular manners: On the 1st of October 1677, there happened, at Romanno, says Pennycuick, a memorable *Polymachy*, between two clans of Gipsies, the *Fawes*, and the *Shawes*, who had come from Hadington fair, and here fell out, about divid-

(*e*) In December 1513, a cause was heard, by the lords of the council, against William Cockburn, the laird of Skraling, [now Skirling], for taking, by violence, a part of his own goods, that had been escheated, and granted to Mathew Campbell; viz. three verdour beds; an arress bed; three pair of sheets; a burd-claith of Dornik, [a damask table-cloth]; six smocks of Dornik; a linen burd-claith; a feather-bed, with a bolster, and four cods, [pillow cases]; two verdour beds; a pair of fustain blankets, a ruff, and curtains; two pair of sheets; one pair of blankets of small white; a feather-bed; and two saddles, with their repailings; all which goods extend, by good estimation, to thirty pounds Scotish money. Parl. Rec. 538. Such was a country gentleman's furniture.

(*f*) There is preserved "A Roll" of one of those *weapon-shawings*, upon the burrow-moor of Peeblis, on the 15th of June 1627, before James Nasmyth of Posso, the sheriff-depute, which is very curious: There were 232 horsemen, and 31 footmen, armed, the first with steel bonnets, jacks, swords, lances, buff-coats; the footmen with swords, and lances: There were a few pistols, but no muskets. Companion, 89.

(*g*) Description, 7.

(*h*) Companion to the Map, 107: The map-maker only shows his own principles, by considering this ebullition of national, and religious fury, as a cool assassination.

(*i*) Description, 7.

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ing the spoil (*k*). During the reign of James v., perhaps in the preceding age, the Egyptians wandered throughout Scotland, as a distinct people, under the government of "Johnne Faw, the Erle of Litill Egipt," who had power to rule, and punish his people, "conforme to the lawis of Egipt (*l*)." King James vi., however, thought very differently of the subjects of John Faw: He declared them to be vagabonds, and thieves; and to be punished, as felons (*m*). But, times change: And, a very different government at length shed its happier influences, on Peeblis-shire.

The people of Tweedale submitted to *the Revolution*, without a struggle: And, they acquiesced in *the Union*, without a murmur: They were not much disturbed, by the insurrection of 1715 (*n*): And, they remained tranquil, during the rebellion of 1745. The magistrates of the shire-town, throughout those perturbed times, appear to have been willing, by annual prizes, for promoting horse races, to revive in the minds of their people their ancient games,

"At Beltane, when ilk bodie bouned,
"To Peeblis, to the play."

Tweedale has produced men, who have distinguished themselves by their genius, their talents, and virtues. Hunter of Powmood, if we might believe the irrefragable charter of Malcolm Canmore, was the personage most early

(*k*) Description, 14. Old Faw, the chief, with his wife, who was big with child, were killed, on the place. For this murder, old Shaw, with his three sons, were hanged, in February 1678, at Edinburgh; and John Faw, for a different murder. The famous Sir George Mackenzie was the Lord Advocate, who brought all those Gipsies to condign punishment. Dr. Pennycuick, who possessed Romanno, in right of his wife, erected a pigeon-house on the site of this *Polymachy*; and inscribed it with the following couplet:

"The field of *Gipsie* blood, which here you see,
"A shelter to the harmless dove will be."

(*l*) Privy Seal Record, 14, f. 59. James v. gave protection to this Johnie Faw, and support to his authority, in 1541. Queen Mary renewed this writ of protection to the same *Erle*, in 1553; and she gave him a pardon, for the slaughter Ninian Small, one of his subject Egyptians, no doubt. M'Laurin's Crim. Laws, 774-5.

(*m*) 20 Ja. vi. ch. 13: Under this statute, it is sufficient to be reputed *Egyptians*, to infer the pains of death. Ib. 57.

(*n*) On the 21st of October 1715, the Marquis of Annandale, lord lieutenant of Dunfries, and Peeblis-shire, after raising the militia, on his way from Peeblis to Dunfries, was pursued by the rebels under Lord Kenmore, from the west. Scots Courant of that date. The people of Peeblis-shire were all loyal.

distinguished (*o*). But, the Frasers were the family, who first appeared conspicuous. Their origin, indeed, has been involved in fiction, by the genealogists, who, by inattention, and artifice, have tried to give to falsehood all the confidence of fact. The Frasers were undoubtedly the most conspicuous characters, in Peeblis-shire, during the Scoto-Saxon period. But, it is apparent, from the notices of history, that the several families of Frasers, in the south of Scotland, all ended in female heirs, at the commencement of the fourteenth century. Sir William Hay of Locherworth, by marrying Mary, one of the heiresses of Sir Simon Fraser of Oliver castle, thereby acquired much of the estate, and influence, of that potent family. It was, by their means, also, that Lord Yester acquired, in 1646, the title of Earl of Tweedale, and his son, John, the yet higher honour of Marquis of Tweedale, in 1694 (*p*). Traquair has furnished a title to the Stewarts, who are descended of the Earl of Buchan, of that surname: Sir John Stewart was created Lord Stewart of Traquair, in 1628, and Earl of Traquair, Lord Linton, in 1633. William Douglas, the Earl of March, was also Viscount of *Peeblis*, Lord Neidpath, and Manner. Hs was descended not only from the Douglases, but from the Hays, and the Frasers of Peeblis-shire. These seem to be the only peerages, which conferred celebrity on the localities of this shire. This district has not supplied many senators to the College of Justice: Mr. John Dickson was raised to the juridical bench, in November 1649, when he assumed the title of Hartree (*q*). Magbiehill produced the late Sir James Montgomery, the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. The physician, Alexander Pennycuick, marrying Margaret Murray, the heiress of Romanno, long exhilarated this shire, by his poetry, and instructed its people, by his knowledge: He is one of the earliest of his countrymen, who investigated the qualities of matter, and studied the virtues of herbs (*r*). In 1700, the estate of Rachan produced James Geddes, a scholar of whom the University of Edinburgh may boast: He chose the law for his profession: But, he died of a consumption, before the age of forty (*s*). Sir

(*o*) Pennycuick has recorded this *original* charter, which he obtained from Hunter, under his own hand, as the son had it from his father. Description, 25. It may be allowed, however, that the surname of *Venator* appeared here, in the charters of the 12th and 13th centuries.

(*p*) Crawford's Peerage, 486-7. (*q*) Lord Hailes's List.

(*r*) In 1715, he published his Geographical, and Historical Description of Tweedale; and he died, in 1722. It were to be wished, that other persons, in his sphere, had given as good descriptions of their several shires: It was praised by Bishop Nicholson, before its publication. See his Historical Library.

(*s*) His erudite work on *the Composition of the Ancients* was printed, after the death of the author, in 1748.

Alexander

Alexander Murray of Stanhope was not only one of the first improvers, but endeavoured, by his several Treatises, to teach others how to benefit their country, by improvements (*t*). This county has produced, also, David Crawford, who was born a ploughman, but has shown, after "Lady *Fortune* had "turned her back upon him," at Clinty-cleugh, that he can display the powers of a versifier (*u*).

§ VII. *Of its Agriculture, Manufacture, and Trade.*] At the commencement of the Scoto-Saxon period, much of Tweedale was still covered with woods. The most eastern part of it formed a continuation of the forests of Etterick, and of Selkirk. The eastern district, lying on the south of the Tweed, was covered by the forest of Traquair (*x*); while the division, lying on the northern side of the Tweed, formed the forest of Leithen, which comprehended the countries, that are drained by Leithen water, and its kindred streams (*y*). The parish of Megget, which borders on Etterick forest, was of old much covered with wood, however bare it now is, without a copse to cover its deformities, or a bush to soften its features (*z*). During that period, the middle, the west, and the northern districts of this shire, retained much copse-wood, which contributed shelter, and gave rise to pasturage (*a*). Yet, are there very few names of places, in

(*t*) Sir Alexander Murray's Tracts were published successively between the years 1732 and 1740: They contain many notions, which have been adopted, by more celebrated writers. He must be distinguished from John Murray of Broughton, in this shire, who acted, during the perturbed year 1745, as private secretary to Charles Stewart. The estates, both of Stanhope, and of Broughton, are now enjoyed by families of more discretion.

(*u*) He published his *Poems*, chiefly in the Scotish dialect, in 1798: Among his effusions, there is "an address to *Tweedale*," with such topics of praise, as would naturally occur to such a mind, amidst such scenes.

(*x*) David I. granted to the monks of Melros, in his forests of Selkirk, and Traquair, the several easements of pasturage, and pannage, of wood, and of other materials, as freely as he himself enjoyed them. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xiv.; Chart. Melros, 54. The same grant was repeated by William, his grandson.

(*y*) David II. granted to the monks of Newbotle, that they should enjoy their lands, within the vale of Leithen, in a free forest, with the rights appurtenant. Chart. Newbotle, 165-6; Robertson's Index, 83.

(*z*) Stat. Acco. xii. 565.

(*a*) There was a natural wood at Dawick, which is now called New-Posso, when Pont's Survey was made, at the middle of the seventeenth century. At Polmood, in Drummellier, there still remains some natural wood, which tradition states to have been formerly much more abundant. Stat. Acco. vii. 154. A strip of natural wood, on Lyne water, which was called the Scroggswood, consists mostly of birches, and allers; and, on Pont's map, is called "the birks of Lynn-"Scroggs."

in this shire, denominated from woods, whether it were, that the Celtic language prevailed longer here, than in Lothian, Selkirk, and Roxburgh (*b*).

Yet, hamlets had been settled, in the woodlands of Peeblis-shire, as early as the reign of David I. The king had his royal demesns; the monks had their granges; and the gentry had their manors, to which were appurtenant their hamlets, with their churches, their mills, their brewhouses, and their commons. There were, perhaps, as many people, in Peeblis-shire, during that age, as in the present: The agricultural polity of former times produced a more efficient population, than the boasted refinements of modern economy.

The husbandry of Tweedale, even during the reign of David I., resembled the mode of Tiviotdale, in mixing farming with grazing, the labours of the plough with the cares of the shepherd. There were many dairies, in Tweedale, during the beneficent days of David I. (*c*). It appears, indeed, that Peeblis-shire, during the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, was cultivated under the same agricultural system, as we have already seen existing in Roxburgh-shire (*d*). Amidst all that pasturage, and pannage, there was much corn grown, if we may decide, from the number of mills. The kings had their mills, at Peeblis, at Traquair, and at Inverleithen (*e*). The passion, for orchards,

"Scroggs." The *Tarth*, and *Lyne*, join their waters, saith Pennycuick, at the entry of the Scrogg-wood: After which follow the Scroggs, and Scrog-wood, consisting mostly of birks, and allers. Description, 18.

(*b*) *Kaillie*, the Gaelic name of the parish, which is annexed to Traquair, intimates, in the Celtic speech, the existence of a wood there; as the Hawk-*shaw*, in Tweedsmuir, shows the existence of copse-wood there, when the Scoto-Saxons began to sport in this district.

(*c*) In 1128, he granted, as we have seen, to the monks of Kelso, the tithe of the cheese, "decimam caseorum," which was yearly made, in weddal. Chart. Kelso, 1.

(*d*) At the end of the twelfth century, Elena Morville, the sister of William Morville, who died in 1196, for the safety of the soul of Roland, her husband, gave the monks of Melros a piece of land in her manor of Kilbothocston, lying between the water of Lyne, and the Harehope burn, in Lyne parish, with common of pasture, in the same manor, for seventy ewes, with their followers, or as many wedders; for forty cows, with a bull, with their followers of two years old, and forty oxen; for eight horses, and four sows, with their increase of three years old. This grant of Elena was confirmed, by two charters of her son, Allan of Galloway, and by a charter of King William. Chart. Melros, 133-34-5-6.

(*e*) Alexander II. granted to the hospital of Soltre half a chalder of oat-meal, yearly, from his mill of Peeblis. Alexander III., in 1263, confirmed, and enforced that grant of his father. Chart. Soltre, 8. David II. granted the lands of Edrington, in Peeblis-shire, to Thomas Nisbet, with *thirle to the Peeblis mill*. Robertson's Index, 40. In 1325, Robert I. confirmed the grant of meal by Alexander III., to the hospital of Soltre: But, as the firm of the mill of Peeblis was then let for

orchards, seems to have come down from the British Gadeni, to the people of Tweedale, though this district is not so well calculated, for fruit trees, as the warmer vale of Clyde. There appears to have been some orchards of old, at Peeblis town: A place, called the *King's Orchards*, is known there, at present: And there is reason to believe, that there belonged an orchard to the monastery, which was founded here, by Alexander III. (*f*). There was, probably, an orchard, at Traquair, in early times; as Pont, in the seventeenth century, marks *the orchard*, on the Quair. And Pennycuick tells us of an old orchard, at Wester-Dawick, where the herons, in his time, did build their nests upon some large pear-trees: To these nests, the herons brought many fish from the Tweed: And, this explains the remarkable riddle, which they so much talk of, to have flesh, fish, and fruit, upon the same tree (*g*). It is not easy to ascertain the value of property in Peeblis-shire, in those early times. The monks of Kelso had some burgage lands, near the church of Inverleithen, which rented, yearly, for twelve shillings an acre, at the end of the thirteenth century. This is a very high rent, during that period, if there be no mistake of some transcriber (*h*). The monks, at the same period, rented three acres of land, which they possessed at Hope-Kailie, for three shillings a-year (*i*).

Considering the height of Peeblis-shire, the air of it must necessarily be keen, and pure (*k*): Yet, is there reason to believe, that the climate of this country must have been milder, during the twelfth century, when it was more sheltered by woods, than it is at present, when there is no obstruction to the current of wind, and its nakedness exposes it to the effects of the blast. Less rain falls, in this county, than in the districts, which lie to the east, and to the west of it (*l*). In the middle, the north, and west of Tweedale, the valleys are more fertile,

for money, he granted the same quantity of oat-meal out of *his mill* of Traquair. Chart. Soltre, 41. David II. granted to the chaplains of St. Mary's church, in Peeblis, the corn, and *fulling* mills of Inverleithen, with very extensive multures. Stat. Acco. ii. 13.

(*f*) See the Plan, on Armstrong's Map of this shire.

(*g*) Description, 29. Every place has its garden, now, with three or four hot-houses, in the gardens at the Whim, at Castlecraig, Darnhall, and Kingsmeadows, and a botanic garden at New-Posso. Agricult. Survey, 153.

(*h*) Chart. Kelso, 9. (*i*) Id.

(*k*) Agricult. Survey, 13: Doctor Pennycuick informs that, "the air of Tweedale is pure, and "well purified, which makes the inhabitants well proportioned, strong, and nimble." The doctor laments, however, that the meaner sort do not take a little more pains to keep their bodies, and dwellings, neat, and clean; thinking it a pity to see a clear complexion, and lovely countenance, appear with so much disadvantage, through the foul disguise of smoke, and dirt. Description, 5.

(*l*) Id.; Report, 13; The average quantity of rain, that falls, annually, does not exceed 28 inches.

fertile, and pleasant, and the hills more grassy, and beautiful, than in the east, and southern parts, where the low lands are more barren, and the mountains more bleak. Newlands parish, in the north-west quarter, is called the garden of Tweedale (*m*). And, Megget parish, in the south-east quarter, has been stigmatized with barrenness; while the two highest settlements in it are, appropriately, named *Winter*-hope, and *Dead-for-cold* (*n*). The greatest want, in Tweedale, saith Pennycuick, is of *timber*, little planting being to be seen, except a few bushes about the houses of the gentry; and not one wood, worth naming, in this open, and windy country (*o*).

The prosperity of Tweedale, during the Scoto-Saxon period, from 1097 to 1297, was blasted, by four centuries of wretchedness. Yet, Pennycuick saw its resuscitation commence. He even praised the young nobility, and gentry, for beginning to form plantations, which, he foresaw, would turn to the ornament, as well as the advantage, of that cold, and naked country (*p*). The farmers were even then considered as an industrious, and careful people; yet, something wilful, stubborn, and tenacious of old customs: They would not suffer the *wrack* to be taken off their lands, because they supposed it kept the corn warm; nor sow their bear-seed, till the first week of May, which they called *Runchie* week, was past (*q*); nor plant trees, or hedges, for wronging the under-growth, and sheltering birds; nor ditch a piece of boggy ground, for fear of losing a few feet of grass; nor, could they be cured of a custon of overlaying their grounds, which they thought *full-plenishing*; and which, adds Pennycuick, makes their cattle lean, little, and low-priced in the markets (*r*). The farmers, however, had begun of late to take some pains, in making their hay well-smelled, and coloured, though of late years many of them preferred musty hay, for its power of making their cows fruitful (*s*). Such were the prejudices, which prevented the progress of improvement. Yet, Pennycuick acknowledges, that the rents of Peeblis-shire were as well paid as any in the

28 inches: Yet, is rain more frequent, though less abundant. The general seed-time is March for oats, and the end of April, and beginning of May, for barley, and November for wheat: Harvest begins in September, and ends in October, though barley is often cut in August. Hay harvest begins in July. Ib. 27.

(*m*) Companion, 73: Pennycuick's Description, 3. (*n*) Companion, 66.

(*o*) Description, 4. (*p*) Id.

(*q*) The week of *weeds*: I have not seen this term thus applied any where else, in Scotland, though the word *runchies*, for weeds, is generally known to rurigenous people: Bailey, indeed, has preserved *runcation*, for a weeding. Scholars know where to find the origin of the word; but, it is not easy to tell where the farmers found it.

(*r*) Ib. 6. (*s*) Id.

kingdom,

kingdom, and for the most part in money (*s*). Tweedale, continues he, in regard of its high situation, and having little *plain*, is more fit for pasturage, than the production of corn; and, is stored with such numbers of sheep, that, in Linton markets, which are kept every Wednesday, during the months of June, and July, there have frequently been sold, in one day, 9,000; and are, indeed, the greatest merchant commodity, that brings money, with their product of lambs, wool, skins, butter, and cheese: There are but few pease, and less wheat sown, in Tweedale; but of barley, rough bear, especially, and oats, greater plenty than is sufficient, for the inhabitants (*t*). In some districts of this shire, they had begun, as early as the Union, to use *lime*, as a manure (*u*). In the same districts, *marle* was found: But, from the silence of Pennycuick, as to its use, we may infer, that the husbandmen had not then begun "to "spread *this compost* on the weeds, to make them ranker."

We thus see, then, that improvements had begun, as early as *the Union*, though perhaps without much vigour of effort. Pennycuick himself is entitled to praise, as one of the first improvers, since he showed the farmers their prejudices, and taught the gentry the properties of plants. A greater man, than the doctor, the Earl of Ilay, the far-famed Archibald, Duke of Argyle, is recorded "as having shown an example of agriculture, that was much wanted (*x*). Sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope was also an improver, as we have seen, who planted himself, and inculcated on others the doctrines of improvement. But, James Macdougal, a small farmer, at Linton, first taught, by his example, the Norfolk rotation of crops, and other useful practices: He may be deemed the father of the improved husbandry of this shire: And he must rank higher on the scale of useful example, than the Duke of Argyle, who had but few followers (*y*). The first dairy farming, in Tweedale, is said to have been intro-

(*s*) Description, 4.

(*t*) Description of Tweedale, which, though published in 1715, may be deemed as old, in composition, as the epoch of the Union, if not before; as Bishop Nicolson spoke of it, in 1703.

(*u*) There is no small quantity of *lime*, towards the northern borders of this shire, saith Pennycuick, at Carlops, Whitefield, Celtcoat, Grange, and Spitalhaugh, which places, with their neighbourhood, are very much improved of late, to the benefit of the ground, in reducing many of those black, and barren heaths, to fertility, and a fairer complexion. Description, 5.

(*x*) His lordship made choice of moss, [in this shire, at *the Whim*], saith Maxwell, knowing that, being made up of excellent materials, moss is improveable, at a moderate expence; and that it yields the manure properest, for fertilizing itself. Grain, grass, from grass-seeds sown, oak, and other planting, have already prospered upon it, by his culture: Besides, to him we give the American, and Balm of Gilead firs, the larix, and many other useful plants, which he introduced into this country. Select Transactions of the Society of Improvers, 1743. Dedic. vi.

(*y*) Agricult. Survey, 57.

duced, by Thomas Stevenson, in the present times: This is asserted by those, who knew not, that dairy farming existed here under David I. (*z*). Dairy farming was practised, in this shire, at the epoch of the Union; as we have seen, from the intimation of Pennycuick (*a*). It is, however, certain, that the agriculture of this county, like the husbandry of Roxburghshire, is of a mixed nature; consisting partly of the growing of corn, and of the feeding of sheep, according to the nature of the soil, and climate (*b*). The whole superficies of Peeblis-shire is 338 square miles, or 216,320 statute acres:

Of these, the arable land, gardens, sites of houses, comprehend	29,500 acres.
The pasture, woods, mosses, lakes, rivers, roads, &c. -	186,820
The appropriation of the whole - - - -	216,320

In 1657, the taxable rent of this shire was £4,323 : 4 : 5 sterling: The real rent of it, at present, may be estimated, in the following manner:

The arable land of 29,500 acres, at 10s. - - -	£14,750	0	0
Pasturage lands of 186,820, at 1s. 6d. - - - -	14,110	10	0
Yearly value (*c*) - - - - - -	£28,860	10	0

The turnip husbandry was first introduced into Tweedale, about the year 1764, by George Dalzel, innkeeper at Linton; and, in the course of twenty years, every farm had its turnip-field, so congenial to the soil was it found, and so salubrious to the sheep (*d*). Potatoes had already been introduced; but the same intelligent person was the first, who cultivated the potatoe on a large plan, by the plough; and this most useful practice soon passed into general use, as well for the food of cattle, as of man (*e*). Artificial grasses, which were introduced at the era of the Union, were now commonly sown, though, for

(*z*) Stat. Acco. I. 149.

(*a*) Description, 3: Two of the commodities, he says, which brought money into Tweedale, were "butter and cheese."

(*b*) Agricult. Survey, 14.

(*c*) The Argicultural Survey, 26, states the same object, in the following manner:

The rent for 112,800 sheep - - - - -	£17,834	0	0
for 4,300 cows - - - - -	6,450	0	0
for horses sold - - - - -	1,716	0	0
The yearly value - - - -	£26,000	0	0

(*d*) Agricult. Survey, 258. This innkeeper may be recorded among those never to be forgotten men, who make a blade of grass grow, where none grew before.

(*e*) Id.

want

want of inclosures, not with the best effects. *Summer fallow*, which once had been the great object of improvers to introduce, went out of practice, as the turnip husbandry came into use; as it answered the same purpose, with greater profit (*f*). But, the great improvement of much of Tweedale began about the year 1788, which originated in rapacity, and ended in melioration: The Lord of Neidpath received fines of his tenants, and gave them, in consideration, leases of five-and-fifty years: And, the notion of property, for more than half a century, soon erected commodious houses, made inclosures, and incited agricultural enterprize, with greater skill; as it had already produced the same beneficial effects in Berwickshire (*g*).

But, without roads, for the purpose of communication, every improvement is vain. In ancient times, when war, both foreign and domestic, was frequent, easy entrance into the recesses of the country, had been a great disadvantage. Through the dreary parish of Megget, there are still the traces, however, of three, or four paths, in different directions, across the hills into Annandale, though for what purpose, whether of thievery, or traffic, is uncertain (*h*). During the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, it was the practice to grant the right of passage either for money, or for charity (*i*). Yet, must we remember, that there were public roads, though perhaps not in many directions, in the reign of David I., as we see them mentioned, in the chartularies. The benefit of roads began to be understood here, about the year 1750. A way to the capital was then constructed, by piecing together district roads, so as to suit private convenience, rather than public use. Under the authority of parliament, however, post roads, throughout this shire, were afterward made, at an expence of eighty pounds a mile. For the mending of cross-ways, the statute labour has been commuted into a money-payment. And, though much has

(*f*) Agricult. Survey, 26.

(*g*) Agricult. Survey, 104-112. It was the same principle, which produced the improvement of England: We may see examples of leases even for four score years, in Madox's Formulare, 141—46.

(*h*) Stat. Acco. xii. 564.

(*i*) William Purveys of Mosspennoch granted to the monks of Melros, "liberum transitum," through the middle of his lands of Mosspennoch, for twenty shillings sterling to him paid. Chart. Melros, 137. This must have been transacted towards the end of the thirteenth century. This estate is now called Mossfennan, in Glenholm, near the vicinity of which the monks had the lands of Hopcarton, and others. About the same time, Sir Symon Fraser of Oliver Castle granted to the same monks, free passage, for their carriages, cattle, and people, through his lands of Hoprew, in Stobo parish, on the road, leading up Tweedale to their lands, in the manor of Oliver Castle. Officers of State, 271.

been done, still more is to be performed, before the carriage, both of the exports, and the imports, can be performed, with the greatest advantage to the husbandmen, and manufacturers, who have a claim to every possible convenience (*k*). There is a track, which is called the *Drove-road*, that passes through this shire, entering it on the north-west, at the pass, called the *Cauldstane Slap*, and quitting it, on the south-east, at *Glendeans-bank*, where it enters Selkirkshire (*l*): It was on this *Drove-road*, that the cattle were driven, from the north to the south, for sale: And it seems to have been established by custom, and is continued by use.

But, roads do not acquire all their usefulness, till bridges are thrown over the waters, in a country, which is traversed by so many mountain torrents. The chief erection of this sort, in Tweedale, is the bridge on the Tweed, at the shire-town: From its structure, it appears to have been built, in early times, of five arches, with little breadth: And, it was probably erected by some of the kings, while they hunted here, as the pontage on it was granted to the corporation of Peeblis, about the year 1560, by Queen Mary (*m*). There are two other bridges here, which have been thrown over the Peeblis water, to connect the new town with the old. Upon the Lyne, there were four bridges, and two mills, in the days of Pennycuick (*n*). And, upon the Maner water, there was, in the same age, a stone bridge, below the church.

Every water, in this streamy shire, abounds with fish, except the Tweed, which, indeed, furnishes some salmon, notwithstanding every obstruction: But, the fishings of Tweedale do not produce any rent to the neighbouring proprietors (*p*).

Tweedale cannot be deemed a manufacturing county. The various products of the soil were, indeed, manufactured, as early as the intelligent age of David I. The same agricultural policy prevailed here, as in Roxburghshire, under that prince: Every manor had its mill, its malt-kiln, and its brewhouse: Every dairy converted the milk of its cows, and its ewes, into butter, and cheese: And perhaps every family manufactured its wool into garments, for its hardy sons, and blithsome daughters; as we have already seen, that they had fulling-mills, in very early times. Pennycuick speaks of the growing of *lint*, in his time: Yet, there was no linen made, for sale, in Peeblis-shire, either at the

(*k*) Agricult Survey, 210—13.
(*l*) See Armstrong's Map of this shire.
(*m*) Stat. Acco. xii. 16.
(*n*) Description, 10.
(*p*) Companion, 16; Agricult. Survey, 25; Stat. Acco. xii. 371-2; Ib. xix. 595.

revival

revival of that fabric, in 1727, or at its height, in 1801. Woolen, linen, and cotton weavers, we are told, are increasing about the shire-town; owing to the influential employments of Edinburgh, and of Glasgow (*q*). There are, at Peeblis, a few stocking looms. The patriotism of Brodie, a London iron-worker, has established a woolen manufacture, at Inverleithen, which seems to have taken root, in a congenial soil, and may grow into size (*r*). It is surprizing to those, who do not reflect, how much the origin of arts, and the commencement of traffic, are owing to time, and chance, that no manufacture of coarse woolen has been established, at Linton, within sixteen miles of Edinburgh, on a turnpike road, in the midst of sheep-walks, and abounding with water, with lime, with freestone, and with fuel, both coal, and peat (*s*). With all those advantages, the blasting influence of a landlord may nip the buds of industry, as it blossoms; or "mildew the white wheat, and hurt the poor "creatures of the earth." Peeblis, Linton, Skirling, Edleston, and Broughton, are all market towns, in Tweedale (*t*): But, their fairs do little more than bring together the buyers, and sellers of the products of husbandry (*u*). Yet, what avail those boasted improvements of agriculture, if they cast a sickly hue over the whole population of the shire (*x*). It is apparent, from the foregoing intimations, that Tweedale was more populous, under David I., than it is at present. The domestic economy of this shire, under that beneficent sovereign, produced more cattle, more sheep, more hogs, and more victual, than the agricultural system does at present. Even at the commencement of the fourteenth century, Tweedale, under such a sheriff as the younger Sir Symon Fraser, could have made far greater efforts, in resisting the foe, than this feeble county could possibly

(*q*) Agricult. Survey, 218-19. (*r*) Id. (*s*) Id.

(*t*) In 1663, there was mentioned in parliament a warrant, for two fairs, and for changing the market-day of the barony of Skirling. Unprinted Act of that date. The following advertisement from the corporation of the shire-town, dated the 3d of September 1724, opens a little more in detail the economy of their fairs; "The magistrates and council of Peeblis, considering that their "fair, called *Rytt Fair*, or St. Dennis Fair, which uses to fall yearly on the first Tuesday of "October, is too soon in the year for buying fat beasts; and also, that some of their neighbouring "fairs fall on the same day, have therefore thought fit, to alter the said fair to the last Tuesday of "October yearly, hereafter, where all persons may attend, for selling and buying of worsted yarn, "fat beasts, horses, black cattle of all sorts, and other merchant goods; and may expect to be "civilly and kindly entertained." Courant, No. 897.

(*u*) Agricult. Survey, 214-15. For the whole domestic economy of Peeblis-shire, the Agricultural Report, and the Agricultural Survey, must be consulted: My plan only allows historical sketches of an interesting subject.

(*x*) See the supplemental Table, at the end of this account of Peeblis-shire.

make,

make, under its vaunted polity of the present day. The incipient manufacture of Peeblis, of Linton, of Inverleithen, but ill supplies the people, whom the agricultural system has driven away from the other parishes (*y*).

§ VIII. *Of its Ecclesiastical History.*] The connection of Tweedale with the ancient kingdom of Strathclyde seems to have naturally placed the eccleasiastical system of this country within the diocese of Glasgow. In the *Inquisitio* of Earl David, the prince of *Cumbria*, we may see, that this episcopate was found, by that inquest, to have had a carucate of land, and a church, in Peeblis, with other churches, in this county (*z*). Tweedale remained under the authority of the bishop Glasgow, till the final suppression of episcopacy, in Scotland. The archdeacon of Glasgow was prebendary of Peeblis (*a*): And the churches of Maner, Edlestone, and Stobo, within this shire, were prebends of the episcopate of Glasgow. From this connection, it became necessary, for every ecclesiastical grant, within this shire, to be confirmed, by the bishop of Glasgow; as we perceive they were, in fact, from the chartularies. In those times, also, there was a *deanry* of Peeblis; as we know from Bagimont's Roll. The bishop of Glasgow used to hold his episcopal synods, at Peeblis (*b*).

In the town of Peeblis, there were religious establishments, even before the epoch of record; as we know from *the Inquisition* of Earl David. The *Cross* kirk of Peeblis owed its foundation to a very common event, which yet, from the superstition of the times, created much popular attention. On the 7th of May 1261, as we learn from Fordun, there were dug up, at Peeblis, "a cer-"tain and magnificent, and venerable cross," which was supposed to be the very cross of the martyred St. Nicolas, during the Maximian persecution. There was also found here, soon after, an urn, containing "the ashes and "bones of a certain man's body (*c*)." At the Gadeni town of the Romanized christians, these discoveries were nothing extraordinary. Yet, was Alex-

(*y*) See the Statistical Accounts of this shire, for the special facts, on this head.

(*z*) Chart. Glasgow, No. i.; Sir James Dalrymple's Col. Appx. No. i. We may remember also a slight circumstance, which is connected with this subject; there is, in Peeblis town, an aqueduct supplied from *St. Mungo's* Well: Kentigern, and Mungo, are one and the same saint.

(*a*) The parson of Peeblis hath been, for many ages, the archdeacon of Glasgow, saith Pennycuick. Description, 2.

(*b*) A controversy about the church of Sibaldby, and the chapel of Hotun, in Dunfries shire, was settled by a composition, which was made in full synod, at Peeblis; and which was affirmed by the authority of Joceline, the Bishop of Glasgow, from 1175 to 1199. Chart. Glasgow, 287.

(*c*) Fordun, Ed. Hearne, 767.

ander

ander III. induced, by William, the bishop of Glasgow, to found, on this site, in 1254, a monastery for red friars. At Harehope, in the south-west of Edleston parish, there was a convent of Lazarites, which was founded by David I., who endowed them with certain lands, and revenues, particularly, the lands of Spitalton, and St. Giles's, and Pristfield, in Mid-Lothian. In the Cross kirk, as well as in some other churches, in Peeblis, there were founded, by the piety of ancient times, a number of chaplainries, and altarages, with lands for their support: All these were granted by James VI. to the corporation of Peeblis (*e*). At the Reformation, the High church, in the old town, was destroyed; and the Cross church was converted into the parish kirk: The cloister was converted into houses for the schoolmasters, and public schools; and it was used, for this purpose, till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the cloister became ruinous (*f*). The revenues of the Cross church were, by reforming sacrilege, assigned in pensions to Walter Henderson, and son, whether the famous zealot of the Scotish kirk appears not (*g*). About two miles eastward from Peeblis, there was of old an hospital, which was dedicated to St. Leonard; and was founded, by ancient charity, for infirm, and indigent persons (*h*): The site of this hospital has more recently been known by the name of *Chapel yards*. There seems to have been formerly an hospital at a place, that has been called from it *Spitalhaugh*, on Lyne water, in Linton parish: And a field near it still bears the name of *Chapelhill* (*i*).

When the whole ecclesiastical policy of Scotland was changed by the Reformation, the parishes of Peeblis-shire were formed into one presbytery, which was placed in the synod of Lothian and Tweedale. In 1692, when men's minds were again unsettled, four of the parishes of Peeblis-shire, Kilbucho, Glenholm, Skirling, and Broughton, were annexed to Biggar presbytery (*k*).

The parish of Peeblis is very extensive, and populous; containing 18,210 acres; and upwards of 2,000 souls. Where the shire-town now stands, there was, in the earliest times, a hamlet, which derived its name, as we have seen, from the British people, in whose speech, the word *Pebyll* signified, the *Shieling*, of the Saxon tongue, or temporary dwellings. That the British people had a

(*e*) Description, 32-3; Stat. Acco. xii. 167 Companion, 83. Frere Thomas, Mestre de la Maison de Seint Croce, de Pebblis, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick, on the 28th of August. 1296. Prynne, iii. 662.

(*f*) There is *a View* of the Cross church, in Grose's Antiq. ii. 221-2.

(*g*) Exchequer Acco. MS. (*h*) Spottiswoode, 516—33.

(*i*) Armstrong's Map; Stat. Acco. i. 147.

(*k*) Companion to the Map, 10; Pennycuick's Description, 2.

church;

church here is extremely probable: That there was a church here, belonging to the ancient episcopate of Glasgow, at the commencement of the twelfth century, is certain (*l*). In this church, the bishops of Glasgow used sometimes to hold their synods. Ingelram, who was named to the bishopric of Glasgow, in 1164, was previously *rector of Peeblis*, and archdeacon of Glasgow. In 1195, the church of St. Andrews, in Peeblis, was consecrated, by Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow (*m*). The diocesan, in order to settle a dispute with Hugh de Pottun, his archdeacon, assigned him a revenue out of the church of Peeblis. The rectory was thus converted into a vicarage (*n*). In Bagimont's Roll, there was the *vicaria* of Peeblis, in the deanry of Peeblis, without the church of Glasgow, rated at £2 : 13 : 4. In the same Roll, the archdeacon's prebends of Peeblis, and Maner, were rated at £26 : 13 : 4. In a *Taxatio* of the prebends of Peeblis, and Maner, in 1401, they were rated at £5 (*o*). Till the Reformation, the archdeacon of Glasgow was rector of Peeblis, and of Maner; and enjoyed of course the parsonage tithes of those parishes, which are said to have been worth, yearly, 6,000 marks (*p*). At that epoch of ecclesiastical change, a part of the vicarage tithes was assigned, by the patron of the parish, to the master of the grammar school at Peeblis (*q*). The town, and parish of Peeblis, which are now content with one church, and one parson, had before the Reformation three churches, and several chapels (*r*). The High church of Peeblis, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, is supposed to have been erected, or rather rebuilt, in the eleventh century. From the appearance of some of the freestone, it should seem to have succeeded a church

(*l*) The Inquisitio of Earl David, 1116, Chart. Glasgow, 1, is published in Gibson. This inquest, and title of the bishop of Glasgow, were confirmed by Pope Alexander, in 1170; by Lucius, in 1181; and by Urban, in 1186. Chart. Glasgow.

(*m*) Chron. Mailros of that date.

(*n*) Chart. Glasgow, 199. Walter, the *vicar* of Peeblis, was a witness to a charter of John, the bishop of Glasgow, from 1260 to 1268 A. D. Ib. 202. John, the vicar of the church of Peeblis, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick, on the 28th of August 1296. Prynne, iii. 654.

(*o*) Chart. Glasgow, 490.

(*p*) Doctor Pennycuick affirms, that he had been faithfully informed, the parsonage of Peeblis was worth, on an average of years, 6,000 marks, Description, 2.

(*q*) Stat. Acco. xii. 16-17.

(*r*) Doctor Pennycuick, we may remember, when celebrating the *number*, in which God delights, speaks "of the *three* old steeples, by *three* churches borne," in Peeblis town. The present minister speaks fastidiously of "*needless multiplicity* of churches," formerly; as if one minister could administer the comforts of christianity to a town, with a surrounding parish of ten miles long.

more

more ancient. King David granted to the chaplains of St. Mary's church, in Peeblis, the corn, and the fulling mills of Inverleithen, with extensive multures, and the adjacent lands (*r*). The ruins of this ancient church still remain, at the western extremity of the old town, which is surrounded by a large cemetery, wherein the dead are deposited by those, who do not think frigidly of their fathers dust. The High church was demolished, at the Reformation, by those, who thought, that a religious people could have a *needless multiplicity* of temples for the worship of God: And, the *Cross* church, as it was nearer the new town, was converted into a parochial place of worship: But, in 1784, a church was opened here, in the stead of the Holyrood, that had defied time, and negligence, since its foundation by the piety of Alexander III. (*s*). In it, as well as in the church of St. Andrew, there were established a number of *chaplainries*, and altarages, with the endowments of lands, which were all granted to the community of Peeblis, in 1621; paying an annual rent into the Exchequer; and offering their daily prayers for King James, the grantor (*t*). The castle of Peeblis had of old a chapel, which was granted, in the twelfth century, to the monks of Kelso, with a carucate of land adjacent, and ten shillings out of the firm of the town (*u*). There was also, in Peeblis, a chapel, which had been dedicated to the Virgin Mary; and which was usually called Lady chapel (*x*). And, there was, in those religious times, a chapel, at a place, which was called from it, Chapel hill, upon Peeblis water, about a mile and a half above the town. In those good old times, there probably were more people, and more piety, than in the frigid days, when a minister of the gospel could talk coolly of the *needless multiplicity of places of worship.*

The present parish of Traquair is composed of the old parish of Traquair, with that half of the ancient parish of Kailzie, which lies on the southern side of the Tweed (*y*). The district took its name from the village; and the village derived its British appellation from its site on the *Quair*. In the charters of the

(*r*) Stat. Acco. xii. 13.

(*s*) Ib. 16. During the contests, about religion, in 1654, the Earl of Traquair obtained a charter, granting him "terrarum ecclesiasticarum ecclesiæ parochialis de Peeblis." Douglas Peerage, 674. The Earl of March is now patron of Peeblis church.

(*t*) Companion, 28; Stat. Acco. xii. 16: There were mentioned, in that grant, the prebends of St. Mary, of the *Holy Cross*, of St. Michael, St. Mary Major, St. John, St. Mary, St. Andrew, St. James, St. Laurence, St. Christopher, with the chaplainry of St. Mary. Id. In 1543, the corporation, with Lord Yester, granted to St. Andrew's kirk, four-and-twenty marks, with a chamber, and a yard. MS. Donation.

(*u*) Chart. Kelso, No. 451. (*x*) Roll of Small Benefices, MS.

(*y*) The annexation took place, in 1674. Companion to the Map, 99.

twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the name is written *Trevquer*, *Travequayr*, *Trequayr* (z). Trev-quair, and Tre-quair, in the British speech, signifies the dwelling, hamlet, or village, on the Quair (a). The Celtic name of the water was derived, as we have seen, from the *winding* course of the stream. The church of Traquair was granted by David I. to the bishop of Glasgow; and was confirmed, soon after, by the bulls of successive popes (b). The church of Traquair was dedicated to St. Brigid; and was commonly called St. Bride's kirk, and Kirkbride. In Bagimont's Roll, there are the *rectoria* de Kirkbride, valued at £5 : 6 : 8; and the *vicaria* de Kirkbride, at £2 : 13 : 4; lying without the church of Glasgow, in the deanry of Peeblis. In 1242, Alexander II. sent a precept to his sheriff, and baillies, of Traquair; commanding them to imprison excommunicated persons, in the church (c). After the Reformation had given a new model to the Scotican church, the advowson of Traquair went from the archbishop of Glasgow to the king, with whom it still remains. The church of Traquair was rebuilt, in 1785 (d). The parish of *Kailzie*, Kaillie, or Kellie, as it was anciently written, derived its Celtic name, from the woods, which once constituted a part of the forest of Traquair. *Celli*, in the British speech, Kelli, in the Cornish, signify a grove; and the kindred *Coille*, in the Gaelic, means a wood (e). In the mixed topography of North-Britain, this Celtic term has, in many instances, been converted into Kailzie, and Kelly, by the Scoto-Saxon pronunciation; the Celtic (c) having the same powers as the English (k). The same parsimonious spirit, which considered numerous churches as *needless*, completely suppressed the parish of Kaillie; and annexed the southern part of it to Traquair, and the northern to Inverleithen (f). The ruins of Kaillie church stand on a rivulet, which, from it, is called Kirkburn; and which falls into the Tweed, from the south (g).

The parish of *Inverleithen* took its name from the kirk-town; and the village derived its Celtic appellation, from its site near the influx of the Leithen with the Tweed. Inverleithen is compounded of the Scoto-Irish *Inbher*, which is

(z) Chart. Glasgow, Kelso, and Newbotle. In the grants of the 14th century, it is written Traqwayre, Trekware, but most frequently *Traquair*. Robertson's Index. There are two very ancient charters, in Dugd. Monast. v. i. p. 399, wherein this place is called *Trevaquer*, and *Trevequer*.

(a) Davis, and Owen, in vo. *Tref*, *Trev*, *Tre*: And, so *Tre*, in the Cornish. Pryce's Arch.

(b) Chart. Glasgow, 73, 81, 91, and 104.

(c) Ib. 235. (d) Stat. Acco. xii. 375.

(e) Davis, and Owen's W. Dic.; Pryce's Arch.; and O'Brien, and Shaw's, Gaelic Dict.

(f) Companion to the Map, 47-99. (g) Ib. 100.

pronounced

pronounced *Inver*, signifying the *influx*, or junction of two riverets, which is prefixed to the more ancient British name of this mountain torrent, which derived its name from its quality of flooding its banks, as we have already seen. Malcolm IV. granted to the monks of Kelso the church of Inverleithen, wherein his son reposed the first night, after his decease; and he commanded, as an additional favour, that this church should enjoy the same power of refuge, as had *Wedale*, and Tyningham (*b*). In 1232, the church of Inverleithen was confirmed to the monks, by their diocesan, William, the bishop of Glasgow (*i*). At the end of the thirteenth century, the monks state, as a part of their property, that they had the church of Inverleithen, "in rectoria," which used to be worth, yearly, £26 : 13 : 4; and had annexed thereto an annual pension, which they held "in vicaria" (*k*). In Bagimont's Roll, there is "vicaria de Inver-"leithen," lying without the church of Glasgow, and in the *deanry* of Peeblis, valued at £6 : 13 : 4. William, the ancient parson of Inverleithen, was one of the witnesses to a charter of William Morville, the constable of Scotland, from 1189 to 1196 A. D. (*l*). The village of Inverleithen, with the circumjacent district, continued a part of the royal demesn, during the reign of Alexander II. (*m*). We thus perceive, that Malcolm IV. merely granted to the monks of Melros the church of Inverleithen, without giving the town, the common of pasture belonging to it, or the circumjacent territory. In 1674, the smaller, or northern part of the parish of Kaillie, was annexed to Inverleithen, as we have seen. Inverleithen is now a large, populous market town, with a fair on the 14th of October; and it is daily growing still larger, from the introduction of a woollen manufacture here, and the discovery of a mineral spring in its vicinity.

The parish of *Edleston* takes its name, from the hamlet, wherein stands the church. The name of this district can only be ascertained, from its singular changes, as we trace them in the chartularies. During the British times, this district bore the name of *Pentiacob*, which, however corrupted, shows plainly its British original (*n*). Before the year 1170, *Pentiacob* had been changed to the

(*b*) Chart. Kelso, No. 20: Lord Hailes takes notice of this grant of Malcolm IV.; and the cause of it.

(*i*) Ib. 278. (*k*) Id. (*l*) Chart. Glasgow, 165.

(*m*) Chart. Newbotle, No. 130: The king, in the precept, which he then issued to Gilbert Fraser, the sheriff of Traquair, reserved to himself *the common of pasture*, which was appurtenant to *his village* of Inverleithen. Id.

(*n*) It was found, by the *Inquisitio* of Earl David, in 1116 A. D., that *Pentiacob* had belonged of old to the church of Glasgow. Gibson's Glasg. Appx. *Pent-y-achub*, in the British, would

the more obvious appellation of *Gillemorestun*, from some person of Scoto-Irish descent having fixed his residence here (*o*). Engelram, the bishop of Glasgow, from 1164 to 1174, gave in firm, "ad firmam," to Richard Morville, the constable, the lands of Gillemorestun, "que olim vocabatur *Penjaccob*," with the pertinents, except the church; to hold of the church of Glasgow, for fifteen years, from Pentecost 1170 A. D. The bishop rented this land to the constable, in consideration of three hundred marks; Morville making oath on the gospels at the altar, that he, or his successors, would faithfully return the demised premises, at the end of the term, to the bishop, or his successors (*p*). Richard Morville forgot his promise, and disregarded his oath. He granted the bishop's lands to Eadulfe, the son of Uchtred, and his heirs, for the service of one knight (*q*). Yet, was this grant confirmed by William Morville, the constable, who succeeded his father Richard, in 1189 (*r*). Eadulfe considered this district so much his own, that he changed the name of it, from *Gillemorestun* to *Edulfestun*; which was afterwards softened into *Edulestun*, and at length corrupted into *Eddlestown*. In this manner, then, was the British name, by successive changes, which had some meaning, converted into an appellation, that has none. In this transaction, thus authenticated by record, we see at once the profligacy, and the power of the Morvilles, who transmitted their high office of constable to their female heirs, who possessed the delicacy of feeling, which was wanting in them. The last of the Morvilles died in 1196 A. D. (*s*). After a long deprivation of this property, by the power of Richard Morville, this ancient possession was honourably restored to William, the bishop of Glasgow, by Elene, the daughter of Allan, Lord of Galloway, the descendant, and heiress, of the Morvilles (*t*). William de Bondington, by whose address, or

signify the *hollow* of protection, or deliverance; *Pen-ti-achob*, would denote the chief house of protection, or deliverance: Whatever there may be in these meanings, it is certain, that the prefix is either the British *Pen*, which, signifying a head, or summit, is not unfrequent, as we have seen, in the southern topography of North-Britain; or it is the British *Pant*, signifying a hollow, or vale.

(*o*) By the name of *Gilmorestun*, this parish was confirmed to the bishop of Glasgow by successive popes, from 1170 to 1186 A. D. Chart. Glasg. 73-81-91-103.

(*p*) Chart. Glasgow, 161.

(*q*) Ib. 165. Richard Morville granted this land to Edulfe, in fee, by the name of Gillemorestun "que antiquitus vocabatur Penjacub." Id.

(*r*) Id.

(*s*) Chron. Melros, 180: "Obiit William Morville."

(*t*) The virtuous Elene was the grand-daughter of Roland, and the daughter of Allan, the Lord of Galloway, by Elene Morville, who succeeded, upon the death of William, her brother, in 1196, to

or influence, this estate was re-annexed to his see, was originally one of the clerks of the chancery; became afterward rector of Edelston, which was one of the prebends of Glasgow; archdeacon of Lothian; chancellor of Scotland, in 1231; bishop of Glasgow, in 1232; and he died, in 1258 (*u*). Richard de Boulden, the parson of the church of Edelston, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick, on the 28th of August 1296 (*x*). In Bagimont's Roll, there is, among the churches of the chapter of Glasgow, "rectoria de Edelston," which was valued at £13 : 6 : 8. In a taxation of the prebends of the church of Glasgow, in 1401, Edelston is rated at £3 (*y*). The present church of Edelston seems to have been built, at the end of the sixteenth century; at least, some of the pews within it, are marked, in 1606 A. D. (*z*). A new village has been built at this kirk-town, which enjoys the benefit of a yearly fair, on the 12th of September (*a*).

The united parish of Lyne, and Megget, was formed in 1621, by the junction of two distinct parishes together, however inconvenient to the parishioners, though convenient to the proprietors. This annexation is another illustration of the modern doctrine, how needless numerous churches are to the christian dispensation. There is no church in Megget (*b*): This fact carries that doctrine to the full length, of considering it, as unessential to this dispensation to have any visible church. The district of Lyne derived its British name from the riveret Lyne. The church, and kirk-town, stand on the eastern side of it, rather more than a mile before its influx into the Tweed. This church was originally a chapel, subordinate to the mother church of Stobo (*c*). This chaplainry of Lyne

to the property, and offices, of the Morvilles: And she had been the wife of Roger de Quincy, the Earl of Albemarle. The release of Elene is recorded in the Chartulary of Glasgow, 251; and she therein stated the history of this transaction. John de Balliol, who married Dervorgilla, the daughter of Allan, Lord of Galloway, and William de Torc, the son of Roger de Quincey, both confirmed the release of Elene; and both recite the whole transaction. Ib. 255-257.

(*u*) Chron. Melros, 222; Keith, 141-2, has mistated the time of his decease. The bishop, after he had regained his right, granted to Mariota, the daughter of Samuel, an annuity of ten marks, "de firma manerii nostri de Edulvestun, percipienda per manum commerarii nostri." Chart. Glasg. 273. This manor of of Edleston was of old very extensive, as it comprehended *Tor*, which has been changed to Windie*laws*; and which is two miles below, on the water of Edelston. Ib. 449.

(*x*) Prynne, iii. 662. (*y*) Chart. Glasgow, 490. (*z*) Stat. Acco. xvii. 189.

(*a*) It had formerly another fair on Tuesday before the 12th of July; but, this is now held at Peeblis. The Rev. Charles Findlater's MS. Note on the Companion, 38.

(*b*) The minister says, he preaches in some-farm house, by rotation. Stat. Acco. xii. 559.

(*c*) At the end of the 12th century, a dispute was agitated, between Robert, the son of David de

Lyne afterwards became a rectory. And, in Bagimont's Roll, we may see the "rectoria de Lyne," in the deanry of Peeblis, valued at £4. The minister talks of this ancient church having once been a popish chapel, which, by a thorough repair, in late times, has been purified from its ancient grossness (*d*). The parish of Megget obviously derived its name from the riveret Megget, that took its Celtic appellation, from the whey colour of its waters. At Henderland, in the eastern extremity of the parish, there is the ruin of a church, which is surrounded by a cemetery, that is still used by those, who regard the monuments of their fathers with veneration: And, as there is no other remain of any ecclesiastical edifice, we may easily suppose this to be the ancient church of Megget (*e*).

The name of the parish of *Newlands* refers to the era, when the lands, lying around the kirk-town, were first brought into cultivation, by Scoto-Saxon hands. At the end of the thirteenth century, the church of Newlands, in Tweedale, belonged to the monks of Dunfermlin (*f*). In Bagimont's Roll, there is the "rectoria de Newlands," in the deanry of Peeblis, valued at £16. This high valuation shows, that it was then deemed of great value, and was independent of the monks of Dunfermlin. Newlands church is an ancient structure, which is surrounded by a few lofty trees (*g*). In this parish, there is a congregation

de Lyne, and Walter his uncle, on the one part, and Gregory, the parson of Stobo, on the other, with regard to the chapel of Lyne. The point was carried before the pope, who remitted it to John, the bishop of Candida Casa; and he giving judgment in favour of the parson of Stobo, the adverse party resigned his pretensions to the parson, and diocesan, the bishop of Glasgow. Chart. Glasg. 145.

(*d*) Stat. Acco. xii. 559: Tradition relates, that the church of Lyne was built by Randolph, the great Earl of Murray, who is said, by the same tradition, to have had a house within the ramparts of the Roman camp, which have the name of *Randall's Walls*. Companion to the Map, 69. The silence of Robertson's Index is sufficient to show, that the great Earl of Murray never had any property in Peeblis-shire; so little is tradition, in this assertion, to be relied on. The pulpit of this church, whoever built it, is said to be a remarkable piece of mechanism, which was imported from Holland, in 1644, by Lady Yester, whose pew bears the same date: The pew of the family of Vetch is dated in 1606. Ib. 63.

(*e*) Companion, 65: An ancient tomb-stone was dug up, in this cemetery, with the arms of the Cockburns engraved on it: We may easily believe this to have been the stone of one of the Cockburns of Henderland.

(*f*) Malcolm's MS. Collection, from the Chart. of Dunfermlin.

(*g*) Companion, 73. David II. granted to William Douglas the lands of Kilbothock, and Newlands, on the resignation of John Graham of Dalkeith. Robertson's Index, 54. Robert II. gave to James Douglas of Dalkeith the baronies of Kilbothock, and Newlands, on the resignation of James Douglas, his father. Ib. 121. Regist. Rob. II. Rot. v. 73. In this parish, and barony, the

gation of Seceders of Relief, with a Meeting-house, and their minister of Relief (*h*).

The name of *Linton* parish is derived from that of the kirk-town; and the town derived its Celtic appellation, from the riveret Lyne, or Lyn: The annexation of the Anglo-Saxon *tun* to the name of the *Lyn*, shows that a dwelling, or hamlet, was first erected here by Scoto-Saxon hands, on the declivity of a hill, which overlooks the stream. As early as the reign of David I., and during several centuries afterward, this place was called Linton-Roderick: This adjunct, it no doubt obtained, from the name of some proprietor of old, to distinguish it from other Lintons. During David's reign, the church of Linton-Roderick, and half a carucate of land, were granted to the monks of Kelso, by Richard Cumin, who was then the lord of the manor (*i*). This grant was confirmed, by Malcolm IV., and William, his successor, and by several bishops of Glasgow, the diocesans (*k*). In 1160, William de Somerville gave to the church of Glasgow three acres of land, "in villa de Lintun," in *frank-almoyne*, with the tithes (*l*). In Bagimont's Roll, there is the "vicaria de Lyntoun," which is valued at £2 : 13 : 4, in the deanry of Peeblis. When the old church of Linton was pulled down, in 1782, it appeared to have been built with stones of an older fabric (*m*). In the thirteenth century, a chaplainry, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was established at Inglistown, in the south-west corner of Linton parish (*n*). There was of old a chapel attached to an hospital, on Lyne water, in this parish, at a place called from it Chapel hill. The seceders

the regent Morton built the Drochel-Castle, which was not quite finished, when he expiated, under the axe, his many crimes. Stat. Acco. i. 152. The patronage of Newlands, which had been confirmed to Morton, in 1564, was afterward acquired, by the Douglases of Queensberry; and William, Duke of Queensberry, transferred this church, with many others, in this shire, to his second son, the Earl of March.

(*h*) Stat. Acco. xxi. 390.

(*i*) Chart. Kelso. 273.

(*k*) Ib. 2-12-278-433. In an estimate which the monks of Kelso formed, during Robert I.'s reign, they valued the church of Linton-Roderick, which they held, in *rectoria*, at 40 marks, its usual worth. Ib. 31. The monks enjoyed the revenues of this rectory till the Reformation, while the cure was served by a vicar. Chart. Glasg. 199.

(*l*) Chart. Glasg. 65. Ernald, the bisohp of St. Andrew's, from 1158 to 1163, was a witness to this grant. Id. In 1256, Richard, the vicar of Peeblis, is mentioned, as having been of late the vicar of Linton. Ib. 199.

(*m*) Stat. Acco. i. 146: There was found, in the middle of the walls, a sculptured stone, with a crucifix erect, supported by a pair of woolshears, lying across, beneath; but, there was no motto. Id.

(*n*) Chart. Glasgow, 445.

have

have now a meeting-house, at Linton (*o*). Robert. II. granted to James Douglas of Dalkeith, the baronies of Kilbothock, and Newlands, and Linton-Rotheryk, in Peeblis-shire, on the resignation of James Douglas, his father (*p*). This grant evinces, that this Linton, as well as Linton, in Tiviotdale, bore the adjunct of *Rotheryk*, the name of some former possessor. Linton is a market town, and a borough of regality, having the Earl of March for its superior; and having annual fairs, every Wednesday in June, and July (*q*). Pennycuick, in his poetical address to the Prince of Orange, in 1689, from the town of Lintown, calls it the *submetropolitan* of Tweedale (*r*).

The name of the parish of *Kirkurd* was formed, by prefixing the Scoto-Saxon kirk, the *cyrk* of the Anglo-Saxons, to *Urd*, the Celtic name of the place (*s*). The *Ord*, *Urd*, and *Aird*, in the Gaelic, signifies an *eminence*, or *height*, whereof there are several, in the manor of *Urd* (*t*): And hence, the Ord-hill of Cathness, the *Ord*efull hill, the *Ord*ewhish hill, in Banffshire. *Urd*, or *Ord*, was of old the name of a large manor, which appears to have been co-extensive with the whole parish of Kirdurd (*u*). In this district, there are some other names of places, which are formed, in the same manner, from the same root; such as Loch-*Urd*, Lady-*Urd*, Nether-*Urd*. The *Inquisitio* of Earl David, in 1116 A. D., found, that there belonged to the bishopric of Glasgow, in *Kerc-ayrd*, one carucate of land, and a church. The church of *Ord* was confirmed to the bishops of Glasgow, by the bulls of Pope Alexander, in 1170 and 1178; and by the bulls of Lucius, and Urban, in 1181 and 1186 (*x*). The church of *Ord* was soon after given to the hospital of Soltra, by the bishop of Glasgow, "in proprios usus." In 1231, Walter, the bishop of Glasgow, confirmed

(*o*) Companion, 57: In 1792, there were in Linton parish 376 seceders, amounting to $2\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole parishioners. Stat. Acco. i. 144.

(*p*) Robertson's Index, 121; Hay's Vindication, 24.

(*q*) Description, 11; Companion, 56: The market-cross of Linton was erected, in 1660, by one Gifford, a weaver, to perpetuate the memory of his wife and five children: But, it is now much decayed. Id.

(*r*) See his Poems, subjoined to his Description of Tweedale, 1. The Duke of Queensberry was then baronial lord of Linton: They petition the king to cause the duke, "to causey their "street from end;" and "to put a clock upon their steeple." This poetical petition contains other circumstances, which displays the local manners of that "ill-favoured age."

(*s*) Davis, and Owen.

(*t*) The *Uird*, indeed, is the oblique case of *Urd*; and assumes this form of *Uird*, in composition; as, *Tom-an-uird*, the name of a height in Strathspey: And even in Scoto-Saxon compounds, we always find the same word spelt *Urd*, when coupled with a prefix; but, when it stands substantively, it is, generally, found in the form of *Ord*.

(*u*) Chart. Glasgow, 185. (*x*) Ib. 73-81-91-105.

the

the grant of his predecessor (*a*). As the church of *Kirkurd* thus became, by so many grants, the property of the hospital of Soltre, it was not included, in Bagimont's Tax Roll. Walter Murdak granted some lands to the monks of Paisley, within the manor of *Ord*, which was confirmed by a bull of Honorius, about the year 1226 (*b*): And, these lands were included in the *regality*, which comprehended the whole property of the monks of Paisley, and which was granted by Robert III., in 1396, and confirmed by James III., in 1451 (*c*). Robert I. granted to John Craik the half of the barony of *Urde*, which he had obtained, in marriage, of Edward Cockburn (*d*). It seems to have come afterward into the possession of the Scotts (*e*). Robert II. granted to Peter Cockburn the *kirk-land* of *Kirkhuird*, in Peeblis-shire (*f*). The church of Kirkurd, which had been granted to the hospital of Soltre, continued with it, till 1462, when Mary of Guelder transferred it to the Trinity church of Edinburgh; on condition, that the sacrist of the collegiate church of the Trinity should keep in repair the church of Kirkurd (*g*). A new church, for this parish, was built, in 1766, about half a mile westward from the old fabric, which stood within the domain of Kirkurd: But, the ancient burying-ground continues to be used by those parishioners, who reverence the tombs of their fathers (*h*).

The name of the parish of *Stobo* was written, in the charters of the twelfth, and thirteen centuries, *Stobhou:* In a few instances, it is variously written, *Stobeho*, *Stubho*, and *Stobhope* (*i*). In the Scoto-Saxon, Stob-how means the Stob-hollow, the hollow, where *stobs*, or *stubs* abound; the *stob* of the Scotish people being the same as the stub of the English; and signifying equally a stump of heath, or other brush-wood (*k*): *How* is the common pronunciation of

(*a*) Chart. Soltra, No. 40. The grant of the church of *Ord* was confirmed also, by William the bishop of Glasgow; and, in 1255, was again confirmed by William de Bondington, the bishop Glasgow, who recovered Edleston, as we have seen. Ib. 39—2.

(*b*) Chart. Paisley, No. 149. (*c*) Ib. No. 189; MS. Monast. Scotiæ, 14.

(*d*) Robertson's Index, 24.

(*e*) In 1390, Robert II. granted to Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh, to hold this barony of Kirkurd in blench, instead of ward. Dougl. Peerage, 100.

(*f*) Ib. 124. (*g*) The foundation charter, which corrects Keith, 289.

(*h*) Stat. Acco. x. 183. The manse, and offices, were built near the new church, in 1788. Id.

(*i*) Chart. Glasgow, throughout.

(*k*) See *Stybbe*, in Somner, and Lye; and *Stobbe*, in Kilian: There are a Stobbo-cleugh, and a Stobbo-hill, in Dunfries-shire: And *Stob* is a compound in many names, both in Scotland, and England.

the Anglo-Saxon *Hol*, cavus (*l*); the final (l) being frequently pronounced as (w). A Celtic etymologist might be ambitious of deriving the name of this parish, from the Gaelic *Stua-both*, signifying the *hut*, or cottage on the ridge. There is, indeed, an ancient tower, which stands on the skirt of a hill, near the mansion house of the manor; but, this elevation does not accord with the Gaelic *Stua*, which properly signifies a pinnacle, or towering ridge. The Scoto-Saxon derivation is the most natural: The termination *how* applies, no doubt, to the hollow, or small valley, through which runs Weston burn: And, the upper part of this hollow is called Stobo-*hopes*, according to the usual application of this term, in the south of Scotland, to a *dingle*, without a *thoroughfare* (*m*). Both the church, and the manor of Stobo, belonged to the diocese of Glasgow, at the epoch of Earl David's *Inquisitio*: And they were both confirmed to that see, by several bulls of successive popes, in the twelfth century (*n*). The rectory of Stobo was converted into a prebend of Glasgow; and of all the prebends, in Tweedale, Stobo was the most valuable (*o*). In Bagimont's Roll, there is the "rectoria de Stobo," which is rated at £26 : 13 : 4; and which is equal to the archdeaconry of Glasgow, whereto belonged the rectory of Peeblis: And there is also in that famous tax roll the "vicaria de Stobo," in the deanry of Peeblis, that is rated at £6 : 13 : 4. In a Taxatio of the prebends of Glasgow, in 1401, Stobo, and Peeblis, are both equally rated at £5 (*p*). The church of Stobo is said to be a Gothic building of five centuries erection: And the remains of a font, and other appurtenances of an ancient church, still remain within it, to the indignant observation of reformed eyes (*q*). Michael de Dunde, the parson of *Stubbehok*, swore fealty to Edward I., at Berwick, on the 28th of August 1296, when the oaths of smaller men were sought for (*r*). The rights to the manor of Stobo have been as fiercely contested, as the sovereignty of Scotland. Between Walter, the bishop of Glasgow, from 1208

(*l*) Somner.

(*m*) In Kincardineshire, there is a well-known vale, which traverses it from south to north, and which is called the *How* of the Mearns.

(*n*) Chart. Glasgow, 73-103.

(*o*) Stobo is mentioned, in 1313, as a prebend. Rym. iii. 785. This rectory, and prebend, were composed, by the annexation of the churches of Dawick, of Upper and Lower Drummellier, and Broughton; and all these were called the *pendicles* of Stobo, which was alone called the prebend. The minister, indeed, includes Glenholm parish, as one of the pendicles of Stobo; but, it is clear, from Bagimont's Roll, that Glenholm was an independent rectory. Stat. Acco. iii. 330.

(*p*) Chart. Glasgow, 490.

(*q*) Companion to the Map, 95; Stat. Acco. iii. 329.

(*r*) Prynne, iii. 662.

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to 1232, and Jordan de Currokes, about the lands of Stobhou, there was a controversy, which was settled, under the arbitration of Walter Olifard, the younger, who was justiciary of Lothian, by the bishop paying his adversary £100 sterling: And this settlement was established by a charter, from the justiciary, testifying the fact (*r*). There was soon after a dispute, about the boundaries of Stobhou, Hoprewe, and Ord, which were finally fixed before eight-and-twenty neighbours (*s*). And this settlement was confirmed, in 1223, by a charter of Alexander II. (*t*). There was, between William, the bishop of Glasgow, from 1233 to 1258, and Mariota, the daughter of Samuel, another contest, about the lands of Stobhou, which was settled by Gilbert Fraser, the sheriff of Traquair, in pursuance of the king's precept. The bishop again purchased his adversary's claim. In consideration of an annuity of ten marks out of the manor of Edleston, Mariota came into the sheriff's court, and acknowledged the bishop's right to the manor of Stobhou (*u*). Eugene, the son of Amabilla, another daughter of Samuel, resigned to Bishop William, all his claims upon the manor of Stobhou (*x*). The church of Lyn parish, which adjoins Stobo parish, on the east, was a chapel, belonging to the mother church of Stobo, at the end of the twelfth century (*y*). The church of Broughton parish, which also adjoins Stobo parish, on the west, was likewise a chapel, belonging to the church of Stobhou, in the same age (*z*). That portion of Stobo parish, which lies on the south-east side of the Tweed, was annexed to it, in 1742, when the old parish of Dawick was suppressed, and part of it was annexed to Stobo, and another portion of it to Drummellier (*a*).

The church of *Manor* was of old merely a chapel of the rectory of Peeblis. The church of Peeblis, "cum capella de Maineur," was confirmed to the bishop of Glasgow, by Pope Urban, in 1181 (*b*). Thus connected, the rectory of the one, and the chaplainry of the other, seem to have adhered to each other. The rectory of Peeblis, and Manor, formed the prebend of the archdeacon of Glasgow, and were rated together, in Bagimont's Roll, at the high valuation of £26 : 13 : 4. In the *Taxatio* of the prebends of Glasgow, in 1401, Peeblis, and Manor, are rated each, at £5 (*c*). The old church of Manor, which was called St. Gordian's kirk, stood four miles distant from the present church, that was itself built about the middle of the seventeenth century (*d*). Yet, St. Gordian's

(*r*) Chart. Glasgow, 171. (*s*) Ib. 183. (*t*) Ib. 238.
(*u*) Ib. 273—5. (*x*) Ib. 279. (*y*) Ib. 145. (*z*) Ib. 53.
(*a*) Stat. Acco. iii. 329. (*b*) Chart. of Glasgow, 104. (*c*) Ib. 490.
(*d*) Stat. Acco. iii. 387: Near Manorhead, stood that *St. Gordian's* kirk, whereof nothing is now

dian's chapel seems not to have been the parish church. About a mile and a half south-west from the present kirk-town, and church of Manor, there is a hamlet, called Manortown; and a little southward, there is an old fortalice, on the summit of a round hill, which is named from the strength Castle hill: This was, no doubt, the baronial residence of the lord of the manor; and near it must have stood of old the chapel of Manor. The present kirk-town is but a lonely hamlet, consisting of the church, the manse, the school-house, the mill, and a few cottages. On the south-west of it, at no great distance, there still remains a pedestal, which is called the *Font-stone*; and is absurdly supposed, by Armstrong, not to be what the name imports it to have been, but the support of a cross: And, this pedestal, no doubt, supported *the font* of the ancient church of Manor. Alexander III. granted to William Biddebie the lands of Manor, in Peeblis-shire, which were confirmed by Robert I. (*e*). A grant of Alexander to John Biddebie, of the lands of Manner, was also confirmed by the same king (*f*). Robert I. granted the manor of Mener, "in valle de Twede," to Adam Marshall (*g*). And Robert granted to Alexander Biddebie the barony of Mener, upon the resignation, in parliament, of Ade Marshal (*h*). Robert III. granted to Sir William Inglis the barony of Maner, to hold *blench* of the crown; in consideration of the slaughter of Thomas Struther, an Englishman, in single combat; reserving, however, to Sir William Gladstanes, the lands, which he possessed, in the same barony, with the old superiority (*i*).

The parish of *Drummellier* took its singular name, from the kirk-town, which stands on a ridge. Drym, in the British, and *Druim*, in the Irish, both signify a ridge: And the prefix *Drum*, alludes, no doubt, to the ridge, on the north end whereof may be seen the ruins of Drummellier castle. The affix, *mellier*, is not so easily explained. Drum-'eallur, in the Irish, would signify, indeed, the ridge of earth, or the earthen ridge (*k*). The whole word is probably the British Drym-meiliaur, signifying the dwelling on, or at the ridge (*l*): And, the Scoto-Irish, who succeeded the Britons here, finding such a word analogous to their own, may have contributed, by their usage, to the continuance of the

to be seen, but the rubbish, and ruins. Description, 19. In Newholmhope, is the scarce discernible remains of St. Gorgham's chapel, saith Armstrong, the surveyor. Companion, 70. In the Lives of the Saints, 1636, p. 272—5, we may see, that Gordian was martyred, by the apostate Julian, on the 10th of May 213 A. D. How he came to be recollected here so strongly as to have a chapel dedicated to him, in Newholmhope, I know not.

(*e*) Robertson's Index, 24. (*f*) Id. (*g*) Id. (*h*) Ib. 24-28. (*i*) Ib. 137.

(*k*) See *Teallur*, in Shaw; The oblique case is *Theallur*, the (th) being quiescent.

(*l*) See Owen's W. Dict.

original;

original term, which was so descriptive of the thing. The present parish is composed of the old district of Lower-Drummellier, and of the southern half of the old parish of Dawick, which was annexed to it, in 1742 (*m*). Before the Reformation, Drummellier was a vicarage of the rectory of Stobo. The parish church of Drummellier stands on Powsail rivulet, which falls into the Tweed, a little below, near the kindred grave of the wizard Merlin. Of the church, Grose has preserved the remembrance, in his antiquities (*n*). At Kingledoors, in the upper part of this parish, there was formerly a chapel, dedicated to St. Cuthbert, the early evangelist of Tweedside. During the reign of Alexander III., Symon Fraser, the father, who died, in 1291, granted to the monks of Melros the lands of South-Kingledoors, with the chapel of St. Cuthbert, and the lands of Hopcarshire (*o*). Dawick is the abbreviated pronunciation of *Dalwick*, which, in the Anglo-Saxon, signifies the *dwelling*, in the *dale*. There are still two hamlets, named East-Dawick, and West-Dawick, in the old parish, which lay along the south-east side of the Tweed. Before the Reformation, the church of *Dawick* was a vicarage of Stobo. The parish of Dawick was suppressed, as we have seen, in 1742, when the greater part of it was annexed to Drummellier (*p*). The ruins of *Dawick* church stood on Scrape burn, about a quarter of a mile, southward, of New-Posso (*q*).

Tweedsmuir parish derived its name from the nature of the country, which it comprehends; being the *moorish* district along the heights, from which the Tweed, and its tributary streams, descend (*s*). This parish was formerly called Upper-Drummellier: And, before the Reformation, it was a vicarage of Stobo, which, as a mother church, and a prebend of the cathedral of Glasgow, had so many dependencies. The two Drummelliers were connected with each other, till 1643, when the present parish of Tweedsmuir was established. The church was erected, in 1648, on a small mount, called Quarter-know, which, as tradi-

(*m*) On November 1728, the synod of Lothian and Tweedale, took under consideration a proposal *for dismembering the parish of Dawick*, which had been vacant nine years, and *annexing it to Lyne, and Stobo*; because of the small number of parishioners, and lowness of the stipend; but, the motion was rejected; and the presbytery of Peeblis was appointed to settle a minister; yet, with instructions to use all moderate methods, to gain the cordial consent of Sir James Naysmyth, the heritor of that parish. Edin. Courant, 2144.

(*n*) See the view, in his Antiq. Scot. ii. 224.

(*o*) Officers of State, 270: But, Crawford has, mistakingly, put Kelso, for Melros. This grant was confirmed by Sir Symon Fraser, the son. Ib. 271.

(*p*) Companion, 31; Stat. Acco. iii. 329. (*q*) Companion, 34.

(*s*) From Somner, we may learn, that *Mor* signifies both a hill, and a *heath*: The Scotish form of *moor*, is *muir*.

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tion relates, was of old a place of druid worship (*t*). A drawing of this modern church may be seen in Grose's Antiquities (*u*). In the center of this parish, there was formerly a chapel, near Hawkshaw, on Fruid water, with its accompanying cemetery, which both remain; the one in ruins, and the other in use (*x*). Such, then, are the appropriate notices of the twelve parishes, which constitute the present presbytery of Peeblis.

In 1692, four parishes, Glenholm, Kilbucho, Skirling, and Broughton, were torn from the side of Peeblis, and conjoined to the presbytery of Biggar.

Glenholm parish consists of a vale, which is nearly seven miles long, and two miles broad, and which is drained by Holms water; the original name of the stream being concealed in the Scoto-Saxon innovation. The present appellation was appropriated, by the incomers, who did not know the significance of the original; and called it Holm, or Holms water, from the number of flats along its banks (*y*). The church of Glenholm is supposed to have been a vicarage of Stobo (*z*): But, there is reason for suspecting the truth of this intimation: For, Glenholm, in the deanery of Peeblis, appears, in Bagimont's Roll, as an independent rectory: And, it is therein rated at £4. None of the churches, which belonged to the rectory of Stobo, are rated in Bagimont's Taxation. The parish church of Glenholm was rebuilt, in 1775 (*a*). In the upper part of Glenholm, there was formerly a chapel, at a place, called *Chapelgill*.

The name of the parish of *Kilbucho*, which has undergone successive corruptions, was originally applied to a chapel, that was dedicated, in early times, to St. Bega (*b*). To the name of the saint, whoever the holy person were, the Scoto-Irish *Cil*, signifying a church, or a chapel, was prefixed. In the charters of the twelfth century, the name of this parish was written *Kil-beckhoc*: In sub-

(*t*) Companion, 104; Stat. Acco. viii. 86—8. (*u*) Vol. ii. 224.

(*x*) About the year 1775, a bust of General Monk is said to have been discovered here. Companion, 107. Yet, how the bust of such a man could have been deposited, in such a place, it is not easy to conjecture.

(*y*) Stat. Acco. iv. 429. *Holm, isle*; Holmur, Islandic; Holme, Swedish; and *Holm*, in the ancient Saxon, a river islet; a flat, covered with herbage, and surrounded with water. Bullet, in vo. *Holm*. (*z*) Stat. Acco. iv. 429; iii. 321. (*a*) Companion, 43.

(*b*) The church of Kil-bucho was called of old St. Bez, saith Doctor Pennycuick. Description, 28. St. Bez is the familiar name of St. Bega. Tradition has preserved, in this parish, many particulars of this memorable saint. Stat. Acco. iv. 344. The church of Kilbucho was dedicated to St. Bede, saith Armstrong, mistakingly: And, a spring of pure water, in the vicinity of it, still retains the same name. Companion to the Map, 30. For St. Bega, a female saint, from the island of saints, see Leland's Col. t. iii. 39; Dugdale's Monast. i. 395. Her house was at St. Bees, in Cumberland, a cell of St. Mary of York. But, there was, also, a female St. Bega, in Scotland, who performed wonders, at Kilbeg, according to Dempster's Menologium, 6th September.

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sequent writtings, the name was written Kil-bochoc, Kil-bocho, Kil-bucho, and sometimes Kirk-bucho. Cospatric, hermit of Kylbethoc, and Gillebert, the parson of Kylbethoc, were present, as witnesses, to the settlement of the marches of Stobo, Hopreu, and Ord (*c*). In Bagimont's Roll, the "rectoria "cum vicaria de Kil-bocho," in the deanry of Peeblis, were rated at £8. This continued a rectory, from the twelfth century to the Reformation: And, the patronage appears to have belonged to the lord of the manor. At the accession of Robert I., the manor of Kilbethoc belonged to the Grahames of Dalkeith, and Abercorn, from whom it passed to the Douglases, under David II., who granted the lands of Kilbethoc, and Newlands, to William Douglas, on the resignation of John Grahame of Dalkeith (*d*). Robert II. granted to James Douglas of Dalkeith, the baronies of Kilbothoc and Newlands, and Linton, on the resignation of James Douglas, his father (*e*). There is a charter of Francis, and Mary, stating the sale of the barony of Kilbucho by Malcolm, Lord Fleming, to James Earl of Morton, with a right of redemption; and transferring this right of redemption from Malcolm to John, Lord Fleming (*f*).

The parish of *Skirling* derives its name from the kirk-town; and the village takes its appellation from the rivulet, which runs through it, and drives a mill below. In several charters of the fourteenth century, the name is written Skrawlyne, and Scraline (*g*). In Pont's map of this shire, the name is printed Skarlin (*h*): And Armstrong, in his new map, calls it Scarline (*i*). This sort of metathesis is common, in the topography of North-Britain: So, we have *Stirling*, for *Strivelin*, and *Crail*, for *Caril*. If Skrawline be considered as the original name, it may be derived from the British *Ysgraw-lyn*, signifying the rivulet, or the pool, which is apt to form a scum, or crust (*k*): Or, *Sgrai-line*, in the Gaelic, would signify the rivulet, having green-swarded banks (*l*): If

(*c*) Chart. Glasgow, 135-6. Gamelin, the parson of Kylbethoc, and Gilbert, the parson of Kylbethoc, are mentioned, in a charter, during the thirteenth century. Ib. 445.

(*d*) Robertson's Index, 54; Regist. Rob. II. Rot. v. 75. In October 1564, the well known chancellor, Earl of Morton, obtained a confirmation of Kilbucho, with the advowson of the church, and other estates. Parl. Rec. 763. (*e*) Ib. 121; Hay's Vindication, 24.

(*f*) This charter was dated, at Paris, the 16th January 1558. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. 68. During the reign of Charles I., the barony of Kilbucho, with the patronage of the church, was acquired by John Dickson; and they both continue to belong to his descendant. In June 1640, John Dickson obtained, from parliament, a ratification of his lands of Hartree, and Kilbucho, with the patronage of the church, and the lease of the tithes thereof, with the annuity. Unprinted Act.

(*g*) Robertson's Index. (*h*) In Blaeu's Atlas Scotiæ.

(*i*) Map of Peeblis-shire. (*k*) Owen's W. Dict.

(*l*) On the margin of the rivulet, within the village, there is a flat green, of about an acre and a half, which the houses seem to inclose, in a semicircular form; Yet, whether all these existed, in early times, may admit of a doubt.

Starlin

Scarlin be considered as the original name, then the derivation might be from the British *Ysgar-lyn*, the dividing rivulet. The brook, in fact, runs through the middle of the present straggling village of Skirling; and it is more than probable, that the British hamlet here stood, in a similar manner, on either side of the rivulet, or *lyn*. In Bagimont's Roll, there are "rectoria cum "vicaria de *Scralyne*," in the deanry of Peeblis, rated at £6 : 13 : 4. Robert I. granted to John Monfode the barony of *Skrawline*, with the advowson of the church (*m*). Margaret Monfode granted an annuity of two marks sterling, out of the lands of *Scraline*, to a chaplain in the church of Dunmanyn: And this gift was confirmed, by David II., in 1362 (*n*). The church of Skirling was rebuilt, in 1720. The manse was built, in 1636, and rebuilt, in 1725 (*o*). Skirling is a populous village, having two annual fairs, on the first Wednesday, after the eleventh of June, and the fifteenth of September (*p*).

The parish of *Broughton* took its name from the kirk-town; and the name of the village, in its present form, might be derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Burgh*, which, by a familiar change, is pronounced *Brugh*, signifying a fortlet, and *tun*, a dwelling. But, in a charter of Radulph Nanus, which was granted, in the period between 1174 and 1180 A. D., the name of this hamlet was written repeatedly *Broctun*, whereof Broughton is, doubtless, a corruption. *Broc*, in the British, Gaelic, and Anglo-Saxon, means a badger, or gray: So, Broc-tun would signify badger town: Yet, may it be derived from the Anglo-Saxon *Broca*, rivus, rivulus, whence the English brook, and *tun*, a dwelling: Now, the hamlet, and church of Broughton are, in fact, situated on a brook. It is, however, probable, that the name of the village may have derived its origin from some person, called *Broc*, whose *tun*, or residence it was, of old: And there have been always persons of this name in North-Britiain (*q*). Radulph Nanus gave to the chapel of *Broctun* half a carucate of land, in *Broctun*, in *frank-almoyne*, with a toft, a croft, and common of pasture, with other easements to such lands belonging: And he conceded to the see of Glasgow, that

(*m*) Robertson's Index, 24. (*n*) Ib. 72. (*o*) Stat. Acco. iii. 254.

(*p*) Companion, 94. On the 26th of March 1567, the castle of Edinburgh was surrendered to Cockburn of Skirling, for the queen. The same day, a tempest of wind blew away the tail of the weathercock on the steeple of Edinburgh: This, saith Birrel, Diary, 7, fulfilled the old prophecy:

"Quhen Skirling sall be captain,
"The cock sall want his taill."

We have seen that, another prophecy was accomplished, when Skirling house was blown up, by order of the regent Murray, on the 12th of June 1568.

(*q*) We must remember, however, that there is a parish in Linlithgowshire, called *Strá-broc*, which is undoubtedly a Gaelic name, signifying the *vale* of *brocs*.

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the chapel of *Broctun* should appertain, as a vicarage, to the mother church of Stobo: And this grant, Rudulph, with his son Richard, confirmed by their oaths, before Joceline, the bishop of Glasgow, and other witnesses; so solemn were the grants of those religious times (*r*). Broctun continued, till the Reformation, a vicarage of Stobo. David II. confirmed a grant, by Edward Hadden, to his wife, of the lands of *Brochton*, in Peeblis-shire (*s*). Robert III. granted to David Mowat the barony of *Brochton*, with other lands (*t*). Robert, the Duke of Albany, granted to John de Hawden the lands of Brochton, in Peeblis-shire, with other estates in Roxburghshire, on the resignation of William de Hawden, his father (*u*). The barony of Broughton, saith Armstrong, comprehends the whole parish, except Burnetland (*x*). The village of Broughton was rebuilt, in a handsome manner, by its liberal proprietor, the late James Dickson: And, it has the benefit of an yearly fair (*y*). Thus much, then, with regard to the *sixteen* parishes of this shire, which are comprehended in the two presbyteries of Biggar, and Peeblis.

There is immediately subjoined, as an useful supplement, a *Tabular State*, containing some instructive particulars of each parish. And, to all those intimations, may be additionally mentioned some other notices of a parochial sort: A small part of Inverleithen parish lies in Selkirkshire (*z*). The stipends of the whole parishes, in Peeblis-shire, were augmented, previous to 1798, except those of Kirkurd, and Newlands. The annual value of the glebes were included in the estimate of the stipends of the whole parishes, in 1798; but, not the value of the minister's manses (*a*). In this shire, there are no *fiar prices*; because in it there are no feu-duties payable into the royal Exchequer.

(*r*) The witnesses were, John, the abbot of Kelso, Richard, the abbot of Jedburgh, Symon, the archdeacon of Glasgow, Richard, the dean of Theviotdal, Peter, the dean of *Cludesdal*. Chart. Glasgow, 53. John was abbot of Kelso, from 1160 to 1180; and Richard was abbot of Jedburgh, from 1174 to 1192: So that this instructive charter was granted between the years 1174 and 1180.

(*s*) Robertson's Index, 59. (*t*) Ib. 148. (*u*) Ib. 164.

(*x*) Companion, 29. (*y*) Id.; Stat. Acco. vii. 156.

(*z*) The population of the whole parish of Inverleithen, in 1755, was 559; in 1791, 560; and in 1801, 609.

(*a*) That part of the stipends, which is paid, in victual, is paid in bear, or big, and in oat-meal, generally in equal parts, and of equal value. In estimating the stipends of 1798, the bear, and oat-meal, were valued, at the moderate rate of 15*s.* per boll, according to a seven years average of the prices, preceding 1798. In this shire, the boll of barley, and oats, contains six bushels, fourteen pints, and twenty-one cubic inches, English standard measure, which is ten pints more than the standard Linlithgow boll.

The TABULAR STATE.

The Presbyteries.	The Names of the Parishes.	Their Extent. Length Miles.	Their Extent. Breadth Miles.	Their Inhabitants. In 1755.	Their Inhabitants. In 1791.	Their Inhabitants. In 1801.	The Number of Ministers.	Their Stipends. In 1755. £. s. d.	Their Stipends. In 1798. £. s. d.	Their Patrons.
PEEBLES	Peeblis	9	4	1,896	1,920	2,088	1	107 10 0	164 3 4	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
	Lyne and Megget	3 6	2 5	265	160	167	1	61 1 1	121 3 4	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
	Linton	8½	5½	831	928	1,064	1	65 12 8	132 13 4	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
	Drummellier	10	3	305	270	278	1	84 18 0	139 12 0	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
	Stobo	5	4	313	318	338	1	90 13 10	137 0 0	Sir J. Montgomery.
	Eddleston	10	4	679	710	677	1	71 13 4	153 17 0	Lord Elibank.
	Kirkurd	6	3½	310	288	327	1	64 6 9	90 2 0	Carmichael of Skirling.
	Manor	9	3½	320	229	308	1	56 4 5	115 16 10	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
	Tweedsmuir	8½	7½	397	227	277	1	68 0 0	121 0 0	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
	Inverleithen (part of)	8	4½	498	498	542	1	59 16 3	130 1 0	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
	Traquair	8	4½	651	446	613	1	73 3 0	136 6 0	The King.
	Newlands	8	3	1,009	891	950	1	77 15 6	126 0 0	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
BIGGAR	Glenholm	6½	2½	392	300	242	1	56 7 9	127 13 4	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
	Kilbucho	4½	3½	279	362	342	1	56 17 9	126 0 0	Dickson of Kilbucho.
	Skirling	2½	2	335	234	308	1	58 11 1	118 11 0	Carmichael of Skirling.
	Broughton	3½	2½	367	264	214	1	63 18 10	114 0 0	The Duke of Queensberry, as Earl of March.
	The Total 16	—	—	8,847	8,045	8,735	16	1,119 10 0	2,073 19 2	

CHAP. VIII.

Of Selkirk-shire.

§ 1. *Of its Name.*] AS Roxburghshire derived its appellation from its castle, *Selkirkshire* obtained its name from its church; the town having borrowed a distinguished designation from the ancient kirk, and the sheriffwic its name from the town. In the early charters of the twelfth century, the word is generally written *Selechyrche*; in one instance, indeed, it appears in the Latin form of *Scelechyrca*; and in another example, of doubtful authority, *Seleschirche* (*a*). *Sel* forms the prefix of many names of places, in England: As *Sel*-by, *Sel*-ham, *Sel*-hurst, *Sel*-sted (*b*). And, Bishop Gibson instructs us, by his topographical rules, that *Sel* denotes great; as *Sel*-tun signifies *magnum oppidum*: So, *Selchyrc* is the great church, or the good church (*c*). Yet, as the occasion of the church, in the forest, arose from the circumstance of the king's having a hunting-seat here, the place of his worship may have been called *Sele*-chyrc, from the Saxon *Sele*, a hall, a prince's court (*d*). When a second church was built, nearly on the same site, after the establishment of the monastery, at this hunting-seat, the prior place was distinguished by the name of Selkirk-Regis, while the village of the monks was called Selkirk-*Abbatis* (*e*).

(*a*) Chart. Kelso. In Earl David's foundation charter of the monastery here, the name is written *Selechyrche*, and *Scelechyrcha*. Sir James Dalrymple's Col. 403. In the more modern charter of Malcolm IV., the name is mistakingly written *Seleschirche*. Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. xxiv.

(*b*) Adams's Villare.

(*c*) See Cowel on the same point: *Sel*, however, signifying *great*, is in an extended sense, from the Anglo Saxon *Sel*, bonus, bene, satis. See Somner, and Lye.

(*d*) See Somner.

(*e*) Chart. Kelso. Lord Hailes, indeed, whose peculiar notions deserve some regard, says, *Seleschirche* means the church in the wilderness; and that *Seles*, in the Anglo-Saxon, signifies a desart: But, he does not quote his authority: *Seles* is not to be found in the Saxon dictionaries, in his sense: And, moreover, *Seleschirche* is a solitary, and corrupt reading of the term. Annals, i. 96. There was a commission of Alexander II., dated at Selechirk. Chart. Newbotle, 130. And, there was a grant of the same king, given, at Selechirch, on the 7th of June 1253. Chart. Kelso, 392.

Yet, the area of this shire had a very different appellation, in still more early times. As the Tweed supplied a name to the vale, through which it took its highest course; so the Etterick lent its Celtic appellation to the well-wooded country, through which it flowed. The Scoto-Saxon kings, finding sport, throughout Etterick woodlands, very early established a hunting-seat, at Selkirk, which gave rise to the town; and, in the same age, formed their hunting-grounds into a forest. And the principal river, which watered, and adorned, those extensive woodlands, naturally gave its name to the country: Hence, from the epoch of record, to recent times, this country has been called, in charters, *Etterick-forest*, and *the forest*, from its pre-eminence, for its *vert*, and *venery*. The name of the *Etterick* is of doubtful origin, though it may be allowed to be of Celtic derivation. *Eitrigh*, in the Gaelic, signifies a furrow, or trench (*f*): And, *Eithrach* means, in the same speech, a wilderness (*g*): But, this fine river must have had a distinguished name, before the proper Gaelic was spoken on its banks: And, the British aborigines, undoubtedly, gave an appropriate appellation to this picturesque stream: The *Ed* of their language signifies *a current*, and *Terig*, mud (*h*): And, in fact, when the Etterick is in flood, it is extremely muddy, from the quantity of earth, which it carries away from every bank: In its usual flow, the Etterick is clear, as it glides over a gravelly channel, and rushes through rocks, or stagnates sometimes on clay. During the whole Scoto-Saxon period, the Scotish kings, who delighted in the chase, according to the manners of the age, appointed their foresters, in this extensive forest; as we may see in the chartularies: Edward I., when, by intrigue, and force, he succeeded them, appointed his own favourites, as his foresters. And, Robert I., when he restored the Scotish monarchy, by his fortitude, and valour, granted to his able supporter, Sir James Douglas, the *foresis* of *Selkirk*, of *Ettrick*, and Traquair, which adjoined them, in a free barony (*i*) Timothy Pont named his map of this country, "the sheriffdom of

(*f*) Lluyd's Arch. in vo. (*g*) Id. O'Brien, and Shaw's Dict.

(*h*) The British *Ed*, in composition, changes to *Et*: In South-Wales, there is a river of this name: But, the syllables, in its formation, have been reversed into *Teric-Ed*. In a charter of Alexander II. to the monks of Kelso, the Etterick of Selkirkshire is repeatedly mentioned, by the various names of *Ettric*, and *Ethyric*. Chart. Kel. 54. Another charter of the same king, confirms some lands to the same monks, for supporting the bridge of *Ettrick*. Ib. 392. In 1258, the abbot of Kelso held his baronial courts, "apud pontem de *Eterig*." Ib. 217. There is an Etterick loch, in Dunfries-shire: And there is an Etterick water, in the western division of the large shire of Perth.

(*i*) Roberts. Index, 10. The shire, however, was not granted; but remained in the crown: David II.'s grant to Dalyel, proves this important point. Regist. David II.

"Etterick-

"Etterick-forest, called also Selkirk" (*k*): And, Ainslie denominated his delineation of the same district, Selkirkshire, or *Ettrick-forest* (*l*).

§ II. *Of its Situation, and Extent.*] The country, which has thus been variously known, through many an age, as Selkirkshire, or Etterick-forest, has Peeblis-shire, on the west; Dunfries-shire, on the south; Roxburghshire, on the east, where it is bounded by the Shaw burn; and on the north, it has a part of Edinburghshire, and a division of Roxburghshire (*m*). It is 27 miles long, from south-west to north-east, and 16 miles broad, exclusive of a small detached part, on the east. It contains a superficies of 257 square miles, or 16,448 statute acres. And, the population of this shire, according to the enumeration of 1801, being 5,446, this gives a population of nearly 21 to a square mile. This shire was first surveyed by Timothy Pont, during the afflictive reign of Charles I. (*n*). It was again delineated by John Ainslie, who published his map, in 1772. And, there is a very useful sketch, prefixed to the Agricultural Survey, by the Rev. Doctor Douglas, of this shire, which, as we have seen above, is not of great extent, and is of a very irregular form (*o*).

§ III. *Of its natural Objects.*] With the exception of a very narrow portion, on its eastern side, Selkirkshire may be said to be a continued alternation of hill, and dale. Many of the eminences rise to considerable heights (*p*). The hills

(*k*) Blaeu's Atlas Scotiæ, No. 5. (*l*) See Ainslie's Survey of 1772.

(*m*) Selkirkshire lies between 55° 22′ 20″, and 55° 41′ 54″ north latitude; and between 2° 47′ 40″, and 3° 18′ 46″ longitude west of Greenwich. The shire-town stands in 55° 34′ 10″ north latitude; and 2° 52′ longitude west of Greenwich. Selkirk town is situated, according to the result of the barometer, 520 feet above the level of the sea. Edin. Philosoph. Essays, iii. xvii.

(*n*) His map was published, by Blaeu, in his *Atlas Scotiæ*. No. 5.

(*o*) Nor, do its boundaries, in general, according to that able writer, run along the summits of mountains, or the course of streams, which, however crooked, would afford evident marks for description. A line merely ideal, and often whimsical, divides it, in very many places, from the surrounding counties.

(*p*) The following detail will exhibit the heights of the most remarkable hills, in Selkirkshire, above the level of the sea, according to Ainslie's map of this shire:

	Feet.
Blackhouse heights	2,370
Windlestrae law	2,295
Minchmoor	2,280
Ettrick-Pen	2,200
Law Kneis	1,990
Ward law	1,980

Hangingshaw

hills are in general clothed in green, though some parts of them are discoloured by russet. The center of the country, on the south of the Forth, does not rise to so great an elevation, as the base of the heights, on the north of the Forth. The valleys, on the Etterick, the Yarrow, and on the upper streams of the Tweed, which may be deemed the center of southern Scotland, are not much more than five hundred feet above the level of the sea (*q*); while the level of the vale of Badenoch, on the Spey, is at least a thousand feet above the sea level. The numerous valleys, that separate the heights of this shire, are generally confined to a narrow space, by the acclivities on either side. Even the vales of the larger rivers, the Etterick, the Yarrow, the Tweed, and the Gala, seldom expand themselves to any width, owing to the approximation of the mounts. From those vales, however, shoot out many *cleughs*, and *hopes*, that run up a considerable distance between the heights (*r*): And each of those vales sends out its appropriate streamlet, which augments the rivers with its congenial waters.

Of

Hangingshaw law	1,980
Three Brethren	1,978
Black Andrew	1,966
Pent law	1,964
Megal hill	1,480
Old Ettrick hill	1,860
Shaws hill	1,212

The hills, as estimated by Ainslie, have been supposed, by skilful persons, to be rather too high.

(*q*) The descent of the waters, may be determined, from the following heights, on their banks:

	Feet.
Pot burn	786
The junction of Tema water	664
Yarrow lochs	560
The Tweed, at Cardrona	529
The Tweed, at Traquair	510
Cadon water, at Cadonhead	480
Deuchar bridge	458
Ettrick bridge	440
Gala water, at Crosslee toll-bar	380
Selkirk bridge	340
The Tweed, at the foot of Gala water	286

(*r*) *Cleugh*, from the Anglo-Saxon, *Clough*, a fissure, or opening in a height, is generally applied, in the south of Scotland, to a narrow vale, or glen. The word *Hope*, which is derived from the old French, as we learn from Bullet, is applied to a small, and short valley, which is close at the upper end: This application of the Hope is confined to the south-east of Scotland;

Of *lakes*, Selkirkshire, though an interior, and mountainous region, cannot boast. The only considerable collection of water is St. Mary's loch, on the western extremity of this shire, which derived its name, from a church, that was early dedicated to the Virgin, on its north-western margin. This lake is about three miles long, and about half a mile broad. It receives into its bosom the Yarrow, and Megget waters, with severall smaller streams: And its outlet is the Yarrow, which adds so much to the beauty, and convenience of this shire (*s*). Immediately above St. Mary's lake, the loch of the *lows* forms a much smaller bason on the Yarrow (*t*). There are here two lochs, which are only separated by a narrow, and level neck of a hundred yards in length, that furnishes a channel for the Yarrow, from the loch above, to St. Mary's loch below. The loch of the lows breeds chiefly perch, and pike, which delight in such waters. These, then, are the lakes on the western extremity of this shire: On the south-east of it, there are only a few small lochs; such as Alemoor loch, King's-moor loch, Crooked loch, Shaws lochs, Oaker-moor loch, the overflowing of which collections, are discharged by the upper drains of the Ale, and Clayburn loch, that is emptied by Rankle burn, a feeder of the Etterick. The size of these lochs varies, from a mile and a half to a mile, in circumference. They do not abound in any great variety of fishes, most of them having perch, and pike, and some of them trout (*u*).

A country, consisting of green hills, and "bushy dells," lying under a moist climate, must abound in rills, and riverets: But, the Etterick, and the Yarrow, are the principal drains of Selkirkshire. The Etterick rises among the mountains, in the south-west extremity of the shire, at a place, called, from its source, *Etterick-head:* Among a thousand streamlets, which find oblivion in

in Lothian, in Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peeblis, and Dunfries: And this word, which was not familiar to the Scoto-Saxons, may have been introduced into those countries, by the Anglo-Normans, who settled there, during the reigns of David I., and of his two grandsons, Malcolm, and William, the lion.

(*s*) Ainslie's map of this shire. St. Mary's loch, says Dr. Douglas, surpasses any lake in the south of Scotland, for its extent, and beauty: Its banks are fringed with copse-wood. Agricult. Survey, 235. It breeds perch, and pike. Stat. Acco. iii. 295.

(*t*) *Lows* is a mere corruption of *loughs*, which is only a Saxon corruption of *lochs*; as we may see in the maps of Ireland: The English map-makers constantly convert the *lochs* of that Celtic country into *loughs*; not being able to pronounce the (ch) like the Gaelic people. The *loch* of the *lows*, is the same as *the loch* of *the lochs*. The same pleonastic appellation of *Loch of the lows*, is applied to two adjoining lakes, in Ayrshire. The *loch* of the Irish, is merely the *llwch* of the British; signifying a collection of water.

(*u*) Stat. Acco. ii. 537.

the

the Etterick, the most considerable are the Rankle burn, and the Tema water (*x*): After a course of five-and-twenty miles, the Etterick is joined by its rival, Yarrow, above Selkirk town; and the united stream falls into the Tweed, three miles below (*y*). Though the Etterick (*z*) is not so celebrated in Scotish lyricks, as the Yarrow, or Tweed; yet have not *Etterick banks* been quite forgotten, in the "enraptur'd shepherd's song." (*a*)

The Yarrow rises in those heights, where the shires of Selkirk, Dunfries, and Peeblis, meet. After traversing the loch of the lows, and St. Mary's loch, the Yarrow pushes forward, with rapid violence, collecting, in its devious course, the Douglas burn, with other mountain streams, till it joins the Etterick, above Selkirk town (*b*). Its whole course of one-and-twenty miles, is on a rocky, and gravelly bottom; and is the roughest, and most precipitous river, in this country. It was from this prominent quality, that it obtained, from the British people, its remarkable name: *Garw*, in their language, *Garow*, in the Cornish, and *Garbh*, which, in the Gaelic, has the same pronunciation, signify what is rough, or a torrent (*c*): And this descriptive name was often applied, by the Britons, to several mountain torrents, both in North, and South Britain; the (g) of the Britons, as well as the (z) of the Saxons, being frequently supplanted by the English (y); so that *Garw* has become *Yarw*, and *Yarrow*: This change appears, however, to have been made, on the name of this river, since the twelfth century (*d*). The same change of the (g) into (y) has taken

(*x*) The rivulet "de *Timeye*" is mentioned in a charter of Alexander II. to the monks of Melros, as falling into the *Etterick*. Chart. 64.

(*y*) Ainslie's map of the shire. All those streams, as they have not been polluted by manufactures, abound in excellent trout. Stat. Acco. iii. 295.

(*z*) North, from the Shaws, is a mile to the bridge of Etterick, consisting of two large arches, and one small arch; the pillars whereof are built upon a rock, with freestone; and it has Scot of Harden's arms on its front: It is four miles to the south-west of Selkirk. Hodge's MS. Relation, 1722.

(*a*) Ritson's Scots Songs, 23.

(*b*) From Hangingshaw are three miles to Yarrow bridge of two arches, built of freestone; having the Duchess of Buccleugh's arms on the fore-front of it; And, at the north-west end of this bridge, stood the old tower of Dewchar. Hodge's MS. Relation, 1722.

(*c*) Davis, Owen, Pryce; O'Brien, and Shaw.

(*d*) In the foundation charter of Selkirk abbey, by Earl David, before the year 1124, this river is frequently mentioned by the Latin name of Garua. Chart. Kelso, No. 4. But, Sir James Dalrymple, in his Hist. Col. 403, has mistakingly written this word *Gierua*, having misunderstood the (a) or (ie). It was again spelt *Garua*, in the subsequent charter of David, when he transferred the monks of Selkirk to Kelso. Chart. Kelso, No. 1.

place,

place, in the names of Yarrow river, in Lancashire, and Yore water, in Norfolk, from which Yar-mouth derives its name, and Yare, which falls into the Ax, in Devonshire. The Yarrow, and its banks, have been often celebrated in Scotish song (*e*); and sometimes the sympathizing poet hath "mourn'd on *Yarrow's banks* the widow'd maid." The Tweed, after draining Peeblis-shire, intersects the northern extremity of Selkirkshire, from west to east, during a placid course, in a deep channel, of nine miles, when it is joined by the Etterick; and, receiving the Gala water, passes on from Selkirkshire, after forming a boundary with Roxburghshire. The Gala, which carries off the waters from a south-eastern district of Edinburghshire, enters Selkirkshire, at Crosbie; and now forms the march between Selkirk and Roxburghshire, during a course of six miles, when it falls into the Tweed. The Gala, which is much less rapid than the Etterick, and the Yarrow, as it descends through a flatter country, runs the greater part of its course over a gravelly bed. Its channel is very much confined by the high banks on either side of it, except in the three last miles of its course, when it bursts out, from its confined channel, and overspreads, as often as it is swelled by rains, a considerable extent of lower grounds. The Gala of Selkirkshire, and the Gwala of Pembrokeshire, derive their singular names from the same British source: In the language of the British settlers here, the *Gwala* signified a *full stream* (*f*). The Strath of the Gala was early called *Waedale*, from some bloody scenes on its contested margin. *Gala water* has long been admired among the Scotish *chants*: And it has supplied an amorous ditty to one of the doric poets of Scotland, who admirably sings (*g*):

"But *Yarrow braes*, nor *Ettric shaws*,
"Can match the lads of *Gala water*."

(*e*) See Ramsay's, and Ritson's songs. Burns, in his *Address to the Shade of Thomson*, cries out:

"While maniac winter rages o'er
"The hills, whence *classic Yarrow* flows;
"Rousing the turbid torrents roar,
"Or sweeping wild a waste of snows."

(*f*) The *Gala* is called the *Galche*, in a charter of David I. to the monks of Melros. No. 54. It is spelled *Galehe*, and *Galue*, in the charters of William, the lion. No. 146. It is called *Galue*, in two charters of Alexander II. to the monks of Melros. Chart. No. 62, 144. As the word *Galche* is not significant, in either the Saxon, the Scoto-Irish, or the British languages; as it is never mentioned but once, under this form, we may reasonably suppose, that it was the mistake of the scribe.

(*g*) Burns, iv. 31.

The streams of the *Ale*, and Borthwick, have both their sources in the south-eastern district of Selkirkshire; yet, they soon quit its confined limits, and passing into Tiviotdale, mingle their congenial waters with the Tiviot. The only other stream, which merits notice, in this shire, is the Cadon water, which rises in the mountains on the northern extremity of this county, and hastens its course to the Tweed, in a rapid flow of nine miles. Though the riverets of Selkirkshire descend from their heights, with a speedy course, yet they do not form any picturesque falls. The only cascade, in this shire, is made by a rivulet, in Roberton parish, which flings itself over a cliff twenty feet high, and six feet broad, when it is swoln by rains (*h*).

Of *minerals*, none of the more useful have yet been found in this pastoral shire. There are not any metals, coal, lime, nor freestone, in any part of this county: It has, however, abundance of whinstone, and a good deal of granite (*i*). The want of coal is supplied, in some measure, by many mosses, from which peats are dug, that are the chief fuel of the inhabitants: The higher ranks of people, however, and the farmers, burn coals, which are brought from the Lothians, a distance of more than thirty miles, from the center of this county. Though this shire does not enjoy the benefit of limestone, it possesses excellent marle, in various parts, along its eastern extremity. The several mosses, in the parishes of Selkirk, Roberton, Ashkirk, and Yarrow, cover large beds of excellent shell marle, which is much used, in fertilizing the soil. Oakermoor loch, which is nearly a mile and an half in circumference, and very deep, contains a vast quantity of marl (*k*). As it wants minerals, this shire is almost without mineral waters. The only appearance of medicinal waters is at Haining-lin, near Selkirk, where there is a spring of water, which

(*h*) Stat. Acco. xi. 545.

(*i*) An immense bed of rock, of about a mile broad, runs through the east part of Selkirkshire, in a direction, nearly, from south to north. It appears, in the channel of the Etterick, for a mile, from Newhouse to Etterick bridge, and below it, for two hundred yards: North from this, it appears again, for a mile, in the channel of the Yarrow: It again appears in the channel of the Tweed, for a mile, above, and below the bridge, at Fairnielee: And, north-north-east from this point, it once more appears, for a mile, in the channel of the Gala, at the peninsula of Torwoodlee.

(*k*) Stat. Acco. ii. 447; xi. 538; Agricult. Survey, 232. In 1649, it was said that, "near "Kershope, there is a little strand, which, after rain, frequently casteth out many pieces of lead, "that are found by the country people, among the sand." MS. Account of Messrs. Elliot, and Scot.

is

is impregnated with steel; and which, though weak, is found to be useful to scorbutic, and scrophulous habits (*l*).

§ IV. *Of its Antiquities.*] The whole district, which now forms Selkirkshire, was, of old, included, in the country of the British *Gadeni*, which comprehended the center of the region, from the *coaly* Tine, on the south, to the meandring Forth, on the northward. Besides other monuments, they left their descriptive language in the names of the rivers, Etterick and Yarrow, Gala and Tweed, of the Tama, Cadon, and Douglas. The British Llyn, for a pool, is preserved, both in the topography, and in the common language, in *lin*, and linns, in the *Etterick*. *Heugh*, which is applied to a high bank, or cliff, and which is seen in the maps, is merely the British *Uch*, with the Saxon aspirate, as we may see it, in the Heugh of the Cornish. The British *Pen*, a head, or summit, is also preserved, in the name of Etterick-*pen*, or *Pen*-Shuter, a high conical hill, in the southern extremity of this shire: And there is *Pen*-man-score, which is now corrupted into Permanscore, and is applied to a neck, or hollow, on the *top* of a high ridge, a little eastward of Minchmoor. The British *Pill*, signifying a fortress, with a surrounding trench, is still retained in the name of *Peel*, in Yarrow parish.

As this shire was chiefly occupied by the Saxon people, who came in upon the Romanized Britons, after the Roman abdication, the names of places are almost all from the Anglo-Saxon, in its most appropriate form (*m*). *Ford* is used, by the Anglo-Saxons, both in North, and South Britain, for the passage of a river; yet, seems to have been adopted, by them, with other significant terms, from the British *Fordd*, which also signifies, in that language, a passage, or way (*n*).

The Scotish people appear to have formed some settlements, in this shire, soon after the year 1020; as we may infer, from the appellation of places, which still retain the names, that were then applied to them: As *Glen-gaber*, *Glen-kenning*, *Glen-kerry*, *Glen-dairg*, *Dal-gleish*, *Annet*, *Tinnis*, *Scar*-hills,

(*l*) Stat. Acco. ii. 447. Yet, in 1649, Elliot, and Scot, say that, "a little above Philip-"haugh, there is a well, which, in regard of its smell, taste, purgative qualities, and other "effects, such as, colouring money laid into it, differeth little, or nothing, from the well of Moffat, "that is so much frequented." MS. Acco. Advocates Library.

(*m*) The most frequent compounds, in the names of places, are *Cleugh* in thirty-two names, *Hope* in thirty-eight, *Lee* in fifteen, *Shiel* in twelve, *Shaw* in ten, *Law*, *Kirk*, *Haugh*, *Burn*, *Rig*, and a few from *Dod*.

(*n*) Davis, and Owen.

Loch of the *lows*, *Duchoir*, now *Deuchar*. The names, indeed, of *Dun*-law, and *Alt*-reiver burn, exhibit pleonastic compounds of the Gaelic, and the Scoto-Saxon languages. The reader, if he do not constantly recollect the several successions of people, in this shire, who, in different ages, settled here, the Britons first, the Anglo-Saxons next, the Gaelic-Scots, after them, and lastly the Anglo-Norman, and English people, must necessarily be confounded, when he looks upon the county map, to see such a mixture of names, from different tongues. The same observation is equally to be made, in respect to other shires. And, in this view of the subject, the topography of the country becomes the truest history of the people, during the darkest ages (*o*).

As this shire was, in early times, completely covered with a vast forest, it should seem never to have been much cultivated, by the first people, who existed rather in the state of *hunters*, than of *shepherds*: The Romanized Britons may have made some advances towards the second step of society. The Saxon people seem to have taken firm possession, without clearing away the woods, which still in a great measure remained, at the end of seven changeful centuries. There are but few British remains, in this shire, which would show the inhabitancy, and mark the usages of the British people: There are here no druid temples, no stone monuments, no ancient sepulchres; nor, do any hill-forts appear throughout the greatest part of Etterick forest. It is, in the eastern division of the shire, which now forms the cultivated part of it, where can be traced any British, or Roman antiquities. In this tract, there are the remains of some British strengths, which were erected upon heights, and were formed generally between the circular, and the oval. In the midst of several of those British strengths, in the parish of Roberton, there is a Roman camp, which is of a square figure, and is flanked by a rivulet, the banks whereof are steep, is defended in front by Borthwick water, and having on the remaining sides artificial ramparts: The remains of this post bear, at present, the name of Africa, the corruption of some ancient name, which cannot now be traced (*p*). But,

(*o*) It may be of use to add here a specimen of the Scoto-Saxon language, as it was written here, in 1423, by Archibald, the fourth Earl of Douglas, who fell at the battle of Vernüil: "Be it "knawyn till all men thrwch yir present letterys us Archebalde off Douglas, Erle of Wygtoun, "and off Longuevill, til haf set, and till ferme lattyn till our lwuit Schir Wilzeam Myddilmast, "twa forestar stedis wytin Schutynle ward, by and betuix ye mastirstede and ye tourourstede off "the ward off ye Yharrow," &c. Record Great Seal, book ii. No. 61. This lease is dated, at ye *Neuerk*, in Newark castle.

(*p*) About two miles from this Roman post, and within view of it, there is still to be seen a British fortlet, of a semicircular form. Stat. Acco. xi. 545.

no Roman road has yet been discovered here, which would lead us to any useful notice.

Now, the most remarkable remain of the Britons, in this shire, is the *Catrail*, or battle-fence, consisting of a large fosse, with a rampart, on either side. From Mosalee, on the north-east of this shire, the *Catrail* may be traced through the middle of the country, in a winding direction, till it passes from Selkirk into Roxburghshire, by crossing Borthwick water, near Hosket. The course of the Catrail, through Selkirkshire, from Mossalee to the passage of Borthwick water, extends to eight-and-twenty miles. This vast war-fence can only be referred, for its construction, to the Romanized Britons, who, after the abdication of the Roman government, had this country to defend against the intrusion of the Saxons, on the east, during the fifth century, the darkest period of our history: Its British name, its connection with British hill-forts, the peculiarity of its course, and the nature of its formation, all evince, that its construction can refer to no other people, and its epoch to no other period of our annals. Such are the antiquities of Selkirkshire! The various languages of the earliest people, which are the best proofs of their different lineages; the hill-forts, and war-fence, of the Britons, show their warlike policy: The Roman camp evinces the residence of Roman troops, in this shire, as the discovery of Roman coins also show, that they traversed its narrow bounds, in their marches, though a Roman road has not here been yet traced. Monuments of stone, Selkirkshire appears to have none: *William's Croce*, indeed, once stood on a height, near Broadmeadow, within a mile of Philiphaugh (*q*). On the top of Kershope hill, there stood a monumental stone, called *Taits-Cross*, though the cause of its erection cannot now be traced to its origin (*r*). Craik-moor,

(*q*) It is stated, in a MS. Account of this shire, by William Elliot of Stobs, and Walter Scot of Arkilton, dated the 21st December 1649, in the Advocates Library. They say this croce was raised, where one of the Earls of Douglas was killed. This tradition points to the place, where William Douglas, the knight of Lidsdale, was slain, by William, Earl of Douglas. Godscroft says, the knight was hunting in *Galse wood*, when he was killed; was carried the first night to Lindean kirk, a mile from Selkirk; and was buried in Melros abbey. Hist. 77.

(*r*) The fact is stated in a MS. Account of Selkirkshire by Mr. John Hodge, dated 1722, in the Advocates Library. He adds a circumstance, which has now become antiquated: "That there "was then to be seen, at *Taits-Cross*, *boughted*, and milked, upwards of twelve thousand ewes, in "the month of June, about eight o'clock at night, at one view." *Boughted* is a verb, formed from the substantive *bought*, or *bught*, which meant, in the speech of the shepherds, a fold, for ewes, while they were milked. There is an old song:

"Will ye go to the *ewe-buchts*, Marion?
"And wear in the sheep wi' me."

The

moor, in Roberton parish, is a high mountain, four miles in length, about the middle whereof stood a stone, called *Craik-Cross*, which divides the shire of Selkirk from Eskdale: From this *Cross*, in a clear day, may be descried the walls of Berwick, at the distance of eight-and-thirty miles, to the eastward. The modern antiquities of Selkirkshire consist chiefly of ruined castles, and moss-grown towers, erected some of them, in the twelfth century, but the greater number of them, in subsequent ages of foreign hostilities, or domestic feuds. Whatever may have been their age, or their picturesque ruins, those towers escaped the attention of Grose, and eluded the notice of Cardonel. We may still trace the ruins of *Oldwark* castle, on the south-east bank of the Yarrow, which was probably built here by some of the kings, in early times, as a commodious hunting-seat, and relinquished by them to the principal warden of their extensive forests (*s*). Higher up, on the same side of the Yarrow, may be seen the ruins of *Newark* castle, which was probably built by William, the first Earl of Douglas, after he succeeded to *the forest* (*t*). The ruins of towers, throughout Selkirkshire, are very numerous, and though of less size, are of similar construction, which was intended more for defences, in war, than the comforts of peace (*u*). These towers only refer us to the coarse, and savage manners of the times, that are passed: They are daily disappearing from antiquarian eyes:

> "Nor, after length of years, a stone betray
> "The place, where once the very ruins lay."

§ v. *Of its Establishment, as a Shire.*] The origin of a sheriffwic, in this district, is extremely obscure. At the epoch of the Scoto-Saxon period, the Scotish kings had a castle, with large demesns at Selkirk, the seat of most extensive forests. Whoever was the constable of the king's castle at Selkirk-regis, performed, in those early times, all the functions of a sheriff, within its

The word *bucht*, or *bught*, if traced back through the Saxon, and British, will be found to have a common original.

(*s*) See its site, in Ainslie's map of this shire.

(*t*) Ib. Archibald, the fourth Earl of Douglas, dated a lease of some lands in the forest to his chaplain Schir William Meddelmast, "at ye *New-werk*," the 2d of March 1423-4. Anne, the first Duchess of Monmouth, and of Buccleugh, was born, in this castle of Newark, which is now the residence of crows, and owls.

(*u*) There were Kirkhope tower, on the Etterick; Deuchar tower, or Yarrow; Dyhope tower, near St. Mary's loch; Blackhouse tower, on Douglas burn; Thirlstane tower; Gamescleugh tower; Tusselaw tower, on the Etterick, the seat of *the king of the thieves*; Blindlee tower, in Galashiels parish; *Peel*, in Yarrow parish.

jurisdiction.

jurisdiction. There was probably a sheriffdom here, with the usual authorities, at the sad demise of Alexander III. The first sheriff, however, of Selkirkshire, who has yet been found, in any record, is Alexander Synton, who was certainly sheriff here, in 1292 (*x*). Edward I., in 1304, granted to Aymer de Valence, the Earl of Glocester, and his heirs, the keeping of *the forest*, the castle, and the town of Selkirk (*y*). When Edward settled the government of Scotland, in 1305, Selkirkshire was assigned "celui qui est de fe;" to him, who was sheriff, in fee, and heritage: And, in fact, we have just seen, that the Earl of Pembroke was then hereditary sheriff of this shire. We are now arrived, at the epoch of the competition between the kings of Scotland, and of England. Robert I. granted to his favourite warrior, Sir James Douglas, the forests of *Selkirk*, and Traquair, with the juridical powers of a free barony (*z*). This grant, after the death of Hugh, the brother of Sir James, was confirmed to Sir William, the son of Archibald, and the first Earl of Douglas (*a*), who domineered, within Selkirkshire, till his death, in 1384. Yet, during that long period, the English sovereigns regarded Selkirk, as being under the regimen of a sheriffdom (*b*). Whatever grants they made of this country, or whatever government they established, the English were not allowed to retain quiet possession of a country, which belonged to a Douglas, under a Scotish title. In 1346, Sir William Douglas, the first earl, expelled them from *Douglasdale*,

(*x*) Edward I., on the 10th of December 1292, issued a mandate to Alexander Synton, "vicecomes de Selkirk," to pay "to M. the bishop of Sodor" 10l., from the arrears of his accounts, out of the issues of his bailliewic. Rotuli Scotiæ, 12. Edward, on the 7th of January 1292-3, issued another precept to Alexander Synton, "*nuper* vicecomes de Selkirk," to pay 24l. 18s. 4½d., out of the arrears, due of his accounts, to Nicolas de Colle, "mercatorem nostram "Lucanen. de Societate Ricorum de Luca." Ib. 17. Synton is a local name. This sheriff was probably the lord of the manor of Synton, in the eastern quarter of Selkirkshire: Sinton is still the name of an estate there, and of a mansion, a hamlet, and a mill.

(*y*) Abbrev. Rot. Origin. 151; Dugd. Bar. i. 776-8. Shortly after such appointment, he built a peel at Selkirk, and put a garrison in it; And, attending Queen Isobell into France, in 1323, on the 23d of June, the same year, he was murdered, as he had had a hand in the murder of the Duke of Lancaster. Ib. 777-8.

(*z*) Roberts. Index, 10.

(*a*) Ib. 55. He had no right over the shire-town, as we have seen. As he obtained his grant, in 1342, the period of his domination was two-and-forty years.

(*b*) In 1334, Edward Baliol, when he gave so many countries to Edward III., transferred to him the *sheriffwic* of Selkirk. Rym. iv. 615—617. Robert de Manners was, on the 15th of June 1334, appointed sheriff of Selkirk, and keeper of the forest. Id. And, in 1335, Edward III. granted to William de Montacute, the fee-firm of the forests of Selkirk, and Etterick, with the town, and *sheriffdom* of Selkirk, rendering yearly thirty pounds. Ib. 671; Ayloff, 161.

and

and took possession of *Etterick forest* (*c*). After the attainder of Earl Douglas, in 1455, the forest of Selkirk, with whatever jurisdiction, was annexed, by parliament, to the crown. In 1503, John Murray of Falahill was sheriff of Selkirkshire (*d*). James IV., on the 30th of November 1509, granted to John Murray, and to his heirs, the sheriffdom, of Selkirkshire (*e*): Yet, they seem not to have enjoyed it, without interruption, owing to a lapse in the loyalty of this family, who owed their office to the king's bounty. A revolution restored them to their rights, and rewarded them, for their wrongs (*f*). John Murray of Philiphaugh, the descendant of Murray of Falahill, received, in 1748, four thousand pounds, in compensation, for this heritable sheriffship. Among a million of pretensions, on that occasion, the Duke of Douglas claimed the *regality* of Selkirk. We may easily suppose, as the Duke asked very much, and obtained very little, that he claimed, for the whole forfeited jurisdictions of his family (*g*). When that admirable reform was made, by purchasing those injurious jurisdictions, Charles Campbell of Monzie, advocate, was appointed sheriff of Selkirkshire, for the king (*h*).

§ VI. *Of its Civil History.*] Under this head of narration, the *shire-town* is the first object. In very early times, *the forest* preceded *the castle* of Selkirk, as the castle gave rise to *the village*, while *the church* was a necessary adjunct, both of the castle, and the town. Before the year 1124, there existed, upon this agreeable site, a castle, an old town, and an ancient church (*i*). The

(*c*) Lord Hailes's An. ii. 221.

(*d*) Balfour's Practicks, 16. That sheriff had the honour of delivering seisin of *the forest* to Lady Margaret of England, as a part of her dower, when she married James IV.; as we know from Rymer.

(*e*) Douglas Baron. 105; Sir Ja. Dalrymple's Col. 350. Lady Margaret Hepburn, the daughter of Adam, the second Earl of Bothwell, who fell on Floddon-field, married John Murray of Falahill, the hereditary sheriff of Selkirkshire. Dougl. Peer. 85.

(*f*) The Earl of Roxburgh was sheriff of Selkirkshire, during the king's pleasure. Warrant Book. John Riddel of Haining was also sheriff, during pleasure. Id. Sir James Murray, who was born, in 1655, "was concerned in a design of making an insurrection, in Scotland, at the time "of Shaftsbury's plot; and was one of the evidences against Baillie of Jerviswood: He was made "a Lord of Session, at the Revolution; and sometime after, Lord Register, by the title of *Philiphaugh*.. Carstair's State Papers, 99; and see Lockhart's Memoirs, throughout.

(*g*) The Duke of Douglas claimed for the regality of Selkirk 2,000l.; and for his whole jurisdictions 34,000l; but, he was compensated with 5,104l. 5s. 1d. List of Claims.

(*h*) Scots Mag. 1748, 155: He died, on the 26th of March 1751.

(*i*) In the foundation charter of Earl David, he granted to the monks of Selkirk the lands "de *Selechyrche*, inter viam qua vadit de castello ad abbatiam et garuam, viz. versus veterem "villam." Chart. Kelso, No. 4; Sir J. Dalrymple's Col. Appx. iv.; Chron. Mailros.

castle,

castle, as it was erected, for the amusements of peace, rather than for the struggles of war, was probably built of slight materials. It was not, perhaps, much inhabited by David I., after his accession, in 1124; as he gave the preference to Roxburgh castle, which from its site was more agreeable, and more safe (*k*). The castle of Selkirk was frequently inhabited by William, the lion (*l*): His son, and his grandson, the second, and third Alexander, may have sometime resided, in the same castle: But, this ancient hunting-seat disappeared from antiquarian eyes, before the accession of Robert I.: And, we have already seen, that Aymer de Valence built *a peel*, at Selkirk town, which seems to intimate, that there remained no royal house, at this ancient place. At no great distance, indeed, upon the Yarrow, there was, in very early times, an ancient castle, which was called *Oldwark*, which was probably built by the king, while there were no proprietors here, who could have built with *lime and stone*; and which was probably inhabited by the warden of the forest, as we

(*k*) The castle was mentioned, as we have seen, in the foundation charter of Selkirk abbey: When David I. granted to Ernald, the abbot of Kelso, the church of Selkirk-regis, he provided, that the abbot, and his successors, should be chaplains to him, and his sons, and their heirs, in the said castle. Chart. Kelso, No. 370.

(*l*) At the end of the twelfth century, a controversy between the monks of Melros, and Patrick, Earl of March, about their several rights, in the forest between the Gala and the Leader, was settled, by an agreement, between the parties, in the king's court, and in his presence, at Selkirk: And William granted a charter, confirming the agreement, which he says was made "apud "*Selechirche*, in presencia mea, in plena curia mea." Chart. Melros, No. 140. A controversy between the monks of Kelso, and those of Melros, about their lands, was remitted by Pope Celistine, to be decided by King William. At Melros, in 1202, the king heard the pretensions of the two parties; and thereupon directed an inquisition to be made, "per probos et antiquos "homines patriæ." The good, and the experienced men of the country, seem to have found in favour of the monks of Kelso: For, the parties, coming again before the king, at Selechirche, in 1204, he gave judgment in favour of the monks of Kelso; And, according to the practice, in that age, he confirmed the judgment by a charter, wherein the whole proceeding is recited. Chart. Melros, No. 18. King William must have resided, on such occasions, in his castle, at Selkirk, throughout his whole reign. Of King William's many charters, three to the bishops of Glasgow were dated at Selechirche. Chart. Glasg. 33, 209, 217. The foundation charter of Arbroath, and another grant to the monks thereof, were dated at Selechirche. Dug. Monast. ii. 1054; Chart. Arbroath, 68. A charter to the monks of Lindores, two to the monks of Paisley, two to the monks of Kelso, and one to the monks of Melros, were all dated, at Selechirche. Chart. Lind. No. 6; Chart. Paisl. No. 10-36; Chart. Kelso, No. 103-4; and Chart. Melros, No. 4. We herein see how often William, the lion, dwelt in his castle, at Selechirche, and how often he hunted in his forests of Selkirk. His son, and grandson, probably, followed his example. On the 7th of June 1233, Alexander II. dated a charter, at *Selechirche*. Chart. Kelso, No. 392. The castle, no doubt, continued to be the occasional residence of the Scotish kings, till the sad demise of Alexander III.

have seen. A village arose under the more ancient castle, even beyond the period of record. A new hamlet had already arisen near the old, as we have perceived, before the year 1124 (*m*): And, the two villages, after the foundation of the abbey, came to be distinguished, by the appropriate names of Selkirk-*regis*, and Selkirk-*abbatis*. When the monks were removed, in 1128, the latter distinction soon evanished. Selkirk, which had this ancient foundation, long continued a town, in the *king's demesn*; but, did not become a royal burgh, till much more recent times. We might infer this circumstance, indeed, from the silence of Ragman Roll (*n*): While the rulers of other towns were obliged to swear fealty to Edward I., we do not perceive any corporate body from Selkirk upon their knees before their superior lord. During the long conflicts, for the succession to the crown, the town of Selkirk was often granted to the successive partizans of the rival kings, as we have already learned from their charters (*o*). We may thus perceive, that Selkirk continued to be a *burgh* under David II., when the *king's firms* were rented, for a specific sum, to some known character; and when of course, in notion of law, Selkirk was merely *a town in the royal demesn* (*p*). In this inferior state, Selkirk continued, till the recent reign of James V. From his charter, it became a royal burgh, on an occasion, that reflects high honour on the loyalty, and spirit, of this ancient town (*q*). When James IV. was marching forward to his fate, at Floddon-field, a hundred townsmen joined him, under the town clerk. They fought stoutly; they almost all fell in the field, rather than flee: Few of them returned with William

(*m*) Chart. Kelso, No. 1. (*n*) Prynne, iii.

(*o*) Robert I. granted to Henry Gelchedal the *miln* of Selkirk, for the yearly payment of two marks of money. Robertson's Index. David II. granted to Robert Dalyell the town, and lands of Selkirk. Ib. 34. David II. granted the lands, within the town, and the miln of Selkirk, to Robert Carnock. Ib. 60. In 1365, David II. renewed his grant to Robert Dalyell, of the king's lands about the town, with an exception of "the king's firms of the burgh of Selkirk." Ib. 79. In 1398, Robert III. confirmed to George, Earl of Angus, who had married the king's daughter, Mary, "the haill town of Selkirk." Roberts. Index, 139.

(*p*) See Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer. In those intimations, we may trace the origin of the corporate bodies of Scotland: The villages were first the king's town, in his demesn: When they obtained, from the king's grant, a right to choose their own rulers, and to rent their own firms, they became *royal burrows*.

(*q*) The first charter is dated the 4th March 1535; this was enlarged in 1538; and again, in 1540, when the baillies, and community, were empowered to elect a provost, every year. The corporation now consists of thirty-three members: Two baillies, a dean of guild, a treasurer; two old baillies, an old dean of guild, and an old treasurer; five deacons of trades, five colleagues, ten merchant counsellors, and five trades counsellors. The revenue of the corporation, as returned to Parliament, is 284l., a-year.

Bryden,

Bryden, their gallant chief, who brought with him, as proofs of their valour, rather than of victory, an English standard, and a hostile pole-axe, which are usually carried in the processions of the corporation, as the ensignia of the town (*r*). The English soon after burnt the town. The gratitude, or the approbation of James v., granted them timber from his forests to rebuild it, and a thousand acres of land, to reanimate the burgesses (*s*). In 1556, of the forty-two burghs, Selkirk, and Peeblis, paid the same taxes. In the monthly assessment of 1695, Selkirk paid £72, and Peeblis only £66 (*t*). Selkirk, as a royal burgh, with Peeblis, Linlithgow, and Lanerk, choose one representative to the united parliament. Selkirk is the metropolis of the shire; being the seat of the sheriff's and commissary's courts, with the justices sessions; and having a weekly market, and many yearly fairs (*u*).

Yet, in this shire, we see nothing of greatness, in ancient times, either of things, or persons, but the forest, the king, and the abbot of Kelso. The forest of Etterick, in those ages, spread over the whole country, which is drained by the Etterick, and Yarrow, as far northward as the Tweed. The kindred district, which is watered by the Cadon, and lies northward of the Tweed, also formed a considerable part of this extensive forest, which was anciently called either Etterick, or Selkirk; and sometimes it was named indiscriminately Etterick, and Selkirk forest (*x*). Those "woodland grounds" appear

(*r*) By a charter of James v., which now lyes forgotten among the archives of the corporation, William Bryden, the town clerk, and his successors in office, were created *knights*, on a recital of the bravery of Bryden, and the valour of the townsmen.

(*s*) The king empowered, on that occasion, the body-politic of the town to incorporate the trades, particularly, the *soutars*, or cordwainers, who are celebrated in song, with their *deacon*, "who, at the admission of every new *soutar*, is obliged, by charter, to provide him with a maid, "if he desire it:" Some burgesses have pleaded their privilege; and were, by the deacon, provided to their satisfaction. Hodge's MS. Account, 1722. We may suppose, however, that it is a wife, which the deacon is bound to provide for the burgess on demand.

(*t*) Gibson's Hist. Glasgow, 78-103-121. In June 1633, the parliament passed an act, in favour of the burgh of Selkirk. Unprinted Act of that date. In June 1640, there passed another act, in favour of Selkirk, confirming a fair to be held there, yearly, on the 4th of July. Unprinted Act of that date.

(*u*) It hath a famous church, saith Hodges, and school, with a strong prison, fine council-house, and market-cross, standing in the middle of the town, having three good entries into the town, by the west, east, and south parts. It is situated not far from the water of Etterick, on the north: It hath three very good mills; to wit, corn, and walk mills, with one boat, that goes below the mill. It hath a large common, on the south, and north parts, fit for corn, and *store*. MS. Acco. 1722.

(*x*) In several charters, Etterick, and Selkirk, are mentioned as separate forests: And the

appear to have been early settled by the Northumbrian Saxons; as we may infer, from the antiquity of the Saxon names of places, among which can be traced but very few *English* appellations. The most numerous woods, in those vast forests, were of oaks, mixed with birch, and hazel: And, indeed, great numbers of oak trees are even now dug up in the mosses, which owed their formation chiefly to the stagnation of waters upon the woodlands, that were resigned to neglect, and accident. Those woodlands were of old inhabited by the *Eurus*, whose remains are still found, in the mosses, and the marl-pits (*y*). Beasts of chace, and birds of prey, formerly abounded here; as we may learn, from the names of the places, which they frequented (*z*). From the old song of the *Outlaw Murray*, we may indeed learn that,

"Ettrick forest is a fair forest,
"In it grows many a semelie trie;
"The hart, the hynd, the doe, the roe,
"And of a' beastes great plentie."

The recital of the minstrel is, in this instance, justified by record.

From the age of Earl David, during several centuries, many grants were made of various *easements*, within the ample scope of those *fair forests*. Earl David, when he founded the abbey of Selkirk, before the year 1124, when he happily ascended the throne, gave to the monks "terram de *Selechyrche*," the

forest of Etterick appears to have comprehended the country on the rivers Etterick, and Yarrow; while Selkirk forest comprehended the country on the Lower Etterick, and the district, on both sides of the Tweed: Adjoining to this large forest, on the north-west, there was a smaller forest, that spread over the country, which is drained by the Quair, on the south of the Tweed; and it was denominated, in charters, the forest of Traquair, and now forms a part of Peeblis-shire. There also adjoined the forest of Selkirk, on the north-east, the forest on the Gala; and upon the east side, there was a smaller forest, on the Upper Alne. The fact is, that in the retours made to parliament, in 1613, of the rental of each estate in the whole country; the sheriffdom of Selkirk, and the forest of Etterick, were returned separately; and seem to have been severally accounted for, in the Exchequer; the first, by the sheriff, and the second, by the forester; the amount of the rental, according to the *old extent* of the sheriffdom, was 122l. 6s. 8d., "besyds the kirk-"landis, and landis in Roxburghshire;" and the *Tax Roll* of the lordship of Etterick forest, "as "it was retourit in an judicial court," amounted to 670l. 15s. 6d.; whereof the Earl of Buccleugh held the value of 180l. 6s. 8d. MS. Copy from the Record.

(*y*) Stat. Acco. ii. 448; Transact. Antiq. Soc. Scot. i. 57.

(*z*) Even before the year 1649, this forest was almost altogether denuded of its trees: Yet, even then, "some places remained well furnished with pleasant, and profitable woods, especially "for building. The tops of the mountains had [in 1649] good store of moor-fowls; and, in "some places, the black cock, and grey hen, which is a large, and delicate kind of fowl." Elliot, and Scot's MS. Account of this shire, 1649, in the Advocates Library.

land

land of Selechyrche as described, with the tenth of the skins of the harts, and hinds, which his hounds [valtrarii] should take in the forest. His munificence was approved by the charters of his grandsons, Malcolm, and William. When David I. refounded the monastery of Melros, he conferred on the monks, in his forests of Selkirk, and Traquair, pasture for their beasts, and pannage, and wood, and other materials, as freely as he himself enjoyed those special advantages (*b*). Alexander II. gave the monks of Melros the whole of his *waste*, that lay on the Upper Etterick, between the forests, and the mountains, which divided it from Eskdale, and Anandale (*c*). In 1235, Alexander II. empowered those monks to hold their lands upon the Upper Etterick in a *free forest* (*d*). The monks of Kelso had also their *liberties*, within the forest of Selkirk: And they had incidentally their burdens. The abbot of Kelso was bound to repair the bridge of Etterick (*e*). The bridge of Etterick was the appropriate *mote*, where the abbot of Kelso, in those times, held his baronial courts (*f*). From those notices, it is apparent, that the only great land-holders, during the Scoto-Saxon period, were the abbots of Kelso, and Melros. There does not appear to have been any person, from Selkirkshire, in the numerous parliament of Brigham, 1290, if we except those abbots, who resided, without the shire. And, when every one was required to swear fealty to Edward I., in 1296, we see only three persons, who submitted to his will: Richard, the vicar of Selkirk town, and John de Craik, and Cristine de Greenhead, "del counte de Selkirk." (*g*) From those intimations, we may perceive, that there was not any person of consequence, in Selkirkshire, during those distressful times: Simon Fraser, the elder, of Peeblis-shire, was the king's keeper of the forest of Selkirkshire, at the eventful demise of Alexander III.

In 1290, Edward I. began to act as sovereign of Selkirkshire. He gave away the beasts, and timber of the forest (*h*). He appointed officers, for the guard,

(*b*) Diplom. Scotiæ, pl. iv.; Chart. Melros, No. 54. (*c*) Chart. Mailros, No. 64.

(*d*) Chart. in Bibl. Harl.; Robertson's MS. Extracts. In 1235, Alexander II. allowed the monks of Melros to settle in the forest of Etterick; and granted to the abbot of Melros the right of *free forest*, in the four granges circumjacent. Chart, Mail. 203; Cron. Mail. 203.

(*e*) Alexander II. granted, in 1233, to the abbot of Kelso, the lands of Richard, the son of Edwine, lying on both sides of the river, for the proper repair of the bridge of Etterick. Chart. Kelso, No. 217.

(*f*) Chart. Kelso, 217. In the statement of the property of the monks of Kelso, which they drew up, under Robert I., they say, they had at Selkirk-regis "terram, que vocatur *terra pontis*, et "contenit 16 acres." Ib. 10.

(*g*) Prynne, iii. 660-62.

(*h*) Edward I., on the 18th of August 1291, issued a precept to Simon Fraser, the keeper of the

guard, and government of the country (*i*). And, he was followed, in his principles, and precepts, by Edward II., and Edward III., who, by aiming at too much, were finally disappointed in all.

But, a great change was at hand. The valour, and fortune of Robert I., enabled him, as we have seen, to reward the services of Sir James Douglas, by granting him, as a free barony, the forests of Selkirk, Etterick, and Traquair (*k*). In 1342, this grant was repeated, and enlarged, by David II., to Sir William Douglas, the nephew of the good Sir James (*l*). Such, then, were the occasions, and the grants, which gave the Douglases an entrance, and rights, within the forests of Selkirkshire; and which they lost, in 1455, by their ambitious folly, and parliamentary attainder.

In the meantime, the insatiable ambition of Edward III. raised up a pretender to the Scotish crown; and thereby involved the two nations, in still more inveterate wars. In June 1334, that pretender, Edward Balliol, transferred to the English king all the rights, which he could convey, in the several forests,

the forest of Selkirk, to deliver to William Fraser, the bishop of St. Andrews, thirty harts; to Robert, bishop of Glasgow, twenty harts, and sixty oaks; to Adam, the bishop of Cathness, and chancellor of Scotland, ten harts; to James Stewart of Scotland, twenty harts; to Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, ten harts; to William de Sinclair, six harts; to Brian, the preceptor of the knights of the Temple in Scotland, two harts, and four oaks; to William de Soulis, ten harts; to John de Soulis, six harts; to William de Hay, four harts; to the keeper himself, ten harts; and to Thomas de Clenhult, four harts. Rot. Scotiæ, 3. He issued another precept to the same forester, to deliver six harts to the abbot of Jedworth, and four harts to Adam de Botendon, the vice chancellor of Scotland. Ib. 9. In May 1296, he gave to Reginald de Crawford six harts, from the same forest. Ib. 35. And he granted to the monks of Melros forty oaks, from the same woodlands. Rolls of Parl. ii. 469.

(*i*) In January 1291-2, Edward I. confided the keeping of the forest of Selchirche, and Traquair, to William, the son of John Cumyn, as Simon Fraser, who died, in Autumn 1291, lately held the same. Ayloff's Calend. 107; Rot. Scotiæ, 7. Edward, on the 6th of May 1292, appointed Thomas de Burnham the keeper of Selkirk forest, with the demesn lands thereto belonging. Ib. 23; Rym. ii. 717. In 1300, Simon Fraser was warden of Selkirk forest. Ib. ii. 870. He was superseded soon after, by the appointment of Aymer de Valence, as we have seen. Edward II., on the 13th of December 1309, gave the keeping of the castles of Selkirk, and Bothwell, to the same Aymer de Valence. Rot. Scotiæ, 80.

(*k*) Roberts. Index, 10. The same king, meantime, granted to the monks of Coldingham five bucks, yearly, out of the forest of Selkirk, for the celebration of the festival of St. Cuthbert's translation: The forefathers of the foresters owed much to the worthy Cuthbert for his instruction: And David II. repeated the liberal grant of his generous father.

(*l*) Roberts. Index, 55. David II. granted to the monks of Kelso authority to cut timber, in the forest of Selkirk, for repairing the damages to their edifices of the long-continued wars. Ib. 63.

within

within Selkirkshire (*m*). The English king made haste to enforce his spurious title, by his pen, and his sword: He granted his rights, in various proportions, in different forms: And, after holding the Christmas festival at Roxburgh, in 1334, he marched into the forest of Etterick, without meeting with those hardy men, who had contemned his authority; and who now thought it prudent to withdraw, "under the hospitable covert of the wild wilderness, "thick interwoven (*n*)." The Douglases, at length, raised their spears. In 1338, the knight of Lidsdale, with his usual enterprize, compelled the English to abandon Tiviotdale; and of course to retire from the forest (*o*). Young Sir William Douglas of Douglas, had been appointed, by David II, in May 1342, *the leader* of the men of *Selkirk*, and of Roxburgh (*p*). After the fatal conflict at Nevils-cross, in 1346, the English again retook the castle of Roxburgh, and again seized the forests of Selkirkshire. But, the men of Selkirk gathering around their chief, drove the intruders from Douglasdale, and regained their native forests (*q*). After various alternations of defeat, and victory, the surest proofs of the enterprize, and bravery of the contending parties, the chief of Selkirkshire retained the object of contest within his grasp. It was during those conflicts, probably, that the whole shire was divided into *wards* (*r*). The usual festivities of the forest were soon saddened by domestic woe. The chief of the Douglases ordered William, the knight of Lidsdale, to be slain, in 1353, as he was enjoying the sports of the chace, in Galswood (*s*). *William's cross*

(*m*) Rym. iv. 615. Edward, immediately, appointed Robert de Manners the keeper of the forests of *Selkirk*, and *Etterick*. Ib. 617. In 1334, Edward issued a writ, to inquire, if the Countess of Mar was entitled to be keeper of those forests. Ib. 622. This Countess of Mar was probably the widow of Donald Earl of Mar, who fell at the battle of Duplin, in 1332, whose weakness entailed so many misfortunes on his country: She was Isobel, the daughter of Sir Alexander Stewart of Bonkill. Douglas Peer. 160. She seems to have had no right to what she claimed: For, in October 1335, Edward III. granted to William de Montacute the forest of Etterick, and sheriffdom of Selkirk, to him, and his heirs. Ib. 671.

(*n*) Border Hist. 314. (*o*) Lord Hailes's An. ii. 202.

(*p*) Crawford's Peer. 95; Roberts. Index, 55. (*q*) Lord Hailes's An. ii. 221.

(*r*) Those wards are very obscurely mentioned, as we have seen, in a lease, dated, in 1423, by Archibald Douglas, Earl of Wygtown, to his chaplain, Schyr William Midelmast. Record Great Seal, book ii. No. 61.

(*s*) The *Scala Cronica* tells this dismal story, in this manner: "William Douglas, that had "greatly holped the quarrel of King David, was restored to his castell of the Hermitage, upon "conditions, that he never after should bear wepen agayn King Edwarde, and always be ready to "take his part. This Duglas was sone after slayn of the Lord Willyam Duglas, yn the forest of "Selkirk." But, see *the Act of Liberation*, dated the 17th of July 1352, in Rym. v. 738: And see before the note, in this volume, 800. By comparing all those facts together, we may ascertain clearly

cross marks the spot, where feudal policy perpetrated his odious purpose. The body of the knight, who had been often overpowered, but never conquered, was carried to Lindean kirk, for a night; and thence was conveyed to Melros abbey, for his lasting repose. That one Douglas should slay another Douglas, is such an act, that Godscroft, the apologist for all the deeds of all the Douglases, knows not how to extenuate, or explain, without the aid of amatory fiction, while the odious passions of envy, interest, and ambition, were the true motives, in the flinty heart of the principal assassin, who was too powerful, for punishment, at such a moment, when England desired tranquillity, and Scotland was ruled by a regency. David II., on the 15th of May 1365, conferred the lands of Selkirk, with the pertinents, but not the annual rents, or the royal firms, of the burrow of Selkyrk, on Robert Dalyell, and his heirs-male, till he should be better provided for; yielding, for the same, yearly, one arch-tenant, and three suits to the king's courts, at Selkyrk (*t*).

After a respite of half a century, the rival kings again began alternate grants of those forests to rival families. Robert III. conferred on Archibald Douglas, who had married his daughter, Margaret, the regalities of the forests of *Etterick*, of Lauderdale, and Romannoch, with the lordship of Douglas (*u*). In 1403, Henry IV., studious to reward the strenuous merits of Henry Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, granted, *as much as in him were*, the earldom of Douglas, Eskdale, Lydsdale, Lauderdale, the *lordship of Selkirk*, and the *forest* of *Eteryk*, with the domains, castles, peels, fortalices, manors, villages, hamlets, sheilings, lands, tenements, rents, services, with the pertinents, in Scotland, which William, James, and Archibald, the three first Earls of Douglas, had held, or Archibald that now is, or Joan, his mother, enjoyed, when the earl was taken at *Hamildon* hill (*x*). Percy had already forgotten how Douglas had fought at *Otterburn!* Henry IV. but faintly recollected, how many Douglases had been taken, and how often Scotsmen had been overcome, yet were never conquered. It still required the experience of three hostile centuries to convince English statesmen, that Scotland could only be obtained by treaty. Many a conflict followed that grant to Percy; and many truces were made between kings, whose pretensions were irreconcileable, and between nations, whose wrongs, as they were often renewed, could not be rectified.

clearly the cause of that odious deed, without supposing the love of a Countess of Douglas, who did not then exist. Godscroft, 77-8-81. There was no Earl, or Countess of Douglas, in 1353.

(*t*) Regist. David II. 131; Printed Rec. 45. Crawford's Peerage, 68, in stating the above grant, calls, mistakingly, the thing granted, the *barony* of *Selkrig*.

(*u*) Roberts. Index, 142.

(*x*) Rym. viii. 289.

During

During a moment of quiet, James II. granted to William, Earl Douglas, on the 26th of January 1450-1, the forests of *Selkirk*, and *Etterick*, in a free regality, with the accustomed jurisdictions (*a*). This potent chief now domineered a while, in Selkirkshire: But, he was too proud, and too powerful, to be restrained by gratitude, or ruled by law. The Earl of Douglas, in an age, which was fatal to his family, was forfeited, in 1455, for his many treasons. And, on the 4th of August, in the same year, the lordship of Etterick forest, with its pertinents, was annexed to the crown, by act of parliament (*b*). Selkirkshire was, after this great change, governed by the king's stewart, during three-and-thirty years, throughout the perturbed reigns of James II., and James III. (*c*). But, that forfeiture was never forgiven, by the Douglases, whose chief pursued James III., as his evil genius, till he obtained his dethronement, and death, on Stirling-field. The first parliament of James IV., which, after that event, met on the 7th of October 1488, gave the domination of the several sheriffdoms of Roxburgh, *Selkirk*, Peeblis, and Lanerk, to the same Earl of Angus, who had thus dethroned the unhappy king (*d*). The other chiefs of that revolt had all their individual rewards, for their several villainies. Alexander Home, the great chamberlain, was appointed, in parliament, on the 15th of February 1489-90, to collect the king's rents, and casual revenues, in the shires of *Selkirk*, and Stirling; as he had in keeping the castles of Strivelin, and *Newark* (*e*). The common people cried out shame, and vengeance, in vain!

While the chamberlain thus enjoyed the fruits, the king possessed the fee of those countries. When James IV., who had been made an instrument of mischief, by those insurgents, had agreed to marry the Lady Margaret of England, he thought of those estates, for her dower. And, on the 24th of May 1503, he endowed her with the whole forest of Etterick, in Selkirkshire, with the manor of Newark, and its tower, within the same forest (*f*). She soon after obtained

(*a*) Scotstarvit's Calendar. (*b*) Parl. Rec. 36.

(*c*) The parliament, on the 12th of January 1467-8, having directed an inquest to be made into each landholder's rent, in each shire, for the purpose of assessment, appointed, in Selkirkshire, for making that *retour*, John Murray, and John Turnbull. Parl. Rec. 151. This is the first public appearance of a Murray, in Selkirkshire.

(*d*) Parl. Rec. 337.

(*e*) Ib. 364: Newark castle on the Yarrow. About half a mile below it, there was the castle of Oldwark. See Ainslie's Map of Selkirkshire. We are told, in song, that there is a peel, on Leaderhaughs,

" Which stands, as sweet on Leaderside,
" As *Newark* does on *Yarrow*."

(*f*) Rym. xiii. 63.

seisin of the whole, from John Murray of Falahill, the sheriff of Selkirk (*g*). When her husband fell on Floddon-field, on the 9th of September 1513, the queen dowager became possessed of Etterick forest. The effects of her unruly passions of love, ambition, and caprice, occupy much of the annals of Scotland, during the infancy of her son, James v.; and were felt by her grand-daughter, Mary Stewart (*h*). On the death of his mother, James v. naturally resumed his own rights, in the forest, and the manor of Newark. When Sir Ralph Sadler came to Scotland, in 1540, to execute the guilty projects of Henry viii., he remonstrated with James on his keeping sheep, and using other mean methods of increasing his revenues (*i*). King Harry, and Sir Ralph, had forgotten the *mean* methods, in the English Exchequer, of old (*k*). The better mode of finance, which was proposed by the king, and his ambassador, was to seize the estates of unoffending subjects. After James v.'s return, from his voyage round the Hebrides, he took measures against the border chiefs: And, Walter Scott of Buccleugh, with other leading men of the neighbouring countries, were warded in Edinburgh castle, and other fortalices: Whereupon, saith Pitscottie, great quiet, and order, endured, for a long time: Whereby, the king had great profit, from *his* 10,000 *sheep going in Etterick forest*, under the keeping of Andrew Bell, who made the king, as good an account of them, as if they had gone, in the bounds of Fife (*l*). In the various course of 250 years, the 10,000 sheep had succeeded, it should seem, in Etterick forest, the 10,000 bucks of Edward i.'s bounteous age (*m*).

But,

(*g*) To the instrument of seisin his seal was appended "in signum executionis sui officii." Ib. 73-4. Walter Scot of Bukcleugh was one of the witnesses to the act of seisin. Ib. 73.

(*h*) On the 18th of October 1524, the Earl of Arran wrote to Dacre, that the queen dowager's influence had been so small, that *Scott of Bukcleugh* had long retained part of her dower, worth 4,000 marks, a-year, for which cause, after she had gained the ascendency over her infant son, she had committed him, and Ker of Cessford, to Edinburgh castle. Orig. Letter Calig. b. vii. 74. They were both men of too much influence to remain long in ward. On the 26th of July 1526, Walter Scott of Buccleugh brought out, from the forest, a thousand men; who attempted to rescue James v. from the domination of the Earl of Angus, the husband of the widowed queen: But, the gallant Scott was repulsed, with the loss of eighty followers, who were killed upon the field. Lesley, 419-21; Pitscottie, 247-8. This conflict happened, at Darnwick, on the Tweed, at the bridge, above Melros, as the king was returning from Jedburgh. Margaret enjoyed Etterick forest, till her death, in 1541.

(*i*) Sadler's State Letters, 6-38.

(*k*) See Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer, throughout. (*l*) Pitscottie, 279.

(*m*) See the *Rotuli Scotiæ*, throughout. "For many ages, (as we are told by those who spoke "from tradition), the queens of Scotland had the forest, as a part of *their dower*: But, it was "feued

But, the quiet, of which Pitscottie was studious to tell, did not last long, during such times, and among such men. In May 1565, the Elliots, in a company of 300, burnt, and spoiled, ten miles, about the laird of Buccleugh's land, and slew many men, some women, and some children (*n*). In the progress of change, *family feuds* were succeeded by *fanatical conflicts*, whereof Selkirkshire had its full share. On the 13th of September 1645, was fought the decisive battle of *Philiphaugh* (*o*). This, then, is one of the last of the civil conflicts, which

" feued to the lairds of Buccleugh, for good services, by Queen Mary." Scott, and Elliot's MS. Acco. 1649. Only one queen enjoyed *the forest*, as a part of her dower, as we have just seen. In the parliament of October 1612, the supplications of the *feuers* of Selkirkshire, were referred to the Lords of Session, to grant commission, as prayed. Unprinted Act, No. 58.

(*n*) Randolph's Letter to Secretary Cecil, dated from Edinburgh, the 8th of May 1565, in the Paper Office.

(*o*) There is a *haugh*, says Hodges, below Philiphaugh, which goes down by the side of the water, a mile in length, usually called the Common Haugh of Selkirk, opposite to the town, where was fought a great battle, betwixt the Earl of Montrose, and David Lesley. MS. Acco. 1722. Adv. Lib. In those times, every point was contested with the obstinacy of their conflicts. The following account of *the battle of Philiphaugh* was published, by the victors, *under authority*. After the defeating of our forces, near Kilsyth, all the malignants [loyalists] in the country ran in to him, [Montrose], but did not all add much to his strength: His whole force, in horse, and foot, did not amount to *seven* thousand; but, all these were not present at this last battle; for, upon the releasing of Lodowick Lindsay, some time Earl of Crawford, out of prison, there arose some difference among the rebels, [royalists], Montrose having promised to the Lord Gordon, to make him a general of the horse, for which the Earl of Crawford having a commission from the king, before his imprisonment, was preferred by Montrose. This gave great cause of discontent to the Lord Gordon; and thereupon he retired with 500 men, to his own country. Another occasion of the diminution of his force was, that the Marquis of Argyle's forces, and the Earl of Seaforth's, had possessed themselves of the rebels lands, and houses, in the north, which moved the enemy to send 800 men, to protect their lands. With the rest of their forces, the enemy [Montrose] marched eastward, to interrupt the levy of our forces, that were raising in the eastern, and southern parts of the kingdom. But, upon Lieutenant-General David Lesley's coming into Berwickshire, and East-Lothian, he [Montrose] marched south towards Selkirk, where he might have the assistance of the malignants, [the loyalists], that live upon the Scotish, and English borders. Upon Friday, the 12th of this instant, [September], which was a day of fasting, and humiliation, Lieutenant-General David Lesley, with his forces, advanced within three miles of the enemy, who were quartered in Philiphaugh, not far from Selkirk: That night he sent out two parties, who fell in upon their quarters, killed some, and gave them the alarm, which made them continue all night in arms; and ours did the like. The morrow, being Saturday, the 13th, our forces marched towards the enemy, and came within view of them, about ten in the morning: According to their [Montrose] usual manner, they had made choice of a most advantageous ground, wherein they had entrenched themselves; having upon the one hand, an impassable ditch, and on the other, dikes, and hedges; and, where these were not strong enough, they further fortified them, by

which stained those murderous forests with human gore, and wasted them with wilful fire. When Scotland dreaded, as one of the consequences of that victory, an invasion from England, in 1650, the men of Selkirkshire were commanded, by the urgency of the times, fanatical, and foolish, to mount their steeds (*p*).

If we turn from hostile to more peaceful times, we shall perceive the sad effects of all those wars. By the long-continued conflicts with the Edwards, the rental of Selkirkshire was reduced from its state under the Alexanders, according to the old extent, from £99 : 9 : 10 yearly, to £80 : 18 : 6, under David II., according to the new. The whole shire continued under the management of a private estate, rather than the regimen of the demesn of the crown: And, the chamberlain settled, yearly, with the sheriff, for the amount of the king's rental, in Etterick forest; while the sheriff accounted, annually, in the Exchequer, for the whole issues of the shire. In 1502, the sheriff accounted for a rental of £1,875 4s.: In 1667, he accounted only for £1,052 : 15 : 4 :

casting up ditches, and lined their hedges with musketeers. After viewing one another, there came out three horses from each side; and, after skirmishing very gallantly, about a quarter of an hour, the enemy's three were beaten in: After this, the enemy sent out a party of 200 musketeers, who were forced by ours to retreat in great disorder; whereupon, the van of our forces advanced, and for almost an hour (being between eleven and twelve o'clock) it was hotly disputed, our horse endeavouring to break through, and the enemy with great resolution maintaining their ground: At length, Lieutenant-General David Lesley, charging very desperately, upon the head of his own regiment, broke the body of the enemy's foot, after which, they went all in confusion; and the horse wanting their foot, were not able to make great opposition; the foot were all cut off, and taken, whereof 100 were *Irish, who were all since shot at a post:* Many of the horse were killed upon the place, and many taken, but more in the pursuit; for they rallied again, which occasioned their greater overthrow. Of the foot, and horse, it is conceived, there are between two and three thousand killed.——Montrose himself escaped with a few horse, leaving behind him all his baggage, among which is found his commission, from the king, and divers other commissions, for lieutenants in the several counties, together with a roll of all such as have taken protections from him, *which will be a good* VIDIMUS, *for the payment of our soldiers.*——Since the battle, *divers of the enemy's soldiers are killed,* and taken by the country people. Such, then, is the satisfactory account of the bloody battle of Philiphaugh, which was drawn up, at Hadington, on the 16th of September 1645, and transmitted, by W. H., to London, where it was immediately printed, by authority. See Laing's account of this fight, i. 315. We now perceive, from the relation of *the godly*, that Montrose was neither surprized, nor out-generalled: He had judiciously chosen his camp, and had skilfully fortified it: His troops fought gallantly; but they were, perhaps, oppressed by numbers, or overpowered by the veteran skill of their enemies. The *Irish* were put to death in cold blood, by the victors; and Montrose's soldiers were deliberately killed, by the country people.

(*p*) The parliament, on that occasion, required Roxburghshire to furnish 180 horse, and Selkirkshire 47; while Mid-Lothian alone raised a regiment of 900 infantry. Ayloffe's Calend. 421.

So

So that the difference of the rentals of the two periods, was £822 : 18 : 8; the amount of the waste of the intermediate times, owing to the dilapidations of the minority of James v., of the Reformation, and of the grand rebellion (*r*).

It is only since the recent accession of Robert Bruce, that *the forest* assumed a new shape, and acknowledged new superiors, in succession; that new families arose, in their turns; the Douglases, the Scotts, and the Murrays. The Duke of Douglas seems to have derived none of his many titles, from the localities of this shire. William, Lord Douglas, the second son of the first Marquis of Douglas, was created Earl of Selkirk, in 1646: And, upon his resignation, James VII. created his second son, Charles Hamilton, Earl of Selkirk (*s*). Archibald, Earl of Douglas, and Longville, Lord of Galloway, and Anandirdale, was also "lord of the forest of Etterick (*t*)." After the fall of the Douglases, the Scotts, who flourished of old, in Roxburghshire, in Lanerk, and in Peeblis-shire, rose to great distinction, in Selkirkshire (*u*). In 1673, the Duke of Monmouth, marrying the rich Countess of Buccleugh, and assuming her name, was created Duke of Buccleugh, as she was at the same time created Duchess of Buccleugh (*x*). Henry Scott, the second son of this marriage, was, in 1706, created Earl of Delorane. Elibank furnished a baronial title to Sir Patrick Murray, in 1643 (*y*). In 1639, Patrick Ruthven, who had learned the art of war, under the great Gustavus, was created Lord Etterick (*z*). This shire has also supplied several senators to the College of Justice, as well as peers of parliament. Sir Gideon Murray rose, to be a Lord of Session, by the title of

(*r*) MS. State, by Mr. Solicitor Gen. Purvis.

(*s*) Crawford's Peer. 438-9. (*t*) Great Seal Rec. book. ii. No. 60-1.

(*u*) On the 29th of January 1437-8, "Dominus de Bukcleuch" was present in the last parliament of James III. Parl. Rec. 325. This was merely the *laird* of Buccleugh, who thus early sat, in parliament. The first creation in his family of a lord of parliament, was that of Sir Walter Scott, on the 16th of March 1606; whose son, Walter, was created Earl of Buccleugh, on the 16th of March 1619. Crawford's Peer. 54.

(*x*) Crawford's Peer. 52. With an allusion to this marriage, perhaps, the *motto* of this eminent family is *Amo*. The war-cry of the *Scotts*, however, was *Alemoor*, the usual rendezvous of the whole clan. The elegant *lay* of Leederhaughs and Yarrow, when lamenting the changes of times, and chances, deplores:

"For mony a place stands in hard case,
"Where blyth folk kened nae sorrow,
"With Homes, that lived on Leaderside,
"And *Scotts, that dwelt on Yarrow.*"

(*y*) Douglas Peer. 241. (*z*) Ib. 273.

Lord

Lord Elibank, in 1613 (*a*). Sir James Murray, who had been concerned in treasonable practices, during the turbulent reign of Charles II., was, in 1689, made a Lord of Session, by the title of Philiphaugh: In 1707, Mr. John Murray, who was probably of the same family, was elevated to the same seat, by the title of Lord *Bowhill*. Mr. John Pringle of Haining, which adjoins Selkirk town, was appointed a senator, in 1729. But, above all those, Andrew Pringle was placed, in the senate-house, on the 14th of June 1759, by the title of Lord Alemoor, who, as a lawyer, was distinguished by his modesty and eloquence; and, as a judge, was respected for his dignity, and knowledge. Such were the lawyers, which this shire has supplied! It produced an eminent soldier, in Colonel William Russel of Ashysteel, who distinguished himself among the warriors of India. *Mary Scott, the flower of Yarrow*, is still remembered, by the cold-blooded ministers of Etterick forest (*b*). She is celebrated by Allan Ramsay, in an amourous rant:

"With success crown'd, I'll not envy
"The folks, who dwell above the sky;
"When Mary Scot's become my *marrow*,
"We'll make a paradise on *Yarrow*."

Rutherford of Fearnylie produced a daughter of uncommon activity of intellect, and extraordinary powers of lyrick poetry: She married a Cockburn, and while yet very young, deplored the instability of life, in pathetic numbers (*c*). The men, who can read, without a sigh, the moving *laments* of the elegant women, whom *the border shires* have produced, the Homes, the Elliots, the Rutherfords, when deploring the discomfiture of their countrymen, must "be cursed with

(*a*) On the 2d of November: The lords dispensed with any trial of his qualifications; "because of "the certain knowledge, they had of them." Lord Hailes's Note on the Catalogue, 13. Gideon, from being chamberlain (bailiff) to Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh, rose, by the help of the notorious Earl of Somerset, to be treasurer-depute to the king, whose money he managed, with great fidelity. He died, in 1621. The appropriate motto of this family is, *Virtute fideque*. Crawford Peer. 134.

(*b*) When she was born is disputed: The better opinion seems to be, that she was the fair daughter of Walter Scott of Dryhope, and the beloved wife of Scott of Harden. They had a daughter, who married an Elliot, "Gibby with the golden garters:" And from them are descended Sir William Elliot of Stobs, and the renowned Lord Heathfield. Stat. Acco. ii. 437; Ib. vii. 505. Thus, sprung the illustrious defender of Gibraltar, from *Mary Scott, the flower of Yarrow*.

(*c*) "O fickle fortune! why this cruel sporting,
"Why thus perplex us, poor sons of a day!
"Thy frowns cannot fear me, thy smiles cannot cheer me,
"Since the flowers of the forest are a' wede away.

"hearts

"hearts unknowing how to yield." Very different is the frigid dulness of the "auld sang of the Outlaw Murray," which has been long a popular song, in Selkirkshire. It speaks, indeed, of the well-known localities of "the fair "foreste," with the "brave outlaw," and his "*chyvalrye*." The history of Selkirkshire, as it appears, in the chartularies, reprobates the fictitious follies of *this sang*, as wholly unwarranted by the fact.

§ VII. *Of its Agriculture, Manufacture, and Trade.*] It is apparent, from the names of places, in this shire, that the Saxon colonists had settled within its inmost recesses, during times, beyond the period of record. If we look back upon the instructive chartularies, we shall perceive, that the whole forest existed, under the regimen of pasturage, rather than of tillage, during the reign of David I. This general position must be, however, limited by the special fact, that David had mills at Selkirk, which seems to imply, that there was some tillage, in the openings of that forest. The royal mills, at Selkirk, remained, in the king's demesn, till the recent age of Robert Bruce (*d*). The abbots of Kelso had also their mill at Selkirk, for several ages, which afforded them not a small profit (*e*). Considerable intervals must have, even in the happy days of David, been cleared of wood; and, from that age, the destruction of the woodlands must have gone on progressively, with little interruption, till the country became quite denuded. As the mosses arose chiefly from the destruction of the woods, either by design, or accident, we may infer, from the depth of the mossy places, the period of their decay. The long wars with England, for the succession to the crown of Alexander III., and for the independence of the nation, must have destroyed many woods; as the principle of those hostilities was waste. There is reason to believe, that in the ages, which preceded those wars, Selkirkshire was more productive, and populous, than it has been at any period since. The woods gave warmth to the country, shelter to the herbs, with abundant mast, and herbage, for food. In those times, every church had its village, every seat its hamlet, and every farm its cottages (*f*). Nothing

(*d*) Robert I. granted his mill of Selkirk to Henry Gelchdal for *two marks* of *silver*, yearly, Robertson's Index, 21.

(*e*) At the commencement of the 14th century, the abbot's corn-mill rented for five marks, yearly. Chart. Kelso, 15. From the same document, we learn, that 30 acres of land, at some distance, from the town, rented for five shillings: So that the abbot's mill brought him a rent equal to about 400 acres of common land, within the forest; the mark being 13s. 4d. money of account.

(*f*) The parcels of land, which David I. had granted to the monks of Kelso, in different parts of

Nothing could be more promotive of populousness, than such a system, or more advantageous to the state. The property of the abbot lying around Selkirk, which would not make a little farm, according to the agricultural system of the present times, maintained, in comfort, and content, during the ancient regimen, six-and-thirty families. This agricultural state of prosperity, and happiness, continued till the sad demise of Alexander III. The disputes, and the conflicts, with regard to the succession to his crown, soon ensued. These contests gave rise to the inveterate wars, for the independence of the nation, which lasted many an age. Agriculture was ruined; and prosperity was driven from the land: The family feuds, and civil wars, which followed those events, with little intermission, allowed no opportunity, and gave little leisure, to reanimate agriculture (*g*).

At the middle of the seventeenth century, the people of this shire, and their affairs, were represented by those, who knew them, perfectly, to have continued what they had always been, and what they still continue (*h*): The people were represented as of robust bodies, in regard the country is mountainous, and obliges them to travel much in attendance upon their cattle, and sheep, while their diet is frugal: They are ingenuous; and hate deceit. Theft, and robbery, are unknown among them (*i*); and a lie is never heard, from

of the forest, were conjoined, by the beneficence of Malcolm IV., by way of exchange; so as to enlarge the quantity of lands, which they had around the town. Chart. Kelso, No. 378. The economy of the abbots was excellently contrived, for rearing a numerous population: The abbot's lands were let in husband-lands, each containing a bovate, or oxgate; and having a right of common of pasturage, for a certain number of beasts: There was also a great number of cottages, with crofts, containing each nearly an acre of land: Towards the end of the 13th century, the monks had at Selkirk-abbatis, in *demesn*, a carucate and a half of land, which used to rent for ten marks; they had fifteen husband-lands here, each containing a bovate of land, which used to rent for four shillings, yearly, yielding certain services; they had here sixteen cottages, with ten acres of land; one whereof rented, yearly, for two shillings, and fifteen for one shilling, doing moreover certain services: And the abbot had three brewhouses, which used to rent each for 6s. 8d., yearly, with a corn mill, which brought five marks, yearly. They had here, also, *without their demesn*, separately, thirty acres of land, which used to rent, yearly, at 5s.; and four acres, which used to rent for 6s. yearly. Chart. Kelso, 15-16.

(*g*) Before the year 1502, the king's lands of *ancient demesn*, within this forest, had been divided into thirty farms, which then yielded, annually, into the royal Exchequer, 1,875l. 14s. Before the year 1667, this *rental* had declined, in its total amount, to 1,094l. 18s.: Such was the effect of the intermediate events. MS. Account.

(*h*) By Messers. Elliot, and Scot, two country gentlemen, in 1649. MS. Advocates Library.

(*i*) Since the epoch of 1529, when James V. enforced the decision of Justice, by causing execution to be done on Scott of Tushelaw, *the king of the thieves*, and on Armstrong of Lidsdale, *the prince of plunderers*. The border songsters, however, lament the merited fate of those wretched *outlaws*; as with them, every thief, at the tree, is sure to die an Adonis.

their

their mouths, except among the baser sort. Their way of living is more by *pasture* of cattle, than by *tillage* of the ground.

It is scarcely possible to trace the precise appearance of the agricultural resuscitation, in this pastoral shire. In 1722, we have seen 12,000 ewes milked, daily, during the month of June, at Taits-Cross, in this sheep-breeding shire. The year 1723 has been assigned, as the general era of georgical improvements (*k*). They did not here begin, perhaps, till the end of the reign of George II. The late Doctor Mercer was the first, who began agricultural meliorations, at Selkirk town: In 1759, his inclosures, and culture, were admirably skilful: The sowing, in rotation, of turnip, barley, and grass-seeds, was his favourite plan (*l*). Potatoes found their way into this country, some years before turnips (*m*). The improvements of new articles, and better modes of cultivation, were followed, by the useful melioration of more commodious roads. In consequence of an act of parliament, which passed in 1764, twelve miles of road were made into turnpike, on the way, from Hawick, through Selkirk town, to Crosslee, towards Edinburgh, with an useful branch of three miles to Galashiels. Whatever may be the utility of this road, in bringing coals, and manure, and carrying the products of the shire, the cross-roads remain, without much amendment, though the track be gravelly, and the materials be near. Attempts have, indeed, been made, to carry roads, from Selkirk, along the course both of the Etterick, and Yarrow, for opening a communication with Moffat, and Anandale. Other communications have been proposed, but not adopted, though they would bring many advantages with them, to an agricultural country, which wants manure, and fuel. Bridges upon the Etterick seem to have originally been erected, by the beneficent spirit of David I.; and the bridge upon that noble stream, at Selkirk town, appears, as we have perceived, to have been early placed, under the jurisdiction of the abbots of Kelso, who were bound to repair it; because lands had been given them, by the royal bounty, for the true execution of this special trust (*n*). The

(*k*) There was printed, however, at Edinburgh, in 1697, a little book, entitled, "Enquiry "into the manner of tilling, and manuring the ground, in Scotland, by James Donaldson."

(*l*) Wight's first Survey of Selkirk, iii. 21. The Rev. Mr. Alexander Glen, while he was minister, at Galashiels, from 1757 to 1760, was the first, who introduced lime, to any extent, as a manure. During that period, the late Lord Alemoor drained a morass, for marl. Agricultural Survey, 292.

(*m*) Ib. 273.

(*n*) As Alexander II. granted to the abbot of Kelso certain lands, on both sides of the Etterick, "ad *perpetuam sustentationem* pontis de Ettrick," it should seem, that whoever stands, in the abbot's shoes, is bound to repair this bridge. Chart. Kelso, No. 392.

inveterate wars of the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, were peculiarly fatal to the bridges of the southern shires. The present reign has seen some useful bridges built, in this country; but convenience demands, that other bridges should be thrown across the mountain streams, which swell suddenly, and often obstruct business, by preventing travel. Add to all those facilities, that a passion, for improvements, began at the end of the late reign, and have been encouraged, during the present. When Wight made his second Survey of the agricultural management, in this shire, in 1782, "he was amazed "to behold the advances, which had been made, since his former view; scarce "a field, but had assumed a better aspect, by an improving hand." (*o*) We thus see the existence, and operation, of an active, and intelligent spirit, which was, however, restrained, in its improvement, by the infelicities of circumstances: The husbandmen had to struggle with a chill climate, and scarcity of fuel, with founderous roads, and distance from lime, the great fertilizer of a damp soil; with the uncertainty of their tenures, and the absence of means. With all those disadvantages pressing upon them, an active, and well-informed body of farmers, continued to struggle with their wants, under a resolution to supply them, by diligence, and management. After every effort had been made, and every improvement executed, towards the end of the eighteenth century, the whole shire, with regard to its agricultural arrangement, and profit, may be estimated, in the following manner:

	Eng. Acres.	Yearly Rent.
Cultivated lands	9,300	£4,850
Woods, and plantations (*p*)	2,200	2,500
Gardens, pleasure-grounds, house-steds	1,250	1,500
Pasture-ground (*q*), including moors, mosses, lakes, rivers, roads, &c.	169,650	23,150
Total superficies, and yearly profit	182,400	£32,000

(*o*) Reports, vi. 607.

(*p*) Before the seventeenth century, the country had become perfectly shorn of its woods. The remains of the natural shrubberies of the forest scarcely deserve notice: The whole of the woods are artificial; consisting chiefly of Scots firs: Mr Johnston, in his Agricultural View of this shire, computes the wood at 2,000 acres; and he is followed by Dr. Douglas, in his Agricultural Survey: But, they state the superficies of the shire somewhat less than its real measurement: And, the spirit of plantation has been busy, since Mr. Johnston formed his computation.

(*q*) The pastures consist chiefly in green hills; there being little of moorland here. There are a few meadows, on the rivulet-sides, as *the bowms of Yarrow*, [holms], which are mentioned in song; yet, they cannot compare with the *Leederhaughs*, which have become classical pasturages.

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When Wight bade farewell to Selkirkshire, he cried out, with a mixture of regret, and joy: "However barren, and comfortless, you may appear to a "hasty stranger, you contain, in your bosom, a fund of riches, that never can "be exhausted, while men love mutton, and wear broad-cloth." (*q*)

Yet, of manufactures, and trade, Selkirk cannot boast. In the good old reign of David I., the principal manufacture was corn of different sorts, and in various ways. The king's mill, at Selkirk-regis, converted the grain into meal, and malt: And the abbots brewhouses would easily manufacture the malt into a very wholesome beverage. The women could readily convert the wool into garments: And the men knew how to convert the hydes of the cattle, and the skins of the sheep, into coverings for the feet, the legs, and the head. It is more than probable, that the abbot sent out the wool, the hydes, and the skins, to Berwick, where, in early ages, the traders of Flanders resided. Such were the manufactures, and commerce, of Selkirkshire, till the wars of the thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, ruined all.

The civil wars of Charles I.'s unhappy age, left the agriculture, the manufactures, and the traffic of this shire, with the country more shorn of its woods, in pretty much the same state, whereto the wars of Edward I. had reduced them. We know this, from the representation of those, who knew the country the best (*r*). The commodities of this shire, say they, are great plenty of butter, and cheese, which were of the finest sort: It affordeth also store of neat-hydes, and sheep-skins, and of wool, which is carried to foreign nations; so that the cold eastern countries bless this happy soil, being warmed with the fleeces of their sheep: It supplies too store of neat, and sheep, which are carried partly to the northern districts of Scotland, but mostly into England, the custom whereof, at the border, is no small increase to his majesty's revenue: And, it affords, moreover, great plenty of well-spun worsted, which is carried, for the most part, into *foreign* nations (*s*). Such is the representation of two country

(*q*) The Agricult. Survey, 309, estimated, on good grounds, that there are raised yearly, in this shire, 118,000 sheep: Of these, there are of the white-faced 82,000; of the black-faced 36,000:

The first yielded, of wool, at 15s., 11,700 stone, worth - - -	£8,770 sterling.
The second yielded, of ditto, at 6s. 6d., 5,538 ditto, worth - -	1,800
	£10,570

(*r*) Messrs. Elliot, and Scot's MS. Account, 1649.

(*s*) When Wight came to survey the burgh of Selkirk, in 1777, he remarked, that the women are excellent spinners; and are fully employed by the *English* manufacturers of woollen cloth; on account of the cheapness: Thus, says he, the spinning of wool has made a progress, from Yorkshire, to Selkirk. Reports, iii. 21. They, at length, spin for *their own manufacturers*. Such is the progression of industry!

gentlemen, who, living within the shire, must have known its economical state, in their own times. Their statements are confirmed by a fact, which evinces the want of people, and of opulence, in that wretched age (*t*).

The fishings of this shire were, perhaps, of full as much importance, in the days of David I., as they are at present. That beneficent prince gave to the monks of Selkirk, by his foundation charter, *his waters*, about *Selechirche*, for the fishing of their men, in the same manner, as his own (*u*). He also gave the monks of Melros the right of fishing, in the Tweed, from the vicinity of Selkirk above, to a considerable distance below Melros (*x*). During 1725, there was still "a very rich fishing in the Tweed, of salmon and trouts: In the "Etterick, a very good fishing, for trouts, grilses, and salmon: And, in the "Yarrow, a very good fishing, for trouts, and grilses" (*y*). In the agricultural reports of this shire, at present, we hear from them, but little of the fishings, which formerly furnished comforts; as they do not afford an export to some foreign country, or at least to some distant capital.

The linen manufacture seems never to have taken root, in this pastoral shire. Wool is undoubtedly the great basis of its natural fabric. In 1649, as we have seen, the wool, and worsted yarn, were exported, to give genial warmth to the Baltic people. In the present day, the wool, and yarn, of private families, are here made into cloth, flannels, blankets, and worsted stuffs, for womens gowns, to an extent, which equals the domestic demand. But, Galashiels is the busy seat of the woollen manufacture. The epoch of its commencement here is not ascertained (*z*). It has made a very rapid progress. The manufacturers have overcome every difficulty. They have obtained skill, and industry, and capital:

(*t*) The excise, both of Selkirk, and of Peeblis, shires, was rented to Richard Smith for £347, in the year ending with January 1656-7. Tucker's MS. in the Advocates Library.

(*u*) Dalrymple's Col. 404; Chart. Kelso, No. 4. David confirmed this grant, when he removed the monks to Kelso, in 1128.

(*x*) Chart. Melros, No. 54: Malcolm IV. granted to the same monks the fishings of Selkirk. Ib. No. 56.

(*y*) Hodges's MS. Account, 1725, in the Advocates Library.

(*z*) Wight remarked, in 1777, a sort of woollen cloth made here, termed *Galashiels grey*, which was in great request; being sold from 20d. to 2s. per yard. Report, iii. 9. This seems to imply, that the manufacture of wool was then in its first stage. The trustees for manufactures, and fishery, in Scotland, had given *premiums*, for the improvement of spinning wool, he adds. When Wight visited Galashiels, the manufacturers did not work up more than 750 stone, in any year: They now consume upwards of 5,000 stone: Yet, as the whole quantity of white-faced sheep's wool, which is annually shorn, is more than 11,000 stone, the difference shows how much they must manufacture, before they consume the whole wool, that is annually grown.

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They have now introduced machinery, having the power of water, into every part of their fabrics. They have even established here a *Hall*, for the more commodious sale of their various manufactures. They not only make cloth, but blankets, and stockings. They make Inkle to a great extent. They have here tanners, tawers, and candlemakers, and the makers of agricultural instruments. Thus, Galashiels, containing very few more than a thousand souls, seems to be a very busy scene of gainful manufactures. During the year 1722, Galashiels was represented, "as a market-town, with its weekly market, on Wednesday; "as belonging to Scott of Gala; and as having a tolbooth, in the middle of "the town, with a clock, and bell, and market-cross, and its church and "burying-ground, at the east end; the Gala water running hard by the town, "on the north, and adjoining the Tweed, a mile below." (*a*) We may thus perceive, that Galashiels is a *baronial burgh*, under Scott of Gala, who has long been the beneficent landlord of this prosperous village; and who was found by Wight, the agricultural tourist, very busy, in improving his farms, and in benefiting his town.

Yet, as this shire neither raises wheat, nor fattens cattle, both these articles, with other necessaries, and some luxuries, must be imported from other districts: Upon a fair estimate, however, according to the true principles of the mercantile system, of the *outgoings*, and *incomings*, of Selkirkshire, it appears that,

The total produce of the country is worth, yearly, - - -	£ 68,995
The whole payments, for the rent, materials of manufactures, bread, and meat, for the people, &c. - - - - -	47,432
So that, here is a clear gain to the shire of - - - -	£ 21,563 (*b*).

But, if we were to look back upon ancient times, we should find more people, and more cattle, with equal comforts, under a different regimen. In the halcyon days of David I., whose beneficence "brought forth the arts of peace," a single farmer, renting a whole district, did not exist. A hamlet was then possessed by several husbandmen, with divers cottagers: The husbandmen tilled their individual portions, in severalty, but pastured their cattle on the village common, in generalty: The cottage of the same hamlet enjoyed a little house,

(*a*) Webster's MS. Account, 1722.

(*b*) Agricult. Survey, 325—7. To this work, and to Mr. Johnston's View of the Agriculture of Selkirkshire, must be referred the more curious reader, for the many minute particulars of its present husbandry; I can only give general sketches.

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with a toft, and were equally entitled to common of pasturage, and pannage, for a specified number of cattle, and swine. The larger villages of this sort, had the useful accommodations of a mill, a malt-kiln, and a brewhouse. We see, in the chartularies, this agricultural polity every where, in practice, during the twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. And, it is apparent, that the country under that regimen, bred, and supported, a greater number of people, cattle, and swine, than it does, at present, under a new husbandry (*c*). The people, who were raised under that polity, were the men, who under Bruce, and Randolph, vindicated the national independence, and successfully resisted the odious claims of an overbearing pretender.

§ VIII. *Of its Ecclesiastical History.*] There is reason to believe, that the religious establishments of this shire were never comprehended within the ample diocese of Lindisfarne (*d*). This shire lay wholly within the bishoprick of Glasgow, after the restoration of that see (*e*). It remained under the jurisdiction of the archdeacon of Glasgow, till the year 1238, when the archdeaconry of Tiviotdale, which comprehended the churches of Selkirkshire, was established (*f*). Under this archdeaconry, and that diocese, the churches of

(*c*) From that statement, it is apparent, that there were, in those times, many more people. The system of depopulation, though it began as early, as the Union, has only appeared, in its sad effects, during our own days. Of these effects, and of that depopulation, the ministers, in their Statistical Accounts, speak with some indignation. The minister of Yarrow says, "the aged "people all agree, in asserting, that the former population considerably exceeded the present; as "indeed appears, from the numerous remains of old houses." Stat. Acco. vii. 504. The minister of Etterick states, that the population of that parish was considerably greater, in former times; there were, about fifty years preceding 1794, *thirty-two* houses, where there are now only *three*. Ib. iii. 296. The minister of Roberton says, there were formerly several hamlets, in his parish, whereof there are now no vestiges. Ib. xi. 543. The minister of Selkirk says, that the depopulation of that parish is wholly in the country part of it; he adds, it is painful to see one person rent a property, which formerly reared one hundred inhabitants for the state. Ib. ii. 435. The minister of Galashiels says, that tradition, as well as the ruins of houses, evince what the general opinion is, that the parish, and village, of Galashiels were much more populous a hundred years before. Ib. ii. 306. From all those representations, and facts, it is apparent, that the population tables, which represent the people as increased, during late times, must erroneously state the numbers too high.

(*d*) Selkirkshire is plainly without the limits, beyond the Tweed, which were assigned to the Northumbrian episcopate, in its largest extent. Leland's Col. ii. 366.

(*e*) The foundation charter by Earl David of Selkirk. Dal. Col. Appx., and the Chartulary of Kelso.

(*f*) Chron. Mail. 202. Peter de Allingtun was the first archdeacon of Tiviotdale. Id.

Selkirkshire

Selkirkshire continued, till the Reformation placed them, under a presbytery, and a synod.

The only religious house, which seems to have been ever founded, within this shire, was an establishment for monks of Tyrone, at Selkirk, as early as 1113 A. D. (*g*). Here they remained, during fifteen years of penitentiary trial. Radulphus, who conducted his monks to this retired spot, within the forest, was the original abbot. He was soon succeeded, by William, the second abbot, who is recollected by Fordun (*h*). And, William was followed, before the year 1124, by the third abbot, Herbert, who ruled the monks, when they were removed, on account of inconvenient accommodation, to Kelso, in 1128; and who rose to be bishop of Glasgow, upon the death of John, in 1147 (*i*). This abbey was settled near the king's castle, and village: And the attendants upon the monks soon reared a new hamlet, which obtained the appropriate appellation of Selkirk-*abbatis*. The settlement, in the forest, of a body of strangers, who, as they had seen other countries, and knew other modes of life, must have introduced here some improvements. Even after the removal of the monks, the abbot, during many an age, had his manor around the town, with his baronial court, at the bridge, and his church, with his grange, his husbandmen, and cottagers; with his mill, his malt-kiln, and his brewhouses. While the king's castle remained here, through many a year, the abbot was bound, by the tenure of his land, to act as the king's chaplain, within the royal castle. The Duke of Roxburgh, who wears "the fair-lined slippers" of the abbot, is bound to act as chaplain here, when the king shall restore his castle, and to repair the bridge, while he enjoys the land, that was amortized to its use. The ancient jurisdiction of the archdeacon of Tiviotdale, was transferred, by the Reformation, to the synod of Merse, and Tiviotdale. The five parishes of Selkirkshire, are comprehended in the presbytery of Selkirk, which is, however, of modern establishment. Melros was the seat of this presbytery, soon after the Reformation. Selkirk presbytery stands the eleventh on the Roll; and consists of eleven parishes; the five, lying chiefly, in this shire, and Bowden, Ashkirk, St. Boswells, Lilliesleaf, Melros, and Maxton, in Roxburghshire.

(*g*) Spottiswoode, 430; Keith, 248; Dalrymp. Col. 403; Chart. Kelso, No. 4. Innes states the foundation of this monastery, in 1114, perhaps, mistakingly. MS. Chronology. Lord Hailes places this event, in 1113. An. i. 96. The Tyrone monks were certainly settled there, in 1113. Sim. Dun. 236; Chron. Mailros, 163.

(*h*) L. v. c. 36.

(*i*) He is mentioned, in the foundation charter of Earl David, as abbot of Selkirk, which was granted, before his accession to the throne, in 1124.

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The king's hunting-seat, in the forest, gave rise to the earliest church, which was merely the chapel of the king's court; and hence derived its name of *Sele-chirche*, in the old English of that unrefined age. When the abbey was established here, in 1113 A. D., a second church was erected, as the chapel of the abbot, his monks, and his men. David I. gave his church here, with its tithes, and oblations, to the abbot, on condition of his acting as chaplain to the royal castle(*i*). In 1232, Walter, the bishop of Glasgow, confirmed to the abbot of Kelso, "ecclesiam de Selekirk, et ecclesiam de *altera* Selkirk" (*k*). In the ancient statement of the property of the monks of Kelso, they say, that they had the church of Selkirk-regis, "in rectoria," which was usually worth £20, a-year, and also the church of Selkirk-abbatis, "in rectoria," which was commonly worth forty shillings, a-year. The two towns, no doubt, soon run into each other, as the abbot possessed much property within, and around both (*l*). How long the two churches remained separate, is unknown (*m*). Even tradition has forgotten, that there ever were two, though the unerring record has preserved that curious fact (*n*). The abbot, probably, conjoined them, upon the economical principle of the Reformation, to save the expence of a curate. The church of Selkirk-regis was served by a vicar, who was supported by vicarage dues (*o*). When the Reformation had dissolved the abbey of Kelso, the patronage of the church of Selkirk was transferred to the progenitor of the Duke of Roxburgh, who is now the patron of the parish church. In Selkirk town,

(*i*) Chart. Kelso, No. 370: The condition is express, that the abbot should be chaplain to the king, his sons, and their successors, within the same church.

(*k*) Ib. 278.

(*l*) Pont's Map of Etterick forest, in Blaeu's Atlas, represents Selkirk town, as one compact body.

(*m*) In 1296, there was only one clergyman, in Selkirk, namely, Richard, "*vicaire* del Eglise "de Selkirk," who swore fealty to Edward I. Prynne, iii. 660. This notice shows, sufficiently, that there was but one church, and one *vicaire*, in Selkirk town; the *rectory* being in the abbot of Kelso.

(*n*) The intelligent writer of the Statistical Account of Selkirk parish, is quite unconscious, that there had ever been two churches, in the shire-town.

(*o*) In 1421, Schyr Wilzeam Myddilmas, chappellayne to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Wigton, was *vicare* of Selkirk. Record Great Seal, book ii. No. 60. In June 1489, the lords auditors, in parliament, heard the suit of Alexander Ker, calling himself *parish clerk* of *Selkirk*, against Robert Scott, in the Haining, and John, his son, for withholding from him the fees, fruits, and profits of his office, for 15 years, of the value of 20 marks, a-year. But, as both parties claimed the clerkship, as a matter of right, and this being a spiritual suit, the lords referred it to the judge ordinary. Parl. Rec. 356.

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the Burgher seceders have their own meeting-house, which is the only seceding establishment, in this shire of shepherds (*p*).

The name of the parish of Galashiels was derived from the town; and the town obtained both its origin, and appellation, from a hamlet on the *Gala* water. The terms *Shiels*, and *Shielings*, were very common, among the Northumbrian Saxons, on both sides of the present border, as temporal shelters, for shepherds, when following their flocks (*q*). Near the Gala, there are other places, which derive the significant part of their names, from the same term: There are Cauld-shiels, Foul-shiels, and *Herd-shiel:* And, Gala-*shiels* meant, originally, nothing more than the temporary huts on the Gala, the shelter of the shepherds, who tended their flocks on the pasturages of the Gala: But, in a secondary sense, the term *Shiels*, or Shieling, signified a summer pasturage, where the herdsmen lived in huts. The present parish was formed, by the conjunction of the two old parishes of Bolside [Bow-side] and Lindean: The former is, in Selkirkshire, on the northern side of the Tweed; and Lindean is in Roxburghshire, on the southern side of the same river, within a mile of Selkirk town. The church of Bolside stood in a hamlet of that name, about half a mile below the junction of the Etterick, and the Tweed (*r*). Keith, and our other parochial historians, seem to have been quite unconscious, that there ever existed such a parish, as *Bolside*. The other parish of Lin-dean derived its name, from the British *Lyn*, signifying, secondarily, a river-pool, which was adopted by the Saxons, and the Anglo-Saxon *Dene*, a valley. Bolside seems to have been an ancient parish, though it does not appear in any of the chartularies; having never been granted to any monkish order. It was, in Lindean church, where the body of William Douglas, the knight of Lidsdale, lay the first night, after his assassination, in 1353. Lindean, probably, became the church of the monks of Dryburgh, who enjoyed it, to their proper use, while the cure was served by a perpetual vicar (*s*). It had ceased to be the parish church, before the year 1649, when the church of Galashiels was reckoned one of the *four* parish kirks, in Selkirkshire (*t*).

(*p*) Stat. Acco. ii. 443.

(*q*) Holland's Camden, 806; and see before, in this volume, 309.

(*r*) Pont's Maps, in Blaeu's Atlas, No. 5 and 8, wherein he calls it *Boldsyid* kirk: In Ainslie's Map of this shire, the hamlet is named *Bollside*.

(*s*) In Bagimont's Roll, as it stood under James v., the vicarage of Linden, in the deanery of Tevidal, and diocese of Glasgow, was taxed, at 4l.

(*t*) By Messrs. Elliot and Scot's MS. Account, 1649, in the Advocates Library.

The parish of Yarrow takes its Celtic name from the river Yarrow, which, as we have seen, is merely the British *Jarrow*. This extensive district, along the Yarrow, comprehends within its ample limits the old parishes of *Duchoire*, St. Mary's, and Kirkhope (*u*). *Duchoire* derived its Celtic name, from the Gaelic *Du-choire*, signifying what the thing is, a small valley, through which a rivulet finds its course to the Yarrow. At the entrance of this valley, on the north-west side of the Yarrow, stood the ancient church of *Duchoire* (*x*). In the progress of perversion, this significant name became *Dewchar*. The modern map-maker has been more diligent to mark Dewchar tower, the strong-hold of the feudal proprietor, than to note the site of the religious house (*y*). The district, which was anciently attached to Duchoire church, composes the east part of Yarrow parish. St. Mary's church derived its name, from the Virgin, to whom it was dedicated. It stood near the mouth of a small valley, anciently called *Farmainshope*, lying on the north-west side of a beautiful lake, which was called from it St. Mary's loch. It was colloquially called *St. Mary's kirk of the Lowes*, as we have seen. In charters, it was described as the church of the Virgin Mary, in Etterick forest (*z*). The old parish of St. Mary's forms the west part of the present parish. The church of Kirk-*hope* was situated in a *valley*, which derived from it the name of Kirk*hope*, through which a rivulet finds its devious career to the Etterick, below Etterick bridge. The district, which was attached to this kirk, now forms the east, and south-east part of the parish of Yarrow (*a*). In July 1292, Edward I. directed the chancellor of Scotland to present Edmond de Letham to the church of the Virgin Mary of Farmainshope, in the diocese of Glasgow, which was void, by the resignation of Aimer de Softlaw (*b*). In 1296, Edmond de Letham, parson of the church of the forest, swore fealty to Edward I., and was, in return, restored to his rights (*c*). It is doubtful, whether the advowson of this church remained long

(*u*) Messrs. Elliot and Scot, called the parish kirk, in 1649, "the Mary kirk of the Lowes, "alias Yaro kirk." Id.

(*x*) Pont's Map, in Blaeu, No. 5. (*y*) Ainslie's Map of this shire.

(*z*) David II. granted to the monks of Dryburgh the advowson "de Beate Mariæ Virginis," in Etterick forest. Robertson's Index, 59. The monks retained this advowson, till the Reformation transferred it to some border chief. They probably had also *the rectory*: For, the church of St. Mary of *the Lowes* was a *vicarage*, at that epoch of change. MS. 1658, in my Library.

(*a*) In Bagimont's Roll, there is the "rectoria de *Foresta*," valued at 13l. 6s. 8d., "extra "ecclesiam Glasguen," in the deanery of Peeblis. St. Mary's of the Lowes, was a mother church, which had of old several chapels, that were subordinate to it.

(*b*) Rot. Scotiæ, 9. (*c*) Ib. 24.

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with the monks of Dryburgh; as it seems to have continued a rectory till the Reformation (*d*).

Like Yarrow parish, Etterick takes its Celtic name, as we have seen, from the river Etterick, upon the north-west side whereof stands the church (*e*). The present parish includes, on the east, the old parish of Buccleugh, whose church may still be traced on Rankle burn (*f*). In the south-west of this parish, there was of old, a church in a small valley, which was called Kirk-hope, through which ran to the Etterick Kirkhope burn. And, in the north-west corner of this parish, there was once a chapel, which stood, at no great distance from the south-west corner of the Loch of the Lowes, in a small valley, called from it *Chapel-hope*. The chapel was probably subordinate to the mother church of St. Mary, in Yarrow parish.

Roberton parish took its present name from the hamlet, at which the modern church was built: And this hamlet obtained its name, in more early times, from being the *tun*, or dwelling of some person, who was called Robert; and who cannot now be traced. The parish of Roberton comprehends the ancient parish of Borthwic, or Kirk-Borthwic, to which there was annexed, about the year 1682, a part of the suppressed parish of Hassendean, with some specific sections of the adjoining parishes of Hawick, and Wilton, with a small portion of the parish of Selkirk, which lay at a distance from the town: And, since a new church was built, at Roberton, in 1695, this circumstance gave the name of Roberton to this parish, thus composed of several sections of different parishes (*g*). The church of Borthwic stood on the north-west side of Borthwic water, at a place, which was formerly called Kirk-Borthwic, and is now named

(*d*) The patronage of that church belonged to the Douglases, from the epoch of their obtaining, from Robert I. the *forest of Selkirk*, till their forfeiture, in 1455, when it fell to the king, who still enjoys it. Mathew de Geddes, the secretary of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, was rector of the church of St. Mary, in the forest, between 1401 and 1424. In 1461, George Liddale, the king's secretary, was rector of the same church. Rym. ii. 476. In 1490, John Ireland, the professor of theology, at Paris, was rector of this church; and died archdeacon of St. Andrews, if we may credit Dempster. Ireland's System of Theology is in the Advocates Lib. in MS. Complaint of Scotland, 84-5? There is a MS. Treatise, in the same copious Library, on several points of divinity, which was written, by the same theologian, for the instruction of James IV., and his people.

(*e*) In 1649, this was called, by Elliot and Scot, "the *New* kirk of Etrik."

(*f*) From its position, on this stream, it is called, by Pont, *Rankil-burn-kirk*, in Blaeu's Atlas Scotiæ, No. 5.

(*g*) The date of 1695 is inscribed on the new church. Stat. Acco. ii. 542.

Borthwic-brae (*h*). Borthwic derived its singular name, from the Anglo-Saxon *Bord-wic*, signifying the castle, or the *vil* on the border, or brink, as we may learn from Somner, and the fact. This name describes the position on the *margin* of the river, which assumed the name of Borthwic, from the name of the place. In the eastern part of the present parish, on the south-east side of Borthwic water, within Roxburghshire, there was of old a chapel, which was subordinate to the church of Hassendean, that belonged, as we have formerly seen, to the abbot of Melros. This chapel, the ruins whereof may still be traced by antiquarian eyes, had an officiating chaplain, out of the establishment of the monks, who were detached from the monastery of Melros to the cell of Hassendean. The western half of Roberton parish, with the church, is in Selkirkshire, while the eastern half is in Roxburghshire.

We have now seen, from the foregoing examination, that in the darksome days of the ancient regimen, there were, in this little shire, twelve places of christian worship. The Reformation left but five. In whatever aspect we view this religious change, we see two of its ingredients were, a passion for plunder, and a religious sacrifice to personal avarice. In the midst of this odious scramble, the reformed clergy cried out in vain. The people, who offered their adorations, in those twelve temples of ancient times, have been either wasted by war, or driven away by policy. And the populousness of the good old reigns of the Alexanders, has been reduced to the narrow numbers of a frigid economy. The aged men all agree, in asserting, what ruins evince, that the population of this shire was greater, during the days of David II., than at the Revolution; and greater, at the Union, than in 1755, when Doctor Webster formed his estimate (*i*). From the returns, which were made to that intelligent person, the population of Selkirkshire, in 1755, seems to have been only 4,968 souls. But, there is reason for thinking, that the numbers, which were transmitted to him, from the parishes of Etterick, and Yarrow, were only the examinable persons; being those, who were above six, or seven years of age (*k*). If the usual

(*h*) Kirk-Borthwic is mentioned in two charters of Robert I. Robertson's Index, 5.

(*i*) There anciently were, in Selkirk parish, two churches; in Galashiels, two; in Yarrow, three churches; in Etterick, three; in Roberton, two: And in the whole shire, which of old had *twelve* kirks, there are now only *five*.

(*k*) The ministers of Yarrow, and of Etterick, are positive, that the whole numbers, in those parishes, were not sent to Doctor Webster: The enumerations, in 1791, furnish a greater number of people, than those of 1755; while it is an incontrovertible fact, that the people, meanwhile, had greatly decreased. Stat. Acco. vii. 504; Ib. iii. 296. The minister of Roberton is equally positive, that his parishioners had diminished greatly, in the same period. Ib. xi. 543. The minister

usual number of persons under six, and seven years of age, in those two parishes, be added, then, the population of Selkirkshire, in 1755, will be 5,362. The returns of 1791 amounts only to 5,233. This diminution evinces that, notwithstanding the increase of manufacturers, in Galashiels, and in Selkirk, the population of the whole shire had somewhat diminished, during the flourishing period of the preceding forty years. If the population of 1791 had been equal to the numbers of 1755, this equality would have only proved, that the shire had lost, in people, by the agricultural system, what it had gained, from manufacturing employments. The enumeration of 1801 makes the population of Selkirkshire 5,446: This apparent increase is partly owing to the growth of manufacture, perhaps more to the precise mode of making up the statements, by actual enumeration. Such, then, are the facts, and reasonings, which may induce a judicious reader to think, that the detail of population, in the Agricultural Survey, and the following Table, represent the people to have increased, while they have, in fact, somewhat decreased. In Doctor Webster's Manuscript Tables, the population of the parishes of Selkirk, Etterick, Yarrow, and Roberton, is given as the whole people of Selkirkshire (*l*). Yet, do those statements lead to misconception; as considerable parts of Roberton, and Galashiels, are, actually, in Roxburghshire; while some portions of the parishes of Ashkirk, Stow, and Inverleithen, are in Selkirkshire. The able writer of the *Agricultural Survey* has given an improved statement of the population of the several sections of the parishes, in this shire, during the years 1790, and 1793. The accurate enumerations of 1801, have furnished, not only some additional information, but the means of giving, in the *Tabular State* subjoined, an exact statement of the population of this shire; which contains the whole of three parishes, and portions of five others. Of the parish of Selkirk, a very small proportion is in Roxburghshire, though this part is so little as to be unworthy of distinction. The extensive parishers of Etterick, and Yarrow, are wholly in Selkirkshire. Of Galashiels, a considerable part of the extent, but only a small part of the popu-

minister of Selkirk asserts, that the depopulation of his parish had occurred, entirely, in the country district of it. Ib. ii. 435. The minister of Galashiels says, that the number of people, in that parish, had declined considerably, in the preceding century; and that the number returned to Dr. Webster, in 1755, was 998, while the enumeration of 1791 found only 914. Ib. ii. 306. The decrease in the population, between 1755 and 1791, was chiefly owing to the consolidation of farms, and the demolition of cottages.

(*l*) The ministers, in their subsequent accounts, follow his error, in giving the numbers of people, in Selkirk, Etterick, Yarrow, and Galashiels, as the whole population of this shire.

lation,

lation, is in Roxburghshire; the larger half in extent, and four-fifths of the population, being in Selkirkshire. Of Roberton, about a half of the extent, and greatly more than a half of the population, are in Roxburghshire (*m*). Of Ashkirk, Stow, and Inverleithen, the Tabular State subjoined only gives the population contained, in this shire: The other details of those parishes are given in the *Tables* of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Peeblis-shire, to which they properly belong, on such points as cannot be separated (*n*). Among the capricious boundaries of the Scotish shires, arising from private interest and public inattention, none of them is so absurdly intermixed, by injudicious location, as the outline of Selkirkshire, which can only be reformed into convenient arrangement, by parliament. In considering the ministers stipends, the following intimations may be observed. When the stipends of 1798 were settled, the yearly value of the glebes were included; but, not the manses. The stipends of Selkirk, Etterick, Yarrow, and Galashiels, contain the augmentations, which had been then recently made. Of Roberton, the process of augmentation was still depending. In estimating the victual stipends of 1798, the barley was valued, at 18 shillings, and the meal at 16 shillings a-boll, Linlithgow measure; being an average of the prices, for several preceding years (*o*): For, there are no fier-prices struck, in this pastoral shire. Such, then, are the intimations, which it was necessary to premise, for distinctly understanding

(*m*) In the Tabular State subjoined, the whole of the extent, and of the stipends, are given; but only the proportion of the population within Selkirkshire: Of Galashiels, and Roberton, the whole people, at the three epochs, in that Table, stood thus:

	In 1755.	In 1791.	In 1801.
Galashiels - - -	998	914	1,018
Roberton - - -	651	629	618

(*n*) Of Ashkirk, more than a half of the extent, and more than two-thirds of the population, are in Roxburghshire, which also contains the parish church. Of Stow, by much the greater part of the extent, and about five-sixths of the population, are in Edinburghshire, with the parish church. Of Inverleithen, only a small part of the extent, and a still smaller portion of the population, are in Selkirkshire, while the church, and the great body of the parish, are in Peeblis-shire.

(*o*) The average, above mentioned, agrees very nearly with the average of the prices, which were formed, by the keeper of the Corn Register, during the seven years, ending with 1797. The victual stipend is paid, by the Linlithgow standard, and not by the Selkirkshire *boll*, which, for barley, and oats, contains 7 bushels, 2 pecks, 28·7 cubic inches, English measure.

The TABULAR STATE.

The Presbyteries.	The Names of the Parishes.	Their Extent.		Their Inhabitants.			The Number of Ministers.	Their Stipends.		Their Patrons.
		Length Miles.	Breadth Miles.	In 1755.	In 1791.	In 1801.		In 1755.	In 1798.	
								£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
	Selkirk - -	7	6	1,793	1,950	2,098	1	96 11 1	170 0 0	The Duke of Roxburgh.
	Yarrow - -	14	12	1,180	1,230	1,216	1	104 8 10	165 19 9	The King.
	Etterick - -	10	10	397	470	445	1	65 2 2	118 0 0	Lord Napier.
KIRK -	Galashiels (part of) -	6	3	827	758	844	1	77 15 6	134 6 2	Scot of Gala.
	Roberton (part of) -	9	5	250	241	237	1	67 10 0	144 18 9	The King.
	Ashkirk (part of) -	—	—	201	172	163				
LAUDER -	Stow (part of) -	—	—	259	350	376				
PERTH -	Inverkeithen (part of)	—	—	61	62	67				
	The Total -	—	—	4,968	5,233	5,446	5	411 7 7	733 4 8	

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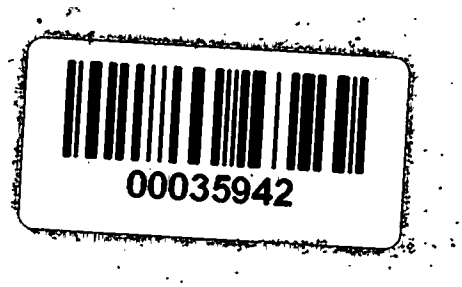
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